

A GENERAL
HISTORY of the **WORLD**,
FROM THE
CREATION to the present Time.
VOLUME XII.

A GENERAL
HISTORY of the WORLD,

FROM THE
CREATION to the present Time.

INCLUDING

All the EMPIRES, KINGDOMS, and STATES; their REVO-
LUTIONS, FORMS of GOVERNMENT, LAWS, RELIGIONS,
CUSTOMS and MANNERS; the PROGRESS of their LEARN-
ING, ARTS, SCIENCES, COMMERCE, and TRADE.

Together with

Their CHRONOLOGY, ANTIQUITIES, PUBLIC BUILDINGS, and
CURIOSITIES of NATURE and ART.

By WILLIAM GUTHRIE, Esq;
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And others eminent in this Branch of Literature.

——— *cui lecta potenter erit res
Nec facundia deseret hunc, nec lucidus ordo.*

HOR.

VOLUME XII.

L O N D O N :

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MDCCLXVII.

A
GENERAL HISTORY
OF THE
WORLD.

BOOK III.

Lewis the Fourteenth, surnamed the Great.

A *NNE* of *Austria* being left sole regent of *France*, State of during the minority of her son, who was not five the *French* years of age when his father died, courted the par-court, liament, and they not only confirmed, but encreased her powers of regency, with the consent of the duke of *Orleans* and the prince of *Condé*. The late king's declaration in favour of the former, and of cardinal *Mazarine* was cancelled; but it was soon visible that *Mazarine* had the direction of public affairs. His supple character was the reverse of that of *Richelieu*, and he prevailed with the queen to transgress her husband's orders by pardoning *Chateaufneuf*, the dutchess of *Chevreuse*, and others, whom *Lewis* never could be brought to forgive. The count de *Brienne*, who had sacrificed every thing in her service, was at first consulted and trusted, and he introduced to her the duke of *Vendosme*, and his son the duke of *Beaufort*, who had been particularly obnoxious during the late reign, but she entrusted them with the custody even of her son's person. The complaisance shewn to her by the parliament, was intended by its members only to raise their own importance, though in fact they made her absolute, and left the duke of *Orleans*, with the other princes of the blood, without either power or authority.

We have already mentioned the conduct of marshal See
Guebriant and his death, which was one of the most remark- Vol. IX.
 Vol. XII. B able p. 178.

and of the war with Spain. able events in the beginning of this reign. The *Spaniards* took the castle of *Tortona*, and the viscount de *Turenne*, who served under prince *Thomas* of *Savoy*, was recalled out of *Piedmont*, where the *French* became masters of *Asti*, and *Du Plessis Praslin* commanded their armies in *Italy*. In *Spain* the marshal de la *Mothe-Houdincourt* continued to act with great reputation, and his nephew de *Breze*, now duke of *Fronsac*, beat the *Spanish* fleet off *Carthage*.

The duke of *Anguien*, young as he was, commanded the *French* army on the side of *Flanders*, where don *Francisco de Mello*, the old and experienced *Spanish* general, besieged *Rocroi*, at the head of twenty-six thousand veteran troops. The court of *Spain* had flattered itself that their general, after taking *Rocroi*, would lead his army to the gates of *Paris*, as it was greatly superior to that under the duke of *Anguien*. *Gassion* and the marshal *L'Hospital* commanded under him. A council of war was held, in which the duke was singular in his opinion of attacking the *Spaniards*. *L'Hospital* opposed him, but *Gassion* at last sided with him, and a battle was resolved on, though orders were produced from court not to risk one. The dispositions being made, the duke went to bed, and slept so sound that he was obliged to be awaked to begin the engagement. It was the most bloody and obstinate that had been seen for many years. The *Spanish* foot was deemed invincible, and beat the left wing of the *French* army under *L'Hospital*, but the young duke of *Anguien's* activity and courage repaired this misfortune; for he attacked the *Spanish* foot, though they were formed into a phalanx, with their general the count de *Fuentes* in their center; killed him, and after three charges routed that formidable body, and proved to the world that the *Castilian* infantry might be beaten. Nine thousand of them were killed; but the duke of *Anguien* no sooner was assured of the victory, than he put a stop to the slaughter. The *French* historians dwell with fondness upon their victory of *Rocroi*, because it was in a manner decisive in their favour, and it being gained by a young prince against the opinion of able generals, added to its lustre. *Turenne*, who had served with great reputation in *Piedmont*, and *Gassion*, were made marshals of *France*. *Thionville* was taken on the 10th of *August*, and *Crique* on the 2d of *September*. The duke of *Anguien* was universally considered as a genius, born to shine in war without the advantages of experience and education.

The duke of *Anguien* gains the battle of *Rocroi*.

Negotiations begun in *Germany*. The turn of the *French* court at this time was as singular as it was ridiculous. The queen, though in a manner absolute, was not formed for government. The capacities of the princes of the blood did not rise above the pitch of intrigue, and the whole court was divided into factions. The duke of *Vendosme* formed a party, the duke of *Beaufort* was arrested on pretence of his designing to murder cardinal *Mazarine*, and at last his father and his brother the duke of *Mercoeur* were confined to their houses, and the duchess of *Chevreuse* and madam de *Hautfort*,

Hautfort, the late king's mistress, were disgraced. All this was done through the violence, or rather weakness of the queen regent, who reposed her whole confidence in *Mazarine*. He pretended to vast moderation, and had the art to throw all the unpopularity of government upon the queen, while every measure that was of a contrary tendency was ascribed to his counsels. He deviated from all the maxims of the late reign, for *Richelieu* never served or ruined a man by halves. *Mazarine* hated and feared *Chauvigni* for his abilities, but he admitted him into the council, even after he had been ordered to sell his post of secretary of state to the count de *Brienne*, who was a favourite with the queen regent. *Chauvigni's* father, *Bouthillier*, was removed from the superintendency of the finances, and the president *Bailleul* succeeded him. In the mean while, preliminaries of a general peace were signed at *Ratisbon*, and *Longueville*, *Servienne* and *d'Avaux* were named plenipotentiaries for the negotiation, which terminated five years after in *Westphalia*.

The duke of *Orleans* commanded an army that was to act on the side of the *Low Countries*, but the duke of *Anguien*, with the marshals *Grammont* and *Turenne* serving under him, was appointed to retrieve the reputation of the *French* arms in *Germany*. The prince of *Orange* undertook to act in concert with the duke of *Orleans*, in attacking *Dunkirk* and *Graveline*. A new treaty was concluded between *France* and the States general; a subsidy was granted to *Ragotski*, which enabled him to make a diversion in *Hungary* to favour the *Swedes* in *Germany*, and another treaty was formed, between the *French* and the newly recovered crown of *Portugal*. Cam-
paign in
the Low
Countries,

All those were wise measures, and seconded by success. The duke of *Anguien* drove the *Germans* across the *Rhine* and marched to *Friburg*, where he found the imperial general *Merci*, strongly encamped; but after a battle of three days, the imperialists were obliged to retreat. The consequence of that bloody battle was the reduction of *Philipsbourg* and *Mentz*, *Worms* and *Oppenheim*, and the duke of *Anguien* returned to *Paris* covered with laurels, leaving the command of his army to marshal *Turenne*. In *Spain*, the *French* lost *Lerida*, and marshal de la *Mothe* was beaten with great loss. The public and he himself threw the blame upon *Mazarine's* partiality for the *Spaniards*, and de la *Mothe* was put in arrest, under which he continued four years, when he was honourably acquitted. In the *Low Countries* the duke of *Orleans*, assisted by the marshals *Meilleray* and *Gassion*, took *Graveline*, and returning to court, was well received there. and in
Germany.

The spirit of intrigue which had for some time governed the court, now infected the people, who were backed by the parliament. That body imagined they saw a settled design in the government to reduce their importance, and that *Mazarine* was following the footsteps of *Richelieu*, in rendering them a court of mere form. An insurrection of the *Parisians* happened; it was suppressed, and the insurgents pardoned, but Diffe-
rence be-
tween the
court and
parlia-
ment.

The imperialists defeated.

the parliament was reprimanded for having favoured it. This produced a trial of interest between that body and the court. *Chateauneuf*, who was now released from his imprisonment, and who had been disappointed in succeeding *Richelieu* as first minister, directed the parliament, and it soon appeared that *Mazarine* was unequal to the internal government of *France*. When the dispute between the court and parliament began, he was taken dangerously ill; but when he recovered, the mediocrity of his measures rather inflamed than abated the public disorders. In the mean while, *Turenne* was beaten by the imperial general *Merci*, at *Mariendal*, and obliged to retire under the walls of *Philipsbourg*. The duke of *Anguien* flew to relieve him, and after laying siege to *Heilbron*, he advanced to *Nordlingen*, where he found *Merci*, who was one of the best generals of that age, strongly entrenched. The duke, notwithstanding his advantageous situation, attacked and defeated him, after an obstinate engagement, in which the imperialists lost five thousand killed or prisoners. *Merci* himself was among the former, and *Glen* his second in command, with the marshal *Grammont*, were among the latter; *Nordlingen*, with some other places were surrendered, but soon after fell into the hands of the imperialists under arch-duke *Leopold*, who raised the siege of *Heilbron*. The duke of *Anguien* was then indisposed, and *Turenne* commanded in his stead. After the imperialists had gone into winter quarters, he surprized and took *Treves*; the elector of which gained his liberty by the negociations which were then carrying on in *Westphalia*. In proportion as the war was carried on with vigour in *Germany*, it languished in *Italy*. The young duke of *Savoy* was put in possession of *Turin*, and the other places in his dominions held by the *French*; and prince *Thomas* of *Savoy* continued to command against the *Spaniards*. The campaign in *Catalonia* was opened by the count of *Harcourt*, who governed that province with the title of viceroy, and took *Roses*, though the place was strongly garrisoned, and well defended. That important acquisition was owing chiefly to *Plessis Praslin*, who thereby obtained a marshal's baton, and was sent to serve with prince *Thomas* in *Savoy*. The count of *Harcourt* afterwards beat the *Spaniards* in a pitched battle, took several places, and disappointed a conspiracy for giving up *Barcelona* to the catholic king.

Vol. IX.
p. 373,
& seq.

The duke of *Orleans* continued to have the nominal command on the side of *Flanders*; but the executive part of it fell to marshal *Gassion* and the count de *Rantzau*. We have already seen the success of their operations, which were greatly forwarded by the vigour of the prince of *Orange*. The valour and the best concerted schemes of the *Spaniards* yielded as usual to *French* vivacity, and at the end of the campaign, they found themselves stripped of *Hulst*, and many other places of importance.

Character
of Maza-

Every day added to the disagreement between the court and the parliament. *Mazarine* had no idea of the *French* constitution,

tution, and far less of the liberties of mankind; and the members of the parliament on the other hand, had as little regard to the regal authority, which they every day endeavoured to curtail. They talked in a strain as if their body represented the assembly of the ancient states of *France*; the queen mother was obliged to carry the king in person to hold a bed of justice, before she could prevail with that court to register the money edicts; but she could not prevent hearing her own authority, and that of her son, treated with very free language. *Mazarine* was as dexterous in managing the foreign, as he was ignorant of the domestic, concerns of *France*. He conducted the negotiations which were then going on at *Munster* and *Osnaburg*, with great abilities; and notwithstanding all the intrigues of both branches of the houses of *Austria*, he preserved the *Dutch* and the *Swedes* in the friendship of *France*. When the king was seven years of age, *Mazarine* was by letters patent appointed to the superintendency of his education; but the marshal *Villeroy* was made his governor, and the famous *Perefixe*, afterward archbishop of *Paris*, his preceptor. Neither this triumvirate, nor the queen mother had the smallest notion of giving *Lewis* a tincture of literature. They formed him to a lofty sedate behaviour, and to that kind of knowledge which they thought was most likely to contribute to his future glory and greatness, but without attending to any personal accomplishments.

Upon the death of the two presidents of the parliament, that body complained that their places were filled up by two young men who were dispens'd with for want of age, and they began to quarrel among themselves, though all of them seemed to unite in thinking that during the minority of the king, they had a power to check the authority of the queen regent. *Mazarine* gave himself little or no concern in controuling or crushing this maxim, which was so destructive to the *French* constitution. He applied himself entirely to the negotiations at *Munster*, and making head against the imperialists in *Germany*. We have already related the state of affairs in that country, where *Turenne* commanded the *French* army, which consisted of no more than eight thousand men. Having joined the *Swedes* with wonderful address, he obliged the electors of *Bavaria* and *Cologne* to enter into a neutrality at *Ulm*, which left him at liberty to point his march towards the *Low Countries*. We cannot without astonishment reflect on the condition of *France* at this time. The queen regent was guided solely by *Mazarine*, who had views very different from those of the *French* nation, and was detested by the princes of the blood, the parliament and the people. He obliged her to carry on a bloody war against her brother, the king of *Spain*, whom she loved with the most tender affection, and secretly to embarrass the negotiations at *Munster*, after that prince had offered to submit to her arbitration between him and her son. The true reason of this was, that *Mazarine* thought all parties would

He em-
barras-
ses the ne-
go-
tiations at
Munster.

Vol. IX.
P. 181.

Vol. X.
P. 332.

unite against him, if the public tranquillity was restored. *Mazarine* had quarrelled with *Barbarini*, who had been instrumental in advancing to the popedom *Innocent* the 10th, a friend of the house of *Austria*. That pontif having ungratefully discarded the *Barbarini*, *Mazarine* took them into his protection, and resolved to neglect nothing for humbling his holiness; for which reason, he starved the war on the side of *Germany*, that he might feed it on that of *Italy*. He harboured likewise a private pique against *Innocent*, because he had refused a cardinal's hat to his brother, the archbishop of *Aix*, and had threatened to oblige himself to appear at *Rome* in person, to answer for his conduct.

The
French de-
feated by
sea.

The duke de *Breze* was the *French* admiral on the *Italian* coasts, and appeared off *Orbitello*, to assist prince *Thomas* of *Savoy*, in besieging that place. The *Spanish* fleet under admiral *Pimentel* failed to relieve the town, and an engagement ensued, in which the duke of *Breze* was killed, and the count d'*Oignon*, who was next to him in command, bore away for the *French* coast, on pretence of securing it against an invasion; but in the mean time, prince *Thomas* was forced to raise the siege after losing almost all his army. Those checks did not discourage *Mazarine* from sending into *Italy* fresh armies under the marshals *Meilleray* and *Plessis Praslin*, who took *Piombino* and *Porto Longone*, secured the duke of *Modena* to the *French* interest, restored the *Barbarini* to their states and honours at *Rome*, and forced the pope to accept of the terms prescribed by *Mazarine*.

War in
the Ne-
therlands,

On the side of *Spain* the *French* general the count de *Har-*
court besieged *Lerida*, but was obliged by the *Spanish* general
Leganez to raise the siege with the loss of his artillery and
baggage, on which he was recalled from his command. The
duke of *Orleans* continued to be at the head of the war in the
Low Countries, where the marshal *Gassion* in the beginning of
the campaign beat the *Spaniards*. The duke having under
him the duke of *Anguien*, besieged and took *Courtray*, but his
favourite, the abbe la *Riviere*, prevailed with him not to fight
the *Spaniards* under the duke of *Lorraine*, who had no more than
twenty-five thousand troops, while those of *France* amounted
to thirty thousand. Upon the *French* and the *Dutch* army joining,
the duke of *Lorraine*'s army must have been ruined, had not the
prince of *Orange* and the *Dutch* considered *France* as being now
too formidable an ally, and quarrelled with her troops. The
latter continued their operations, took *Bergues*, and besieged
Mardyke. The vicinity of that place to *Dunkirk*, made the
siege a matter of great difficulty, and the duke of *Orleans*
committing the command of it to the duke of *Anguien*, re-
turned home. A *Dutch* fleet under *Van Tromp* blocking up
Dunkirk, *Mardyke* was surrendered, and the duke of *Anguien*,
who had been wounded at the siege, reduced before the end of
the campaign, the important town of *Dunkirk* likewise. A-
bout this time, died the prince of *Condé*, and was succeeded in
his

his honour and estate, which was very great, by the duke of *Anguien*, commonly called the great *Condé*. That prince had married the duke of *Breze*'s sister, and in her right he claimed *Brouage* and the adjacent islands; but the queen mother and *Mazarine* got possession of them by the assistance of the fleet under the count *d'Oignon*. The prince of *Condé* complained of this; but he was soon made easy, by being suffered to retain all the posts he held under the government during his father's life time.

The *French* affairs in *Germany* were then in a dangerous situation, by the open breach that happened between marshal *Turenne* and the *Swedes* under *Wrangel*. The latter had persuaded general *Rosen*, who commanded the few *Weimarian* troops who served with *Turenne*, to attempt to detach them from the *French* service. This happened while *Turenne* was upon his march to the *Low Countries*, and though the *Weimarians* were reduced, yet the elector of *Bavaria* was encouraged to declare the late neutrality he had made with *Turenne* to be void, and to attack the *Swedes*. *Turenne* represented to *Mazarine* the consequences that must attend the defeat of the latter, and having received reinforcements he repassed the *Rhine*, and relieved the *Swedes*, when they were on the point of sinking under the power of their enemies; a service so seasonable, and so generous, that it entirely destroyed all misunderstandings between the two nations.

And in
Germany.

The great services performed by the prince of *Condé*, rendered him obnoxious to the minister, and he was sent with a very indifferent army to command in *Catalonia*, where he besieged *Lerida*. He was so ill supported, that the *Spaniards* had time to assemble an army, and the prince was forced to raise the siege. All he could do during the remainder of the campaign, was to check the progress of the *Spaniards* in *Catalonia*, while the marshal de *Grammont* obtained several advantages over them on the side of *Arragon*. The farther that the negotiations for peace in *Westphalia* advanced, all parties seemed to be the more determined to carry on the war. The marshals *Gassion* and *Rantzau*, the *French* generals in the *Low Countries*, could not prevent the archduke *Leopold* from taking *Armentiere*, and besieging *Landrecy*, which he likewise took. Several other places in the *Low Countries* were taken and retaken, and marshal *Gassion* was killed in one of those sieges; but upon the whole, the campaign was not unfavourable to *France*, though *Dixmuyde* was taken by the archduke. The intrigues at court continued to embarrass *Mazarine*, and he was still more perplexed in the opposition he met with from the parliament, who opposed his most unexceptionable bills. His ruin must have been completed, had not the king and the duke of *Anjou* recovered from a dangerous illness, which each was seized with about this time.

Opposition to *Mazarine* continues.

The troubles of *England* encreasing, *Charles* prince of *Wales*, and his brother, the duke of *York*, took refuge at the court of the

queen mother for the court of *France*. They had flattered themselves that two grandsons of *Henry* the Great, could not fail of relief from the *Mazarine*. *French* nation. Their reception was civil, but *Mazarine* had no feeling for their distress; and the parliament of *Paris*, who had begun to imitate that of *England*, gave them little or no countenance. It appears from the papers of those times, that *Mazarine* was then employing agents to foment the differences between *Charles* and his people. The truth is, that *Mazarine*, who ever since his acceptance of the ministry, had not distinguished himself by any masterly stroke that was of service to *France*, had now begun to amass that immense sum of wealth, which, at his death, he left to his relations. He had sent to *Italy* for three neices and a nephew, and their appearance in *France* increased the popular hatred against him, but he still stood his ground, through the partiality of the queen mother in his favour, and the concessions which he made to the parliament. He had created twelve new masters in the chamber of inquests, who refused to receive them, and though they were for that reason forbidden to reassemble, they continued their sessions; upon which the differences between the court and the parliament arose to such a height, that they appeared to be irreconcilable. *Mazarine* would have gone great lengths to bring them to reason, because he could not, without their consent, raise the money necessary to carry on his operations. The viscount *Turenne* was the only general who, at this juncture, sustained the glory of the *French* arms. He beat the duke of *Wirtemberg* and the imperial general *Melan-der*, and drove the elector of *Bavaria* out of his dominions. The reader, in the history of *Germany*, may see the contents of the famous treaty of *Munster*, which was at last concluded in 1648. The consequences of that treaty were by no means favourable for the cardinal's schemes, for the *Dutch* joined *Spain*, as being an ally preferable to *France*, the vanity and overbearing behaviour of whose ministers, rendered their designs odious to, and suspected by, those republicans.

Vol. IX.
p. 182.
1648.
Ibid.

State of
France af-
ter the
treaty of
Munster.

But the interests of *France* and the cardinal, after the peace of *Munster*, were very different; for though the latter lost, the former gained by that treaty. It left *France* in a state of tranquillity, which gave *Mazarine*'s enemies an opportunity of uniting against him; the only point in which they could agree. The *Spaniards* were defeated in *Italy* by the *French*, tho' the latter were obliged to raise the siege of *Cremona*; but through the growing parties against him, *Mazarine* found himself unable to support the duke of *Guise*, in his more than romantic attempt to get possession of the city and kingdom of *Naples*, which we have already amply described. In *Catalonia*, the marshal *de Schomberg* took *Tortosa* by storm, where its bishop and many of its clergy were killed in bravely defending their city. This gave *Schomberg* great credit at the *French* court, though *Mazarine* was his enemy. The prince of *Condé*'s defeat before *Lerida* had rendered him the only general upon the

Vol. X.
p. 318.
& seq.

the continent who was comparable to *Turenne*, because it had taught him circumspection, and having this year the command of the *French* army in the *Low Countries*, with the marshals *Grammont* and *Rantzau* serving under him, he besieged and took *Ypres*; but archduke *Leopold* took *Courtray* and *Furnes*. *Rantzau* formed an attack upon *Ostend*, but he was beaten, and lost the flower of the *French* army in the *Low Countries*. The campaign there languished on the part of the *French*, because the prince of *Condé* finding that a faction was forming by the duke of *Orleans* against him at court, had taken a short journey to *Paris*. Returning from thence, he heard that the archduke *Leopold* was besieging *Lens*. The *Lens* prince collected his army, consisting of no more than fourteen thousand men, and marched to give battle to the archduke, who, by that time, was master of the place.

Notwithstanding that, *Condé* persisted in the resolution he had formed to attack him. He placed himself at the head of his right line. He gave the command of his left to marshal *Grammont*, and of the center to the marquis *de Chatillon*. The battle was well fought on both sides, but victory declared itself on the side of the *French*, chiefly through the amazing activity and judgment of the prince of *Condé*, who was present in every post of danger. The loss of his enemies amounted to four thousand men, besides their artillery and baggage, and *Lens*, with *Furnes*, returned to their former masters.

The turbulent disposition of the duke of *Beaufort*, had in a Members manner forced the queen regent to confine him in the castle of parliament of *Vincennes*, from whence he made his escape; but matters were now come to extremities between the court and parliament, which now threw off all regard to the royal authority, and from opposition proceeded to rebellion. Two parties were formed, the one called the *Mazarines*, and the other the *Frondeurs* or *Slingers*, each a professed enemy to the other. Through all those heats and debates, the queen shewed a sounder judgment than the cardinal. She was for crushing the opposition, but *Mazarine* endeavoured to manage it, till he found that all the concessions he made served only to encrease the insolence of his enemies. He had the art, by his humble unassuming behaviour, to elude the jealousy of the duke of *Orleans* and the prince of *Condé*, and they were so firmly attached to the queen, that all the public odium fell upon the cardinal. He now found the necessity of acting with vigour, and he gave orders to arrest the president *Blancmenil*, and a counsellor, one *Broussel*. The latter was an ignorant, headstrong, firebrand of faction, but the life of the party was the celebrated cardinal *de Retz*, coadjutor to the archbishop of *Paris*. The unpopularity of *Mazarine* was further encreased by the perpetual demands he made for money upon the parliament, and by his curtailing certain perquisites, the whole not amounting to eight thousand crowns, from the superior companies of that body.

The

The
queen
mother
libelled.

1649.

She leaves
Paris.

The imprisonment of *Broussel* had immediate and incredible effects; the cause of the people and parliament of a sudden became the same, and both were animated by the cardinal *de Retz*. The barricades were renewed, all the citizens of *Paris* were under arms, and the queen, through the pusillanimity of her minister, was in a few hours reduced to the miserable necessity of promising to deliver the prisoners. Even this concession could not protect the queen's person and dignity from insults. The most illiberal and vilifying libels, accusing her of a criminal intimacy with *Mazarine*, resounded through the streets of *Paris*, and the better sort of the inhabitants thought they preserv'd decency, when they were contented with calling her by no worse an appellation than the simple one of dame *Anne*. On the 6th of *January* 1649, she made her escape from *Paris* to *Fontainebleau*; while *Mazarine*, ignorant of the state and true disposition of the parties, sent *Chateauneuf* into exile, and *Chauvigni* prisoner to *Havre de Grace*, the two ablest ministers about the court. The duke of *Orleans* and the prince of *Condé* seemed to enjoy the queen's distresses, that they might render themselves more necessary to her service. The parliament proceeded more violently than ever against *Mazarine*, who made the most ample pecuniary concessions to diminish the public burdens, and by a profuse creation of dignities and titles, to break the opposition, and at last, on the 24th of *October*, a declaration was emitted, which occasioned a temporary calm, and the court returned to *Paris*. It was soon found that there was no end of concessions: The more demands were gratified, the more numerous and the more exorbitant they grew. The queen alone preserved presence of mind, and had a true sense of her own and her son's condition. When she laid it before the duke of *Orleans* and the prince of *Condé*, she obtained from them only professions of service; and on the 6th of *January*, at four in the morning, she again privately left *Paris*, and escaped to *St. Germain en Laye*. Two days after, the parliament, who loaded *Mazarine* with the blame of all that was done, though he really was innocent, declared him an enemy to the state, and it soon appeared that the queen's apprehensions were better grounded than even she could imagine. The prince of *Conti*, brother to the great *Condé*, the duke of *Beaufort*, the demagogue of the mob, the duke of *Longueville*, who had parts, the duke of *Bouillon*, one of the ablest men, as well as greatest subjects in *France*, the duke of *Rocheboucault*, so renowned for his wit and writings, the duke of *Elbeuf*, with many other persons of the highest distinction, declared themselves openly for the parliamentary faction (for we can call it no other) and the prince of *Conti* was appointed commander in chief, or generalissimo of their forces, with the dukes of *Elbeuf* and *Bouillon*, and the marshal *de la Mothe* to act under him. The spirit of faction was now such, that the parliament voluntarily raised ten times the

the money to pay their own troops, that had been demanded to carry on foreign wars, and to support the dignity of the state.

This many headed monster was chiefly guided by cardinal *The great de Retz*, but the spirit of the time appears plainly to have infected its historians. Low, dark and intricate intrigues, *France* amours, bargains, matches and intermarriages, without a single principle of virtue or honour to influence them, fill up their most authentic memoirs. The transactions of the agents are the result of the most limited and despicable talents, both political and personal, and yet they have been transmitted with all the pomp of grave and serious narrative. Repartees and sayings, which can scarcely claim notice in an enlightened age, are mentioned as the emanations of true wit, solid judgment, or sound policy. The characters of the chief agents all partake of the same extravagant strain. The great *Condé* deserves that epithet only comparatively, because many of his cotemporaries were inferior to him in courage and vivacity; but we find him every hour committing actions and mistakes that could proceed only from a wrong head and a bad heart. Even *Turenne*, one of the most amiable characters in the *French* history, was subject to the like weaknesses, and was great and good, only because he lived in a court, and at a juncture when others were vain, venal and profligate. Even the cardinal *de Retz*, in his conduct, discovers no abilities that ought to raise his character above the middling rate of mankind, and all that can be justly allowed to him, is an exquisite discernment of the tempers, inclinations and foibles of those he dealt with, when at the same time he was ignorant of his own; for he certainly became the dupe of those he affected to despise.

We have thrown out those general reflections, that we may avoid the minutenesses and prolixity of the authors we follow. The other parliaments of *France* seemed to copy from the spirit of that of *Paris*, and in an instant, all the kingdom was in commotion rather than in arms, for very little blood was shed, and the most material differences were often compromised by a private assignation or an amorous intrigue. The prince of *Conti* took possession of *Charenton*; his brother, with about seven thousand men, shut up about half a million of his fellow subjects in *Paris*. Sometimes they sallied out fantastically dressed, as if going to a masquerade, and when they were beaten and driven back, as they always were, their party, and often they themselves, laughed at the ridiculous figure they made. A troop of the royalists drove two thousand of the prince of *Conti*'s troops out of *Charenton*, and after both parties had sufficiently fatigued, or rather amused themselves, they came to an accommodation, and a general amnesty passed on all sides. It is observed, that *Molé*, the first president of the parliament, distinguished himself on this occasion, from his colleagues, by a noble dignity of behaviour and sentiment, which gained him the esteem of all parties.

Turenne,

Turenne
declares
for the
rebels,

Turenne, when this accommodation was concluded, commanded in *Germany*, and the weakness he had for the dutchess of *Longueville*, who despised his homely person, together with the private interests of his family and the persuasions of his brother, determined him to declare for the parliament. The duke of *Bouillon* had advised his party to supply *Turenne* with money to pay his army, but their frenzy disregarded his counsel, which more than probably would have given them a decisive superiority over their antagonists. *Mazarine* had intelligence of *Turenne's* wavering, and employed *Erlach*, who had the chief command of the *Swedes* under him, to distribute among the troops five hundred thousand livres, which were sent him by *Hervert*, an intendant of the finances, and which depriving *Turenne* of all authority over his troops, he was forced to make his escape to avoid being made a prisoner. In the beginning of *May* the *Spaniards* took *Ypres* and *St. Venant*; but, the peace being made, the *French* troops, to the number of thirty thousand men, united under the count of *Harcourt*, who besieged, but could not take *Cambray*, as he durst not depend upon the mercenaries of his army. *Mazarine* thought to render himself agreeable to this army by paying it a visit, during which he behaved with the most engaging affability, and was treated with the highest respect; but this army could do little more than take *Condé*, that campaign, which was unsuccessful for the *French* on the side both of *Spain* and *Italy*, for all that *Marsin*, their general, could do, was to prevent *Barcelona* from falling into the hands of the *Spaniards*.

The
queen re-
turns to
Paris.

While the *French* government was in this fluctuating situation, *Mazarine* instructed himself so well in the character of the court and people, as to know that he had mistaken his measures; that his lenity and expedients had served only to strengthen his enemies, and that he was the jest and the ridicule of his pretended friends, the prince of *Condé* especially. He was afraid that the queen, by her perpetual vexations, and by being forced to dissemble her true situation, both in mind and power, might resign herself wholly into the hands of the princes, and render his services useless. He advised her to return to *Paris* with the royal family, but took care that the *Parisians* should believe that their return was owing to his counsel, and this rendered him more acceptable there than he had ever been before. The duke of *Orleans* and the prince of *Condé* perceived that the cardinal aimed at popularity; that he had more than ever the ear of the queen, and was beginning to take the lead in all public business. The conduct and principles of the duke of *Orleans* were directed by his favourites. Those of the prince of *Condé* were arbitrary, despotic, and disrespectful to the queen in the highest degree. He had insulted her, by encouraging one of his domestics, the marquis of *Jarsay*, to make love to her, and he affected to be angry that his addresses were not well received, and that the queen was inclined to punish her courtier's presumption. *Mazarine* discovered

covered no inclination to check this intolerable behaviour, because he knew it must soon lay the queen under a necessity of exerting herself. The disregard to all subordination was such, that the royal family was not only without respect, but without necessary attendants. The daughter and grand-daughter of *Henry the Great* (the queen and princess of *England*) were in a manner starving at *Paris*, and the latter was obliged to lie in bed for want of money to purchase firing.

The queen mother saw her melancholy situation, but could not mend it without fortifying herself by the duke of *Orleans* and the coadjutor. The latter knew that the prince of *Condé* had now formed a party independent both of the queen and the *Frondeurs*, and that he had brought over to it his brother, and the duke of *Longueville*. The prince carried his complaint into the parliament, that the *Frondeurs* had attempted to assassinate him, and the coadjutor saw that the party's safety was incompatible with that of the prince. He managed so artfully, that he brought the duke of *Orleans* into his measures, and the queen agreed that the princes of *Condé* and *Conti*, with the duke of *Longueville*, should be arrested, which they accordingly were, as they sat at council on the 18th of *January* 1650. These three princes were now so unpopular in *Paris*, that bonfires and illuminations were made when it was known that they were sent prisoners to the castle of *Vincennes*. The intriguing dutchess of *Longueville* escaped, the duke of *Bouillon* retired to his estates, and his brother, the great *Turenne*, was forced to accept of a command under a *Spanish* general, *don Estevan de Gamara*. Though *Mazarine* did not assume much merit to himself in this wonderful revolution, yet it certainly was brought about chiefly by his intrigues, though the success of it was, no doubt, in some measure, owing to the fire and ambition of the coadjutor, who was in hopes of a cardinal's hat by the queen mother's interest. *Mazarine* took the seals from *Seguier*, and restored them to *Chateauneuf*, who secretly aspired to be first minister.

By this time the dutchess of *Longueville* had raised a combustion in *Normandy*, as the prince of *Condé's* party had in *Guienne*. The cardinal advised the queen mother to carry the king into *Normandy*, where he no sooner appeared than the dutchess of *Longueville's* party was dashed in pieces, and she herself obliged to fly to *Holland*. From thence she removed to marshal *Turenne* at *Stenay*, and by a series of incredible fatigue, danger and intriguing, she brought the dukes of *Bouillon* and *Rochefoucault* (who was likewise her profest admirer) to undertake a new civil war. This drove *Mazarine* from all his refinements, as he found it necessary that the king's presence should support the small army under the marshal *Meilleray*, who commanded against the prince of *Condé's* party in *Guienne*. The court accordingly set out for *Bordeaux*, and notwithstanding the brave opposition made by the dukes of *Bouillon* and *Rochefoucault*, the royal arms proved every where successful;

1650.

A new civil war breaks out.

An accommodation.

ful; but *Mazarine's* moderation offering them much better terms than they could have reasonably expected, an accommodation followed, in which the princess of *Condé*, and her son, the count of *Anguien*, who came to pay their court to the queen-mother, were included. This accommodation, on the part of *Mazarine*, was the effect of cowardice, and on that of the queen, of necessity, for in fact she had been obliged to take the law from rebels. Her spirits and her health were so much affected by the insults she had received, and the bad accommodations she had met with on the road, that upon her return to *Paris* she fell dangerously ill. Her affliction was increased by seeing her countrymen, the *Spaniards*, renewing their old game of abetting the rebellion, and discontents of her son's subjects, and that the *Frondeurs* had, during the absence of the court, brought the duke of *Orleans* to agree that *Mazarine* should be destroyed, and the princes set at liberty. The duke of *Beaufort* and the pragmatical coadjutor came into the same scheme. *Mazarine* was not insensible of his danger, and to avoid it, he fled to the marshal *Plessis Praslin*, who commanded an army on the frontiers, where every thing was going to ruin. Money was so scarce that the officers of the crown, both civil and military, took it by force from those who had it, and thus the *Spaniards* had but few troops to oppose them in their operations. The duke of *Marceur*, the *French* viceroy of *Catalonia*, put *Marsin* under arrest, because he was in the prince of *Condé's* interest; but he lost *Flex*, *Tortosa*, and many other places of importance in that province. In *Italy*, the *Spaniards* retook *Porto Longone*. In *Lorraine*, the marquis *Ferte Senneterre* beat the prince of *Ligni*, who had recovered several places for that duke.

Flight of *Mazarine* to the army.

War in the *Low Countries* continued.

The most threatening danger to the *French* government however appeared on the side of the *Low Countries*, where the *Spanish* army was commanded by the archduke *Leopold*, the marquis *Fuensaldagna*, and *Turenne*. The *French* lost the towns of *la Catelet* and *Capelle*, but the marshal *Plessis Praslin* forced the archduke to raise the siege of *Guise*, while *Turenne* made an attempt (in which he was betrayed) at the head of four thousand horse, to free the princes from their confinement at *Bois de Vincennes*. The *Spaniards* took *Mozon*, and *Plessis Praslin* covered *Rheims* with his army. The suppleness of *Mazarine* had rendered him extremely agreeable to the troops. He divested himself of all ministerial reserve and austerities; he supplied the soldiers with warm cloathing during their winter campaign, which enabled them to push the siege of *Retel* so briskly that it surrendered on the 13th of *December*. Next day the *French* army was attacked by *don Estevan de Gamara* and marshal *Turenne*, who were completely defeated, with the loss of four thousand of their best troops and officers. Though it could not be denied that *Mazarine's* care and liberality to the troops contributed greatly to this victory, yet it scarcely procured him a civil reception with the *Parisians*, upon his return

to

to that city. He found the factions there as turbulent as ever. The duke of *Orleans* was in the hands of the coadjutor, who again quarrelled with *Mazarine* for not procuring him the cardinal's hat. The dutchess of *Chevreuse* negotiated a reconciliation between the families of *Orleans* and *Condé*, by intermarriages, and at the expence of *Mazarine*, who was to have been succeeded, as first minister, by *Chateauneuf*. As all those parties hated each other more than they did *Mazarine*, he might have put an end to all their intrigues by a little firmness, especially, as the chief officers of the army offered him their services; but being a coward in his heart, he fled to *Harvre de Grace*, while the princes were released from their confinement at *Vincennes*. Upon his departure, the prince of *Condé* united himself with the duke of *Orleans*, and some talk was held of taking the king out of his mother's hands, and declaring the duke regent, with the title of lieutenant general.

The condition of the queen was now deplorable. The Insolence mob of *Paris* shut her up in her palace, and proceeded so outrageously, that she was obliged, in the dead of night, to give *risians* them admittance through her apartments to the king's room, where they drew the curtains of his bed that they might be sure he was there. The prince of *Condé* resumed all his airs of despotism, and soon broke with the dutchess of *Chevreuse*, the coadjutor, and all who had been instrumental in his and his brother's deliverance, in so rude and ungenerous a manner, that they suddenly closed with the queen, who complained that her life was a burden under the persecution she was obliged to suffer from the prince of *Condé*. *Mazarine* was then in the neighbourhood of *Sedan*, and enjoyed those revolutions. His interest was still very powerful, both with the queen and in the army; but he had not courage to employ it in person. He corresponded with the queen, and all parties felt his influence so strongly, that each courted him. But the master-piece of his conduct, at this time, was his persuading the coadjutor that he had sufficient interest at the court of *Rome* to procure him the cardinal's hat. The queen dissembled so well, that to please the prince of *Condé*, she dismissed from their posts *le Tellier*, *Servienne*, and *de Leon*; ministers of great abilities, only because they were thought to favour *Mazarine*! She likewise recalled *Chauvigni*, took the seals from *Chateauneuf*, and gave them to the president *Molé*. The coadjutor formed a scheme for at once crushing the prince of *Condé*, and preventing *Mazarine*'s return to court. On the 7th of *September* the king was declared to be of age, and *Chateauneuf* appointed first minister. The prince of *Condé* finding he could not depend on the duke of *Orleans*, retired to *Guienne*, where he was governor, and was joined by *Marfin*, who brought with him part of the troops that had been destined to defend *Catalonia*, the dukes of *Beaufort*, *Nemours*, *Rocheffoucault*, *Richelieu*, the prince of *Tarento*, and other persons of distinction. The Prince of *Condé* renews the war, and joins the *Spaniards*.
count

count of *Harcourt* was appointed to the command of an army against him, but in an instant he armed the provinces of *Guienne*, *Poitou* and *Anjou*, and formed an unnatural connection with the *Spaniards* to support him. *Mazarine* continued to temporize, and, by his advice, the queen sent him propositions, which he would not have rejected, had not the courier who carried them brought them to *Augerville* instead of *Angerville*, where the prince was. Before the mistake was discovered, *Condé* was too far advanced to retract, and the civil war went on. The presence of the king and the persuasions of *Chateauneuf*, procured the court a ready admittance into *Bourges*, from whence it moved to *Poitiers*, where her majesty invited *Mazarine*, then residing at *Cologne*, to join her.

Mazarine
returns to
court.

That minister had foreseen what would happen, and had raised seven thousand men out of the public money, which he had appropriated to his own use; all of them excellent troops, devoted to his interest, and commanded by the marshal *de Hoquincourt*. They wore green sashes, to distinguish them from the king's livery, which was white. This ridiculous piece of vanity in a minister who had always appeared simple and moderate in his way of living, was forgotten, amidst the great services he then performed for the court. He had made the duke of *Bouillon* and marshal *Turenne* sensible of the madness of the prince of *Condé* and his party, and they declared for that of the royalists. The king and his brother went to meet the cardinal, and he was received in a triumphal manner at court. The parliament's proceedings has (we think) without reason, been charged with inconsistency on this occasion. It is true, they declared the prince of *Condé*, as well as the cardinal, enemies to the public; and they certainly were so in fact. The prince of *Condé* was engaged in an avowed rebellion, and the cardinal was possessed of an undue influence. The duke of *Orleans* had always expected that the king would marry his daughter, and the prince of *Condé* had persuaded him that the queen mother would be forced to agree to it. He had been disappointed in his hopes, but they were now revived, and he endeavoured to make all parties his friends. He lived upon good terms with the prince of *Condé* and the coadjutor, though of very opposite factions. He gave the dukes of *Beaufort* and *Nemours*, the command of some *Spanish* troops that he took into his pay, and he sent *mademoiselle*, his daughter, who was ambitious of being a queen, to *Orleans*, which, at her desire, immediately declared for the princes, while both she and her father gave secret intimations to the court that they had a price at which they could be bought off. The revolt of *Orleans* was a severe blow upon the royalists. The king and his mother were obliged to lodge in the little town of *Gergaut*, with a very few troops, and those unprovided with powder and ball. They were attacked by a party of the duke of *Beaufort's* army, under the baron *Sirot*, but the royal family were saved by the happy boldness of *Turenne*, who marched against the

enemy

enemy as if his men had been well provided to attack them; and being supported by *Hoquincourt*, *Siro*t was killed and his party defeated.

By this time, the parliament of *Paris* had set a price on *Mazarine's* head, but found itself too weak to carry any of its edicts into execution. The people of *France* were divided between the king and the princes of the blood, and *Mazarine's* intrigues had established him more firmly at court than ever, as first minister. He was assisted by a difference that happened between the dukes of *Beaufort* and *Nemours*; but the progress which the prince of *Condé* made in his march from *Bordeaux* to *Montauban*, was alarming. The royal army was commanded by *Turenne* and *Hoquincourt*, but ill paid, the parliament of *Paris* rejecting all money edicts for either side, while the rebels were supplied with money from *Spain*. In short, the king, his mother and his brother, were hunted from place to place, and had it not been for the difference between the two dukes, and the activity of *Turenne*, they must have fallen into the hands of the rebels. *Bordeaux* and its parliament were firmly in the interest of the prince, who hearing of the dissensions between his two generals, left his army and travelled a hundred leagues in disguise, from *Agen* to the forest of *Orleans*, where his army lay. He was attended only by a few friends. He had escaped and surmounted a thousand dangers and difficulties, and he presented himself as a courier before his own main guard. His soldiers immediately knew him, and thought themselves invincible under his command. Without suffering their ardour to cool, he attacked, and defeated, that part of the royal army which lay at *Blenau*, under marshal *Hoquincourt*, and must have carried off the persons of the king and the royal family, who were at *Guien*, had he not been checked by the address and intrepidity of *Turenne*, notwithstanding his division lay at a considerable distance. The prince, after this miscarriage, cantoned his army near *Estampes*, and went to *Paris*, where, though he was proscribed by the parliament, he was honourably received in the city. *Turenne* and *Hoquincourt* took advantage of his absence, cut in pieces part of his troops, and besieged the remainder in *Estampes*, where they must have surrendered, had not the duke of *Lorraine* marched to their assistance.

The prince of *Condé* beats the royalists.

That prince, having been stript by the *French* of his dominions, had still under him an army of eight or nine thousand veterans, who were paid by the king of *Spain*. He had orders to join the prince of *Condé's* army, and to march directly to *Paris*. *Turenne* was in a very indifferent condition to fight him, but the duke all of a sudden stopt short in his march to return from whence he came. It is uncertain to what this event was owing. It is generally thought that *Mazarine* had still resources of treasure which stopped his progress; but we have some reason to believe that he had secret orders from the court of *Spain* to employ his army in *Ireland*, and it is certain

Conduct of the duke of *Lorraine*.

that the duke was then treating with the exiled king of *England* on that account.

The prince of *Condé* remained all this while at *Paris*, treating with the parliament, from whom he had poor encouragement, and negotiating at the same time with the court, which was then at *St. Germain's*, by the agency of the duke of *Rohan*. He was outwitted by the crafty cardinal, who published to all the world that both the prince and the duke of *Orleans* were treating with him, while they were making the strongest professions to the parliament that their sole motive for taking arms was to obtain his banishment out of *France*. This declaration operated strongly against the princes. The royal party gained ground every day, and *Turenne* marched with the king and his army towards *Paris*. The prince of *Condé*, whose troops were now in possession of that capital, took post at *St. Cloud*, from whence he was obliged to decamp, and removed to *Charenton*, that he might secure his rear against another division of the royalists, under the marshal *la Ferte*. *Turenne*, however, at last forced the prince to take shelter behind some works that had been thrown up against the *Lorrainers*, in the suburbs of *St. Anthony*.

Battle of
St. Anthony
ny.

The situation of both parties at this period was not more critical than it was uncommon. The parliament and city of *Paris* affected a neutrality, and shut their gates against both. *Condé* and *Turenne* sought to gain them by the valour and generalship they displayed, and a battle ensued, which the king and cardinal beheld from an adjoining eminence. Both chiefs performed wonders at the head of a handful of men, but *la Ferte* coming up, the fortune of the day declared for the royalists, and the prince's party must have been destroyed, had not *mademoiselle* ordered the gate of *St. Anthony* to be opened for the reception of the wounded rebels, and with her own hands fired the guns of the bastille upon the royalists, so that the latter were obliged to desist from the pursuit. This battle of *St. Anthony* is one of the most illustrious in the *French* annals, not only for the importance of the prize for which it was fought, but for the valour of the combatants, and the high rank of the spectators who beheld it. That suburb run with the blood of young nobility, and the duke of *Roche-foucault* received a musket shot, which for some time deprived him of his sight. Nothing was decided by the event of the battle, but that the royalists could not enter *Paris*, and that the prince of *Condé* could not keep it. The duke of *Orleans* and the coadjutor, who was now cardinal *de Retz*, seemed to take no concern in the dispute, and the prince of *Condé* was enraged at the coldness with which he was received. He was deceived in his measures, for he was in hopes to have formed the *Parisians* into a new league, of which he was to be the head, as the duke of *Maine* was of the former. The completion of the times, however, was very different. The war carried on by the league, was a war of religion; but this was

no better than a struggle for power, in which the passions and affections of the common people were but weakly interested. A meeting of the principal inhabitants was held at the town-house, and during their deliberations, they were attacked by bands of ruffians, who set fire to the gates, cut the throats of some, and plundered many more. As both parties equally suffered by this violence, and it was well known that the prince of *Condé* had countenanced and encouraged it; it rendered him so excessively unpopular, that he was obliged to apply once more for assistance to the duke of *Lorraine*, who accordingly began his march again to *Paris*. In the mean while, that parliament was, by the king's edict, transferred from *Paris* to *Pontoise*, upon their declaring the duke of *Orleans* lieutenant general of *France*, and the prince of *Condé* his generalissimo, for delivering the king from his captivity under *Mazarine*.

The edict of removal took place with many of the presidents and some of the advocates; but the parliament still remained at *Paris*, and the king was solicited by both to dismiss the cardinal, to which he agreed, but in a manner which shewed he was forced into compliance. The cardinal accordingly removed to *Sedan*, the prince of *Savoy* took the management of the state, and marshal *Turenne* continued in the command of the army. The troops under the duke of *Lorraine* were still advancing towards *Paris*. *Turenne* had not under him above eight thousand men whom he could trust, but he had an able counsellor in his brother, and they resolved to act with spirit. The marshal took post at *St. Germain*, while the prince of *Condé* joined the duke of *Lorraine*. Their army was so much superior to that of *Turenne*, that the latter was obliged for some time to act upon the defensive; but he took an opportunity, while the duke and the prince were absent from their army upon their pleasures, to march to *Meaux*, and thereby prevented his ruin, and that of his army. Negotiations were all this while going on between the court and the duke of *Lorraine*, by the mediation of the exiled king of *England*, who actually persuaded the duke once more to draw off his forces and to come to an accommodation with the king. The chief citizens of *Paris* now sent deputations inviting the king to return to the possession of his capital, and the prince of *Condé* found himself in a manner obliged to take shelter in the duke of *Lorraine*'s army.

In a few hours, tranquillity was established, out of as deplorable an anarchy as ever had been known in *France*, and the royal authority was restored, when it was thought to be on the point of expiring. The king, on the 21st of *October* 1652, attended by the king of *England*, made a triumphal entry into *Paris*, took possession of the *Louvre*, and sent a message commanding *Broussel* to deliver up the *Bastile*, on pain of being hanged over its walls, which was respectfully obeyed. Next day, *Lewis* held a bed of justice, where he found himself possessed of despotic power, surrounded with pomp, splendour and guards,

Turenne
opposes
the duke
of *Lorraine*.

The king
recovers
Paris.
1652.

and hailed by the acclamations of millions of his subjects, who seemed now to have but one voice and one hand for his service. The parliament entered upon their records, a prohibition against their future meddling in affairs of state. Three turbulent presidents and nine counsellors, one of whom was *Broussel*, were expelled, and a general amnesty took place with regard to their past proceedings. From that hour the faction of the *Frondeurs* ceased to exist, and their warmest heads met with the fates that might have been foreseen from their rash ill-judged connections. *Chateauneuf* died of vexation, and *Chauvigni* of despair; the duke of *Beaufort* shot his brother-in-law, the duke of *Nemours*, dead on the streets of *Paris*; the prince of *Conti* quarrelled with his sister, the dutchess of *Longueville*, at *Bordeaux*; cardinal *de Retz* was sent prisoner to *Vincennes*; and the duke of *Orleans*, without going to court, retired to his own estates. It is remarkable, that during all those civil broils in *France*, the parliament of *England* entertained an agent from the prince of *Condé*, and an ambassador, one *Bordeaux*, from the *French* king, and both of them courted those republicans. It is most probable, that had not *Cromwell* at that time seized the protectorship, they would have declared in the prince's favour.

Affairs in
Spain.

The domestic distractions of *France* proved fatal to her affairs in *Catalonia* and *Italy*. The marshal *de la Mothe* was obliged to surrender *Barcelona*, and *Rosés* was all that the *French* retained in that province. *Casal* was lost in *Italy*, and the *French* court offered advantageous terms to the court of *Portugal*, if it would advance to *Lewis* two millions of crowns in five years time. In the *Low Countries* the *Spaniards* carried all before them. The *French* abandoned *Mardyke*, the archduke *Leopold* took *Gravilne*, and besieged *Dunkirk*, which the *French* made great efforts to preserve, but in vain, for it was surrendered on the 16th of *September*, after a siege of thirty-nine days. The duke of *Lorraine* made an equally rapid progress, by taking *Retel*, *Porcien*, *St. Menehoud*, *Bar le Duc*, and other places. The vast military abilities of *Turenne* repaired those losses, for though his army did not consist of above twelve thousand men, he forced the prince of *Condé* to take refuge in *Luxembourg*, while the marshal *la Ferte* recovered almost all the places the *French* had lost in *Lorraine*, by the assistance of *Mazarine*, who arrived with a strong reinforcement in his camp while he was besieging *Bar le Duc*; but the mention of that minister brings us back to the civil history of *France*.

Mazarine
returns to
Paris.

Mazarine had, ever since his last retreat from the *French* court, resided at *Sedan*; but the queen mother could enjoy no satisfaction in his absence, and he was brought back in triumph to *Paris*, where he exerted his talents as a minister, and by the excellent regulations he laid down, he proved himself to be the ablest financier in *France*. To do him justice, he put the internal administration of affairs into excellent order; and

when the court of *Rome* threatened him for detaining cardinal *de Retz* in prison, he shewed a becoming resentment, by disdain-
 ing the menaces of his holiness. In *Burgundy*, the count *de Bouteville*, afterwards the celebrated marshal *de Luxembourg*,
 sustained, and kept alive the small remains of the *Condé* interest,
 and obtained good terms for *Bellegarde*, from the duke of
Epernon, governor of the province. *Brouage* and *Oleron* were
 still held by the count *d'Oignon*, who surrendered them for
 a large sum of money and a marshal's baton, and at last, the
 prince of *Condé* and the dutchess of *Longueville* capitulated
 for *Bordeaux* itself. During this year, the *French* continued
 to be unsuccessful in *Italy* and *Catalonia*, where the marquis
de Pleffis Beliere commanded for *Lewis*.

The prince of *Condé*, who had now, entirely, thrown him- Difficul-
 self under the protection of *Spain*, had obtained the title of ties of the
 generalissimo of the *Spanish* armies, and his catholic majesty en- prince of
 gaged to indemnify him for his defection from his country, by *Condé*.
 giving him forces to conquer a principality for himself, in
France. By this time, *Turenne* was at the head of seventeen
 thousand men, and retook *Retel*, *Mouzon*, and *St. Menehould*.
Turenne, who was well acquainted with the dilatory manners,
 and the selfish suspicious tempers of the *Spaniards*, reaped
 vast advantages from that knowledge; for, by that time, the
 prince of *Condé* found that his power in their army was but
 nominal, and *Turenne* met with but little resistance in retaking
 the places belonging to the prince, so that before the end of
 the campaign, *St. Menehould* itself was reduced. In all those
 operations, we can perceive none that gives *Condé* a title to
 the surname of the *Great*, unless he deserved that epithet from
 courage, which ought to be in common to all soldiers. He
 was despised by the *Spaniards*, on whom he depended;
 and his frenzy in opposing the court still continued. The
 parliament of *Paris*, after the proper citations, condemned
 him and his adherents to suffer death, as traitors; and his
 brother, the prince of *Conti*, made his peace with *Mazarine*,
 whose beautiful niece *Martinozzi*, he married, with an im-
 mense fortune, and they continued during their lives the
 patterns of conjugal felicity. The prince of *Condé* did all he
 could to blow up the embers of rebellion, and had many secret
 well-wishers in *Paris*. Plots were laid against the cardinal's
 life, but they were discovered, and punished. The mutinous
 spirit of the parliament returned, but it was quickly dashed;
 when the king by the cardinal's advice appeared in one of their
 extraordinary assemblies in his hunting cap and dress, with
 a long whip in his hand, and forbade their meetings.

This prosperous state of the court disarmed cardinal *de Retz*, Cardinal
 of his turbulence and intriguing humour. He even resigned *de Retz*
 his archbishopric of *Paris*, which *Mazarine* would have found humbled.
 difficult to oblige him to do, and after various adventures, none
 of which do honour to his magnanimity, except his refusing
 to enter into connections with the *Spaniards*, he arrived at

Rome, where he was well received by his holiness, who hated *Mazarine*.

The Spaniards
beaten before
Arras.

We have already given a detail of the duke of *Guise's* attempt to become master of *Naples*, an expedition which did no great honour to *Mazarine's* ministry. The war between *Spain* and *France* still continued, and the prince of *Conti* at the head of a small but choice army, commanded in *Catalonia*, where he took *Villa Franca*, *Castillon*, *Cergana*, *Paicerda*, with many other places, and made what may be called a glorious campaign. In the *Low Countries*, the *French* king made his first campaign; and *Stenay*, which had formerly belonged to the dutchy of *Lorraine*, but then had fallen into the hands of the prince of *Condé*, was besieged. By way of diversion, the prince persuaded archduke *Leopold* to besiege *Arras*. *Stenay* was taken, and *Turenne*, who could not force the *Spaniards* to a battle, attacked their trenches, took their baggage and artillery, and beat their army, which was saved from utter destruction by the masterly dispositions made by the prince of *Condé* in the retreat. *Mazarine* arrogated to himself the glory of relieving *Arras*, and had as much power, though acquired and exercised in a different manner, over *Lewis*, as *Richelieu* had over his father. *Mazarine* perhaps was superior to don *Lewis Haro*, who governed his master, the catholic king, in the same manner; but he certainly was inferior to *Cromwell*, and in his negotiations with that usurper, he became the dupe of his own refinements. He had not been able to get *France* included in the treaty between *England* and *Holland*, tho' he had depended upon his sacrificing the *Stuart* family, who still resided in *France*, for procuring advantageous terms with *Cromwell*. *Mazarine* was astonished when the usurper slighted all offers of that kind, and when he even authorized some of his ships to land their crews at *St. Malo's*, and to plunder the neighbouring country, though no war then subsisted between *France* and *England*, only because he had taken umbrage at *Mazarine's* conduct.

Affairs
between
France
and *Eng-*
land.

This rough behaviour of *Cromwell*, taught the cardinal to know himself. He had always expressed a contempt for *Cromwell's* capacity, to which he now was obliged to submit, as his friendship was necessary for *France*; but it must be owned that he was greatly assisted by the passion which *Cromwell* had for the treasures of the *Spanish West Indies*. The *French* king's council expressed a great aversion, chiefly perhaps from a dislike to *Mazarine*, at entering into any negotiation with the usurper, but all opposition plied before the minister, and the council imagined that he prostituted the honour of their king, when he obtained the consent of *Lewis* to address *Cromwell* with the appellation of My Cousin. The usurper disdained the term, and insisted upon being called, My Brother; an insolence which drove *Mazarine* from his usual moderation. He employed one *De Bas* to spirit up the royalists and republicans in *England*; but his plot was discovered

covered by *Cromwell*, who put to death many of the accomplices. This was perhaps one of the most artful, as well as wicked intrigues *Mazarine* was ever concerned in. *De Bas* had a public character from the *French* court, and it was notorious that he was deeply concerned in the conspiracies for which the royalists suffered; yet *Cromwell* contented himself with putting him under a slight confinement, which was a proof that *De Bas* had revealed all the secrets of the conspirators to *Mazarine*, who made a merit of discovering them to *Cromwell*. Ever after, *Cromwell* and *Mazarine* entered into an unreserved correspondence, and it was agreed that the *English* should assist the *French* in getting possession of *Dunkirk*, but that the place, when taken, should be put into the hands of the former. *Turenne*, by this time, had taken *Landrecy*, *Quesnoy*, and *St. Gillian*, where *Lewis* is said to have commanded in person, with many other places, and the duke of *Vendosme* had defeated the *Spanish* fleet on the coast of *Catalonia*. As soon as the alliance between *Lewis* and *Cromwell* was known, the public of *Europe* was filled with indignation, and the *Spanish* minister charged *Mazarine* as being the worst of ruffians in concluding it, and in driving the royal family of *England* out of *France*, to which he had likewise agreed. In answer to this, *Mazarine* published to the world, the terms that had been offered by the *Spanish* minister to *Cromwell*, which were equally ignoble.

During the administration of *Mazarine*, the marine of *France*, which had been so nobly established by *Richelieu*, was in the neglected, and her commerce ruined. Her agriculture, how-
 ever, and the internal trade she carried on in the continent, enabled her subjects to pay just as many taxes as maintained the court and enriched the minister; but the army was so ill paid, that *Turenne* could not put it in motion before the month of *July* 1656, when he besieged *Valenciennes*. He was assisted by marshal *la Ferte*, and the siege was carried on with great vigour. The peevish, obstinate, archduke *Leopold* was now recalled from his command in the *Low Countries*, and replaced by don *John* of *Austria*, who assisted the prince of *Condé* in the command of the *Spanish* army, which amounted to twenty thousand men. They took post near the lines of the besieged, and after several masterly operations on both sides, *Condé* forced marshal *la Ferte*'s quarter, defeated and took him prisoner, with four hundred officers, and almost four thousand soldiers. The remainder of the *French* army was saved by *Turenne*, in as fine a retreat as that which had been executed by *Condé* before *Arras*. The *Spaniards* pursued, but *Condé* durst not attack *Turenne*, chiefly because he knew by the latter making no dispositions to fortify his camp, the battle must be so desperate, that the victory might be too dearly bought. The *Spaniards*, however, took *Condé*, as the *French*, though they were beat, did *Capelle*, and relieved *St. Gillan* in the sight of *Condé*'s army. After that, both armies continued inactive

till they went into winter quarters, and it was allowed by all *Europe*, that *Turenne's* retreat was more glorious than *Conde's* victory.

Upon the recess of the armies this campaign, *France* may be considered as having recovered some degree of internal tranquillity. The duke of *Orleans* visited the court, and after being well received, he retired to *Blois*, where he spent the remainder of his days as a private nobleman. The city of *Bordeaux* was received into favour, and the great *Condé* was not so much considered in the light of a domestic rebel, as in that of a foreign general.

Affairs
between
France
and *Eng-
land*.

In the beginning of the year, the effects of the private treaty between *Mazarine* and *Cromwell* began to appear. *Cromwell* had agreed to assist the operations of the *French* in the *Low Countries*, with six thousand men, and in the spring, *Turenne*, by a masterly feint, invested *Cambray*, which was relieved by a most amazing march performed by the prince of *Condé*, whose motions were so rapid, that the garrison could not persuade themselves that they were delivered, till after he had waited with his troops some time before their gates. *Turenne* raised the siege, and being joined by the *English* auxiliaries, the king and *Mazarine* arriving at his camp, about the same time he covered the operations of the marshal *la Ferte* against *Montmedy*, which surrendered, after the *Spaniards* under don *John* had failed in an attempt to surprize *Calais*. *Turenne* then reduced *St. Venant*, and such was the miserable state of the *French* finances, that, to pay his soldiers, he was obliged to break down his plate, and to divide the bullion among the *English*. *Lockhart* was then *Cromwell's* minister at the *French* court, and *Reynolds* was appointed to command the *English* auxiliaries. The intention of *Mazarine* was to have inveigled them so far in the war, that they could not return to *England* without leave of the *French* court. *Reynolds* behaved but indifferently in his command, but had private interviews with the *Stuart* family, and many of his men deserted to the duke of *York*. *Mazarine* had by this time repented the bargain he had made with *Cromwell*, and trifled so much with *Lockhart*, that the latter threatened to send back the *English* troops; but *Mazarine* overwhelmed *Cromwell* and his party with civilities, and put *Mardyke* which *Turenne* took, into the hands of *Reynolds*. *Cromwell* then pressed the siege of *Dunkirk* more than ever, and offered, when it was undertaken, to send over to *France* four of his best regiments. *Turenne* would gladly have declined the siege of *Dunkirk*, and contrived many difficulties, which are mentioned in the histories of the times, for postponing it; but *Lockhart* was so peremptory, that it was undertaken by *Turenne* by land, while an *English* fleet blocked it up by sea. *Turenne* underwent inexpressible difficulties before he could regularly form the siege; and he had a prospect of taking the place when the *Spaniards* came to its relief. *Morgan* then commanded the *English* auxiliaries under
Lockhart,

Lockhart, *Reynolds* being governor of *Mardyke*, from whence he was soon after recalled to *England*.

The prince of *Condé* had by this time conceived both an aversion and contempt for the *Spanish* generals, who rejected all his vigorous proposals. He planned out a disposition of battle, in which he was over-ruled, and *Turenne* boldly attacked his enemies. The marquises *de Crequi* and *Castelmere*, who commanded under him, charged the *Spaniards* in the flank; but the hottest service fell upon the *English* under *Morgan*. He was hard pressed by some *English* battalions under the duke of *York*, as was *Crequi* by the prince of *Condé*; but the intrepidity of the *English* and *Turenne*'s excellent dispositions obtained, at last, a complete victory. The marshal *de Hocquincourt*, who served under the prince of *Condé*, was killed on the spot. It was owing to the admirable retreat made by that prince, that the *Spanish* army was not entirely destroyed. The number of the killed and prisoners on the side of the *Spaniards* is uncertain, but it is agreed that the *English* alone, killed and took prisoners about two thousand, so that the whole loss did not probably exceed nine thousand, though the *French* accounts greatly surpass that number. The loss of the *French* was likewise very considerable.

This battle, which was called that of the *Downs*, left *Turenne* more at liberty, than before, to carry on his operations of the siege, but the *Spaniards* continued to make a brave defence till in the the marquis *de Lede* being killed in a sally, they agreed to capitulate on the 24th of *June*. *Lewis*, who was in the camp, and *Mazarine*, would have granted the garrison very high terms, but *Lockhart* rejected them, because, as he said, the place belonged to his master; and *Mazarine*, against his will, was obliged to put *Dunkirk* into the hands of the *English*. The lord *Falconbridge*, *Cromwell*'s son in law, was then at the *French* court, where he was treated with the same honours and distinctions which had been paid to the dukes of *Modena* and *Mantua*. It is probable that he wanted to engage *Mazarine* to support him and his family in the sovereignty of *England*, and to make a peace with *Spain*. We are ignorant, however, of the particulars, for at this time *Mazarine* found his authority in danger by the illness of *Lewis*, which checked the career of *Turenne*'s victories, after he had taken *Furnes*, *Dixmuyde*, with other places, and driven the *Spaniards* out of the field into their garrison towns. Upon the king's recovery, *la Ferte* marched from *Lorraine* to the *Low Countries* with his army; *Graveline* was reduced before the end of the campaign, as was *Oudenarde*. *Brussels* itself, and some of the capital towns of the *Spaniards* in the *Low Countries*, must have fallen into *Turenne*'s hands, if he had been properly supplied with provisions and artillery. He defeated the prince *de Ligny*, who threw himself into *Ipres*, which he was likewise obliged to surrender; so that upon the whole, no fewer than twelve important strong towns and cities were reduced this campaign. In *Italy*,
the

the duke of *Modena*, *France's* ally, forced the duke of *Mantua*, who joined *Spain*, to be neutral; and the *French* general, the marquis *de Villa*, was successful in the *Milanese*. Marshal *Schomberg* commanded the troops of *Lewis* on the side of *Portugal*, and beat don *Lewis de Haro*; so that this was esteemed one of the most glorious campaigns the *French* had ever known.

1658.

A peace
conclud-
ed.

In the year 1658, died the usurper *Cromwell*, who had put himself in every respect on a footing with the *French* king, and had omitted no opportunity of humbling that court, after he was put in possession of *Dunkirk* and *Mardyke*. It is pretty certain that about the time of his death, he was sensible of his capital error in aggrandizing *France*, and that he was resolved to have made peace with *Spain*. The *French* court looked upon his death as a deliverance, and proposals of an accommodation being sent to *Mazarine* from the court of *Madrid*, they were strongly backed by the queen mother, without being disliked by the minister. The *English*, in general, were averse to continue the war with *Spain*, and *Richard Cromwell*, the successor of *Oliver*, ordered *Lockhart* to enter into a private negotiation with the *Spanish* ministry for a peace. *Mazarine* discovered this, and it was his true motive for agreeing to the conferences of the *Isle of Pheasants*, where he met with don *Lewis de Haro*. The Hall where the conferences were held, was so contrived, that neither minister could claim the precedence, and in a few meetings a treaty was concluded, the effects of which are still sensibly felt in *Europe*, and it goes by the name of the *Pyrenean*. By this treaty, that of *Querasque* was confirmed; *Alsace*, *Roussillon*, *Artois*, and part of *Flanders* were made provinces of *France*: The *Pyrenees* were agreed upon as the boundaries of both kingdoms on that side; *Lorraine* was restored to its duke, as *Vercel* was to the duke of *Savoy*, and *St. Omer*, *Ipres*, *Menin*, *Oudenarde*, and several other places to the *Spaniards*. But the capital object of this treaty, by which the prince of *Condé* was likewise received into favour at the *French* court, was the long projected marriage of *Lewis* with *Maria Teresa*, the infanta of *Spain*.

Conduct
and death
of *Maza-
rine*.

1660.

Lewis, whose complexion was amorous, was violently in love with mademoiselle *de Mancini*, one of *Mazarine's* nieces; but when that cardinal threw out to the queen mother a possibility of his marrying her, she threatened to put herself and her second son at the head of the *French* nation, against both the king and the cardinal. *Mazarine* knew that he was disliked by the duke of *Orleans*, and it was therefore of the utmost consequence for him that the king should be married. The infanta was, at this time, the presumptive heiress of the *Spanish* monarchy, and it was necessary that she should renounce for ever all right to the succession of her father's territories, which, both she and *Lewis* agreed to, and the renunciations were registered in the *French* parliaments. The marriage was solemnized at *St. Jean de Luz*, on the 9th of *June*, 1660; and this was the last, as it was the greatest of *Mazarine's* measures.

measures. Upon his return with the royal pair, he affected more state than ever, and treated the king as a mere pupil. He took place of the princes of the blood, nor did he suffer even them to make any application to the king but through him. He treated likewise the queen mother, to whom he owed his all, with disrespect. He doubled the number of his body guards, and *Lewis* had no more money than he was pleased to allow him. It is thought that that prince must have been soon weary of his pupilage, had the cardinal lived longer than he did, and *Mazarine* was sensible that if he himself should die, or if the king should alter his sentiments, the possession of his wealth must be but precarious. He therefore made a deed of gift, by which he left *Lewis* his heir, but that prince returned it in a few days after he received it, in token that *Mazarine* was at liberty to dispose of his vast estate as he pleased; and upon his death-bed, in 1661, he bequeathed it 1661. to his relations; the whole as is said amounting to two hundred millions of livres; but this sum we suspect is exaggerated. *Mazarine* certainly was a useful minister to *France*, by concluding the *Pyrenean* treaty; nor can it be denied that he had great sagacity. The success of his negotiations was owing in a great measure to the characters of those he dealt with, who thought themselves superior to him, though they were no better than his dupes in the arts of dissimulation and chicanery. The good sense and resolution of *Cromwell* and *Lockhart* rendered *Mazarine* despicable both as a man and a minister.

The behaviour of *Lewis* upon the death of *Mazarine*, sufficiently indicated that he had for some time been planning within himself the future mode of his government. To the amazement and disappointment of his own court and of all *Europe*, though he was then but twenty-two years of age, he broke out all at once. He became his own minister, and he reduced his courtiers to the rank of humble retainers to his power, and servants to his will. He personally regulated his own finances, his army, his court, and the business of his parliaments, whom he early resolved to humble. He ordered *Fouquet*, though superintendent of his finances, to be prosecuted, condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and stripped of his vast wealth, though nothing criminal could be proved against him, and he had the character of being the most generous man in *France*. *Louvois* was appointed secretary of state for foreign, and *le Tellier* for domestic, affairs; but the execution of the great internal regulations of the kingdom was committed to the famous *Colbert*. His family was originally *Scotch*, but had been settled for some hundreds of years in *France*, and he himself had been trusted by *Mazarine* in the same department in which he was employed by *Lewis*. That monarch took the first opportunity, which was that of a quarrel at *London* between his ambassador and that of *Spain* about precedence, to maintain the superiority he affected over *Spain*, by obliging that court formally to yield him the precedence,

And of
Lewis upon his
death.

Vol. X.
P. 340,
& seq.

His great
munifi-
cence.

Vol IX.
p. 396,
& seq.

And po-
licy.

He lays
claim to
and in-
vades
Flanders,
and to
Franche
Comte.

cedency, an event which *Lewis* ordered to be commemorated by an elegant medal. We have already seen how upon a like occasion he humbled the court of *Rome*, and how he obliged his holiness to send cardinal *Chigi* submissively to ask his pardon. *Lewis* carried all those matters with so high a hand, that *Europe* began already to tremble at his spirit. *France* put on a new face. The feudal constitutions were not so much as heard of, and the great nobles now contended with one another only about the glory, who should be the most submissive servant to the crown. The splendour of the court exceeded all that had ever been seen in *Europe*, and the armies of *France* were then more numerous, better paid, and better disciplined than they had been in any former reign. The progress of the arts under *Lewis*, went hand in hand with that of his power; the pensions and encouragements he gave to the learned and ingenious in all countries, and in all studies, had never been equalled by any *European* prince, since the *Augustan* age, if we except, perhaps, the *Medici* family. The magnificence of his court retained nothing of that barbarity which long wars introduced in the courts of his most polite predecessors, even in times of peace, and the whole was supported by a proper decorum, which reigned through all ranks and stations of subjects.

Those external appearances of power and grandeur were effectually supported by a well regulated system of finances, and *Lewis* was enabled to buy from *Charles II.* of *England*, the possession of *Dunkirk* for the sum of five millions of livres. We have already mentioned the situation of *Lewis* with regard to *Holland*, that formidable republic, and *Colbert*, in a short time, found means to fit out thirty ships of the line, though, at the beginning of this reign, all *France* could shew but one old ship of war, which was laid up in the harbour of *Brest*, and in a few years after, *Lewis* had the most numerous navy of any power in *Europe*. He seemed superior (though in reality he was not so) to the prejudices and weaknesses of his family. He assisted the house of *Austria* against the *Turks*, when they were becoming too formidable to *Christendom*, and he paid the four thousand *French* soldiers who served against his father-in-law under *Schomberg*, who by the victory he obtained over the *Spaniards* at *Villa Viciosa*, fixed the crown of *Portugal* in the *Braganza* family.

Such were the glorious dawns of the reign of *Lewis XIV.* and he supported them by a uniform conduct. He employed thirty thousand men upon the harbour and fortifications of *Dunkirk*, which he rendered impregnable. He obliged the duke of *Lorraine* to give him up the strong fortress of *Marsal*, and he fomented the differences between the *States General* and *England*, the two great maritime powers of *Europe*. Upon the death of *Philip IV.* of *Spain*, *Lewis* laid claim to *Flanders*, and the *Franche Comte* as devolving upon his wife, notwithstanding her renunciation. This great cause could be decided only by arms. *Lewis* pretended that the territorial constitu-

tions

tions of the countries in question, gave his wife a right to their succession, and he complained that the five hundred thousand crowns, which the court of *Spain* had engaged to give him with his wife, had never been paid. In 1667, he put himself at the head of thirty-five thousand men, which, under him, were commanded by *Turenne* for the conquest of *Flanders*. He sent eight thousand under *d'Aumont* to *Dunkirk*, and four thousand into *Luxembourg* under *Crequi*, while the queen assisted by the chancellor *Sequier*, and the marshal *d'Etrees*, was appointed regent. The art of war, as well as the court and kingdom of *France*, now assumed a new face. *Louvois*, who was likewise secretary in that department, introduced the use of magazines, by means of the vast supplies of money furnished him by *Colbert*. *Vauban*, that great genius in military architecture, introduced a new system both in attacking and fortifying towns; and the young nobility of *France* seemed to take greater pleasure in the fatigues of the camp, than they had done in the diversions of the court. The success of *Lewis* was rapid beyond imagination. The *Spanish* government was then excessively weak, and the frontier he was to attack was in a manner defenceless. He entered *Charleroy* without resistance, and five or six days put his troops in possession of *Aeth*, *Tournay*, *Douay*, *Oudenarde*, *Furnes*, *Armentieres* and *Alost*. *Lisle*, which then was deemed to be next to impregnable, held out but nine days, though defended by twenty thousand men under an experienced officer. The marquis *de Crequi* defeated a body of *Spanish* troops, which were marching to relieve it under marshal *Marsin* and the prince *de Ligny*, and *Vauban*, upon his new principles of military architecture, rendered *Lisle* the most regular, and one of the strongest fortifications in the world.

His vast
successes.

As *Lewis* had not then on foot the vast number of troops he afterwards brought into the field, he could not proceed in his conquests, and at the same time garrison the places he had taken, and therefore he gratified his natural avidity for applause by returning to *Paris*, where he received even idolatrous honours from his subjects of all denominations. His glory and security had been for some years increased by the birth of a dauphin, and his brother had married the beautiful sister of *Charles II* of *England*. Indolence and love of pleasure had stifled in that prince all resentment for the ungenerous affronts he had received from *Mazarine*. He had, in fact, been banished out of *France*, and so strongly over-awed were both *Mazarine* and *de Haro* by the presence of *Lockhart*, that he and his ministers had been totally disregarded in the *Pyrenean* peace, and treated even with contempt. But indolent as *Charles* was, and inattentive to business, he could not without jealousy behold the progress of *Lewis*, and he sent sir *William Temple* to the *Hague*, where he concluded the triple alliance between *England*, *Holland* and *Spain*, for checking the *French* power. We have already given an account of the war between *England* and

He returns
to *Paris*.

Vol. IX.
p. 400,
& seq.

1668.

*Franche
Comte
conquer-
ed.*

and *Holland*, and of the concern the *French* took in it, and likewise of the motives upon which the triple alliance was formed. *Lewis* thought he had done enough for his glory in one campaign, and offered to the queen regent of *Spain* to relinquish his wife's pretensions, on condition of his being left in possession of his conquests in the *Low Countries*, or of the *Franche Comte*, *Cambray*, *Aix*, and *St. Omer*. The court of *Spain*, encouraged by the triple alliance, refused to treat on such terms, and in the middle of the winter in 1667, or rather the beginning of 1668, while the court seemed to be immersed in pleasures, all *France* was again in arms, and the prince of *Condé* led an army to conquer the *Franche Comte* from the power that had lately given him bread. On the 2d of *February*, the king himself by long journies on horseback arrived at *Dijon*, and the whole army assembled near *Besançon*. It is said, with some appearance of truth, that this expedition was suggested to *Lewis* by the prince of *Condé*, who wanted to rival the glories that *Turenne* had acquired in his master's service, and encouraged by *Louvois*, who was jealous of the same great general's credit with *Lewis*.

The inhabitants of the *Franche Comte*, which is a country of only forty leagues long, and twenty broad, but very populous, enjoyed their own privileges in an easy dependence upon *Spain*, and *Lewis* found it expedient to debauch some of the chief men of the country, by which means the prince of *Condé* is said to have made a cheap conquest of *Besançon*, as the duke of *Luxembourg* his faithful friend, under all his misfortunes, did of *Salines*. *Dole* made some defence, but, in three weeks, *Lewis* became master of all the province. The court of *Spain* being thus disappointed as to the effects of the triple alliance, agreed to a conference for a peace at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, where the ambassadors of *England*, *Sweden* and *Holland* assisted, and *Lewis*, thereby, remained in possession of all his conquests towards the *Netherlands*; terms, to which the *Spaniards* agreed the more readily, as those cessions interested the *Dutch* in opposing the farther progress of the *French* in that quarter. The *Dutch* arrogated to themselves the glory of this treaty, and were guilty of some insults upon the majesty of *Lewis*, whose arms they pretended to check, and for which they afterwards paid dearly. But we are now to return to the domestic concerns of *Lewis*.

He kept up all the regular grandeur of a court during the conquest of the *Franche Comte*, and the prince of *Condé* rendered him an account of all the military operations in the same manner as a subaltern does to his commanding officer. *Lewis* thought the spirit he had established in his army, was incompatible with the spirit of duelling, and he published edicts and laws against that crime, which are deservedly ranked among the chief glories of his reign. When a famine afflicted his dominions, he sent agents to buy up all the corn that could be purchased abroad, and it was distributed

buted gratis among his indigent subjects. The academy of *Inscriptions* was now founded, and the medallic art was exercised for celebrating the conquests of *Lewis*. New ports were every where erected or improved; the *American* colonies of *France* were protected, and encouraged, and by the indefatigable labours of *Colbert*, her trade was extended to all quarters of the globe. During the *Dutch* war, in which the *French* Prosper-joined that republic against *England*, the *French* drove the ous condi-*English* out of the island of *St. Christopher*, and did them other tion of inexpressible damages in the *West Indies*. All the time that *France*. *Lewis* was thus rendering his kingdom the most polite and respectable of any that had ever appeared in *Europe*, he was executing the most stupendous schemes for enlarging, beautifying and enriching *Paris* and his other capital towns, in a manner that with regard to architecture, was formed upon the truest models of *Greece* and *Rome*, but exceeded them in point of conveniency; and the clearing his dominions from robbers and highwaymen, was one of his principal cares.

A king thus great in his general principles of government, The *Dutch* replete with ideas of the grandeur of his family, and the provoke monarchy of *France*, flushed by success and adored by his *Lewis*. subjects, must have been more than a man, had he not resented the insolence of the *Dutch* republicans, whom he considered, very justly, as an upstart set of merchants, sprung from the dregs of mankind, and erected into a sovereign state by the joint protection and assistance of *France* and *England*. *Joshua Van Beuningen*, their plenipotentiary at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, had been so insolent as to strike a medal, with the childish device of the Scripture-*Joshua* stopping the course of the sun, which *Lewis* had chosen for his emblem; and the *Hollanders* had published many affrontive papers and prints against the person of *Lewis*. We have in a former part of this work Vol. IX. given the history of the other provocations and views which p. 410. *Lewis* received and adopted previous to his invasion of *Holland*. As he was still apprehensive of the triple alliance, he sent his sister-in-law, the dutchess of *Orleans*, to her brother, the king of *England*, and she succeeded in detaching him from the *Dutch*, while the ministers of *Lewis* were dividing the princes of *Germany*, and his armies stripping the duke of *Lorrain* of his dominions. It was in vain for the *Dutch*, who were miserably divided among themselves, to endeavour to deprecate the wrath of *Lewis* by the most abject submissions. He entered *Holland* at the head of a hundred and twenty thousand men, commanded by the marshal *Turenne*, and the prince of *Condé*. After some councils of war were held, in which the generals and ministers of *Lewis* differed, it was resolved to advance towards the *Rhine*. In this expedition, near a hundred million of livres, according to the present value of money, ibid. were expended in pomp and parade, and thirty *French* ships p. 413. of the line joined the *English* fleet. Few armies were better Pomp of commanded; for besides *Turenne* and the prince of *Condé*, the the *French* duke court.

ibid.

p. 414.

duke of *Luxembourg*, who was as great a military genius as either of them, served in it. The prince of *Condé* planned the famous passage of the *Rhine*, which did so much honour to the *French* arms, but would at this time do no more than fill a column in a gazette. Every thing, the pusillanimity and despair of the *Dutch* especially, favoured the *French*, who had not above forty or fifty paces to swim. The current of the river was broken by the compacted body of the horse who forded it, and nothing opposed them on the opposite side; which was guarded by no more than four or five hundred horse, and two cowardly regiments of foot. The prince of *Condé*, however, narrowly escaped being shot through the head by a resolute *Dutch* officer, who wounded him in the wrist, the first wound he received in all his campaigns.

Lewis
continues
his con-
quest.

The prodigious success of *Lewis* in this expedition, was in a great measure owing to the treachery of the *Dutch* officers and commandants of their forts, who for gold betrayed them to *Lewis*. *Orsoy*, *Wesel*, *Rhineberg*, *Burick*, *Rees*, *Emmerick* and *Doëtkum* were subdued in eight days; the isle of *Belaw* was put under contribution, and the conquerors became masters of *Tolbuys*. The prince of *Orange*, whose army did not exceed twenty-five thousand men, was obliged to retreat to *Rhenen* in the province of *Utrecht*, and he had the mortification to see the *French* become masters of *Doerburgh*, *Arnhem*, *Skenkenfans*, *Woeren* and *St. Andrew*. The prince of *Condé* being disabled by his wound, *Turenne* had the glory of commanding the *French* army that reduced those places; some of which, *Skenkenfans* especially, were deemed the strongest in the *Netherlands*. *Utrecht* sent its keys to *Lewis*, who gratified his vanity by making a triumphal entry into that city, and giving his high almoner possession of the church, as its bishop. The provinces of *Utrecht*, *Overysfel* and *Guel-dres* submitted, and we have already seen how narrowly *Amsterdam* itself escaped being taken, after *Oudewater*, *Voerden* and *Naerden* were reduced. The duke of *Luxembourg* had joined the bishop of *Munster*, and the elector of *Cologne*, the allies of *Lewis*, and in conjunction they took *Grol*, *Deventer*, *Swol*, *Campen*, and over-run *Overysfel*.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

p. 415,
416, &
seq.

The *States General*, at once desperate and pusillanimous, after *Turenne* had reduced *Nimeguen*, laid the provinces of *Holland*, *Brabant* and *Dutch Flanders* under water, but at the same time they put *de Groot* at the head of a deputation, to implore the mercy of *Lewis*; and they sent another deputation to excite the compassion of the *English* court, who began now to dread the career of the ambition and successes of *Lewis*. We have already mentioned the catastrophe which happened in the mean time, and the glorious spirit exerted by the young prince of *Orange* in defence of his country. The unaccountable aversion which the *de Witts* and the leaders of the *Dutch* commonwealth had for a Stadtholder, made them look on the progress of the *French* arms with indifference, and they secretly wished

wished that *Holland* might become a province of *France* rather than be governed by the family of *Orange*. The common people adored that prince, and his being raised to the command of the army, gave the first check to the ambition of *Lewis*, who had, since the beginning of the campaign, reduced fifty forts or cities of strength and importance, and taken twenty four thousand prisoners; but while his glory was at its summit, his minister, *Louvois*, differed with his generals. The latter were for treating the republic as a conquered country, and its inhabitants as slaves, by obliging them to work on the stupendous canal of *Languedoc*, which was then carrying on. *Louvois*, on the other hand, thought that true policy directed his master to treat the *Dutch* as his subjects, and *Lewis* followed his advice, by giving his prisoners their liberty. When the *Dutch* deputation arrived at the *French* camp, its members were treated with infinite scorn by *Louvois*, who considered them as partizans of the *Orange* family. He offered them, however, his master's pardon and protection, provided they would agree to a treaty of commerce, such as he thought proper to prescribe, to establish the profession of the catholic religion throughout their provinces, to pay him twenty millions of livres for the expences of the war, and to leave him in possession of all his conquests on the other side of the *Rhine*. The *Dutch* rejected those and many other mortifying conditions, particularly one, by which they were to acknowledge in a medal, that they owed their freedom to *Lewis*; as if freedom could be dependant on the will of another man.

The king of *England* had sent his ambassadors to *Boxtel*, near *Boisleduc*, where the conferences between the *Dutch* deputies and *Louvois* were held, and they talked with great spirit to *Lewis*, who finding that all *Europe* was alarmed, and impatient to return to the pleasures of his capital, left *Holland* and the fortune of the war to *Turenne*, now created generalissimo of the *French* troops. The greatest part of *Germany* was then in arms to oppose the ambition of *Lewis*. The elector of *Brandenburgh* and *Montecuculi*, who was the prince of *Orange*, whom the *Dutch* had raised to the Stadtholdership. The *German* army was obliged to retreat to *Westphalia*, and was baffled in all its operations, till the elector being driven from place to place, was obliged to take quarters in his hereditary dominions. *Turenne* wintered in *Alsace* and *Lorraine*, whilst the *French* gold corrupted the imperial court to such a degree, that *Montecuculi* contracted an illness at seeing all his public spirited schemes defeated. The king of *England* was not insensible of the danger that the liberties of *Europe* were threatened with, but the arts and gold of *Lewis*, with the charms of his *French* mistress, overcame all considerations of honour and safety. It is certain that the

vigour of *Lewis* at this period, did not second his ambition. He loved pleasure and adulation, and left his conquests to be compleated by *Turenne* and the prince of *Condé*, whom he did not properly support. The latter being cured of his wound, returned to the *Low Countries*, where he took some towns; but the *Spanish* governor of *Flanders* threw ten thousand men under the prince of *Orange's* command, and all the sluices in the *Low Countries* being pulled up, the inundations put a stop to *Condé's* progress.

Spain declares war against France.

Vol. IX.
p. 417,
418.

ibid.

The assistance given by *Spain* to the prince of *Orange*, was in a manner clandestine; but so rapid were the conquests of the *French*, that the court of *Spain* could no longer avoid declaring war against *Lewis*, and openly espousing the cause of the *Dutch*. To add to the public terror, *France*, all at once, became a maritime power, and, as we have already seen, in the history of *Holland*, joined her fleet under *d'Etrees* to that of *England*. The campaign in *Germany* still continued; the court of *Spain*, weak as it was, endeavoured to rouse the emperor *Leopold* from his inactivity, and *Montecuculi* was sent at the head of thirty thousand men into *Franconia*, but *Turenne* took possession of the electorate of *Mentz*. The duke of *Luxembourg* commanded against the *Dutch*, after the prince of *Condé* had repassed the *Meuse*, and the prince of *Orange* had the good fortune to out-wit that duke, and to take *Naerden*; and we have already seen in what manner *Holland* was preserved at this perilous juncture. All the disgraces and losses of the *French* appear to have been owing to *Louvois*, who differed from the prince of *Condé* and *Turenne* in every particular, because he thought it dangerous for any man besides himself to share in any part of his master's confidence. It was owing to him that the conquered towns instead of being demolished were garrisoned, which weakened *Turenne's* army so much, that the prince of *Orange* and *Montecuculi* at last compleated their long intended junction.

The fortune of *Lewis* declines in the *Netherlands*.

1673.

That junction proved the crisis of the fortune of *Lewis* in the *Netherlands*. His *German* allies began now to distrust him. *Bon* was taken by *Montecuculi* and the prince of *Orange*, and *Lewis* having reduced *Maestricht* in person, it was the only conquest in the *Netherlands* of which he kept possession. Though the king of *England's* political lethargy still continued, he was forced to hear the cries of his people and parliament, which implored him to break off his connections with *France*, and towards the end of the year 1673, *Lewis* found himself single in a war against the chief powers of *Europe*, and all his boasted conquests in the *Netherlands* vanished into smoke. It was at this time, that the internal force of *France* was proved. The prince of *Orange* had opened the eyes of all the *German* princes, excepting the elector of *Bavaria*, and the duke of *Hanover*, who remained neutral. The prince of *Condé* once more commanded against the prince of

of *Orange*; the marshal *Schomberg* made head against the *Spaniards*, *Turenne* triumphed upon the *Rhine*, and *Lewis* in person again undertook the conquest of *Franche Comte*.

Of all those commanders, *Turenne* was the most distinguished by his successes. He was at the head of a small army, when he passed the *Rhine* at *Philipsbourg*, and beat the imperialists under *Caprara*, and *Charles IV.* duke of *Lorrain*. The prince of *Condé* sent him a small body of cavalry, and his army was augmented to twenty thousand men, while that of the imperialists consisted of seventy thousand. By the mere dint of generalship he covered *Alsace* and *Lorrain*, ravaged the *Palatinate*, and every where baffled the efforts of the imperialists. It is to be lamented that to the disgrace of mankind, the study of the art of war divested even the best men of their humanity. *Turenne* committed the most horrid barbarities, that he might do service to his king. Not only the generals, but the philosophers of *France*, did not at that time presume to carry their views farther than the resolutions of the royal cabinet, which were executed at the expence of religion and virtue. In fact, fighting seems to have been the diversion of the *French* generals at this period. The prince of *Orange* continued to command against *Condé* in *Flanders*, and fought the battle of *Seneff* on the 11th of *August*, in which seven thousand are said to have been killed, and five thousand taken prisoners on each side. Neither party had an undisputed right to the victory, but the consequence was favourable to mankind, because both parties were rendered so weak, that the effusion of human blood was spared during the rest of the campaign.

Cruelties
of *Turenne*
in the *Palatinate*.

In *Germany*, *Turenne* beat the imperialists in the battles of *Sintzheim* and *Mulhausen*, and in the year 1675, he obtained another victory over them at *Tunkheim*, which obliged them to repass the *Rhine*, and evacuate *France*. The imperial court, disconcerted and discouraged by such a train of bad successes, gave the command of their armies to *Montecuculi*; but while those two great generals were displaying the utmost efforts of the military art, *Lewis* was conquering the *Franche Comte*. His money had gained over the *Swiss* cantons, who were deaf to all the representations made by the imperialists and the *Spaniards*, which consisted in words alone. In this expedition he was served by *Vauban*, who took *Bezançon* in nine days, by *Louvois*, who made excellent dispositions for supplying the army, and *Colbert* furnished him with money, the all-powerful instrument of success. His ministers found means to embroil the king of *Sweden* with the elector of *Brandenburgh*, the ablest and most zealous prince in *Germany* for the reduction of the *French* power; but *Montecuculi*, in spite of all the activity of *Turenne*, found means to pass the *Rhine* at *Strasbourg*, in order to transfer the scene of war to *Upper Alsace*. Those two great men were disputing for the palm of generalship, when *Turenne's* head was carried off by a cannon ball, killed.

The war
continues.

on the 27th of *July* 1675, as he was reconnoitring a battery near the village of *Sultzbach*. His death altered the face of affairs, by the damp it threw upon the spirit of his army; for though *de Lorges*, who succeeded him, was a general of abilities, yet he was obliged to retire before *Montecuculi*, whom he fought with courage, but unequal fortune. The loss which *France* sustained by the death of *Turenne*, was aggravated by a total defeat which the marshal *de Crequi* suffered from the *Germans*, at *Consfarbruck*, as he was endeavouring to relieve *Treves*. This did not prevent him from throwing himself into the place, where he was equally in danger from the townsmen as the enemy, for the former capitulated against the authority of the marshal, who was made prisoner of war.

France exhausted.

Lewis now began to be sensible that the *French* arms were not invincible, nor his dominions inexhaustible. He continued to be without any ally but the king of *Sweden*, who was overawed. The prince of *Condé* was too weak to undertake any thing of importance against the prince of *Orange*, and he must have been ruined, had it not been for the caution and pusillanimity of *Monteroy*, the *Spanish* governor of the *Low Countries*. The only quarter in which *France* was successful, was on the side of *Catalonia*, where marshal *Schomberg* took several places. The vast waste of men which *Lewis* suffered, at last obliged him to have recourse to the feudal custom of raising the ban and the arriere-ban of his kingdom, by which two terms we are to understand, the military tenants of his crown; but this method, through long disuse, was attended with no success. Negotiations for a peace were set on foot at *Nimeguen*; but the operations of the war on all sides seemed to be quickened, and *France* now triumphed on an element, to which she had been long a stranger. *Messina* had been besieged, and *de Ruyter* undertook to fight the *French* admiral, *du Quesne*, who intended to relieve it. Three engagements followed, in which *de Ruyter* was killed, and the combined fleets of *Spain* and *Holland* were defeated.

Her success by sea.

The prince of *Condé* returns from court in disgust.

The expedient of raising the military tenants of the kingdom failing, the prince of *Condé* was sent to command against *Montecuculi*, who had laid *Alsace* under contribution, and besieged *Haguenau* and *Laverne*. *Condé* sustained his military reputation, and checked the progress of *Montecuculi*; but being disgusted at the ascendancy which *Louvois* continued to have in the *French* councils, he retired to *Chantilly*, where he spent the remainder of his days in an illustrious obscurity, by, at once, cultivating and patronizing the fine arts, and conversing with men of genius. In *Flanders*, *Lewis*, in person, undertook to revive the glory of *France*, which, since the death of *Turenne*, and by the sullenness of *Condé*, had received some diminution. *Vauban* still conducted the sieges, and his opinion was preferred to that of the marshals *d'Humieres*, *Schomberg*, *Feuillade*, *Luxembourg* and *de Lorges*. The towns of *Condé*, *Bouchain*, *Valenciennes* and *Cambray* were reduced, and

Vauban

Vauban discovered his superiority of genius, by persuading *Lewis* to alter the hour of attack, and to surprise the enemy, by storming *Valenciennes* at mid-day. His advice succeeded, and the campaign was deemed to be glorious. The prince of *Orange* was hindered, by *Monteroy*, from fighting a decisive battle with *Lewis*, who was astonished at his own success; and in *March* he took *Ghent* and *Ipres*. The prince of *Orange*, always enterprising, but always depressed by the sluggish spirit of the *Spaniards*, besieged *Maestricht*, but was obliged to abandon his undertaking with a disreputation to his arms, which he no ways deserved. The duke of *Luxembourg* commanded in *Alsace*, but could not prevent *Philipsbourg* from being taken, by the young duke of *Lorraine*, though he prevented his passing the *Rhine*.

Such in general was the state of the war at the close of the campaign of 1677. The negotiations at *Nimeguen* had proved ineffectual, and early in the following year, the duke of *Orleans*, who commanded on the side of *Flanders*, with the marshals *d'Humieres* and *Luxembourg* serving under him, besieged *St. Omer*. The prince of *Orange* attempted to relieve it, but lost the battle of *Mont Cassel*, and that important place fell into the hands of the *French*. It is difficult to account for the train of misfortunes which attended the prince of *Orange* during several campaigns, otherwise than by supposing that *French* gold had corrupted the *Dutch* as well as *Spanish* officers. His abilities as a general are still acknowledged by the greatest enemies to his memory, and yet they were chiefly employed in finding resources for repairing the defeats he suffered. After losing the battle of *Mont Cassel*, he invested *Charleroy*, but *Luxembourg* obliged him to raise the siege. In *Alsace*, *Crequi* being now delivered from his captivity, discovered how well he had improved, by his miscarriages, by taking *Friburg*, and baffling all the attempts of the duke of *Lorraine*, to repossess himself of his dominions, which had been seized by *Lewis*. This gave an opportunity for marshal *d'Humieres* to take *St. Guilian*, and the marshal *de Noailles* beat the *Spanish* general *Monteroy*.

The successes of *Lewis* were far from accelerating the negotiations for peace. He began to be jealous of the military reputation acquired by his brother, the duke of *Orleans*, who had commanded with great spirit and conduct during the campaign, and it was foreseen that he never would be employed again. The lethargy in which the court of *England* remained, encouraged *Lewis* to reject all reasonable terms of accommodation; and those which he prescribed were rejected by the allies. The *French* besieged *Mons*, *Namur*, *Charlemont*, *Luxembourg*, and other places in *Flanders*, chiefly with a view to obtain an advantageous peace. The operations were bloody to no purpose, and the advantages gained by either party were useless. *Crequi* continued his superiority over the duke of *Lorraine*, and his operations, to this day, are cried up by the

1677.
War in
the Low
Countries.

Indolence
of the
English
court.

French as perfect models of military discipline. In *Sicily*, the *French*, under the duke *de Vivonne*, were ungratefully requited, for they were in a manner expelled out of *Messina* by the inhabitants, whom they had rescued from the tyranny of the *Spaniards*. The evacuation of *Sicily* tarnished the glory of *Lewis*; but the vast numbers of men he lost in *Germany*, and the *Low Countries*, rendered it necessary. The marriage of the prince of *Orange*, with the princess *Mary* of *England*, daughter to the duke of *York*, which was proposed and effected by *Charles* himself, indicated how well disposed he was to enter into the alliance against *France*; but *Lewis* still found means to prevent his coming to any vigorous resolution, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his people and parliament; and all he could be brought to, was to act as a mediator.

The peace
of Nime-
guen con-
cluded.

If the corruption and indolence of *Charles* and his court was blameable at this time, the want of public spirit among the enemies of *France* was equally so. The most sagacious of the *Dutch* republicans had no idea of maintaining the balance of power in *Europe*; and though the war against *France* was originally undertaken for their defence, they had intimated to the *French* court, that they now considered themselves only as auxiliaries to the *Spaniards* and the imperialists, and that they were disposed to enter into a separate treaty. *Charles* the II^d, of *England*, being apprized of their intention, sent Sir *William Temple* to *Holland*, to keep them firm to their alliance; but this shew of spirit was soon damped by the practices of the *French* agents at the *English* court. When the plenipotentiaries reassembled at *Nimeguen*, the *French* proposed to restore to the *Spaniards* *Charleroy*, *Courtray*, *Oudenarde*, *Aeth*, *Ghent* and *Limburg*; but they insisted upon keeping *Bouchain*, *Condé*, *Ipres*, *Vallenciennes*, *Cambray*, *Maubeuge*, *Aire*, *St. Omer*, *Cassel*, *Charlemont*, *Popering* and *Bailleul*, which formed a great part of *Flanders*, together with all the *Franche Comté*; but they flatly refused to make the cessions required, until their ally, the king of *Sweden*, had obtained full satisfaction for all his losses. On the side of *Lorraine*, *Lewis* demanded to be put in possession of *Nancy*, and what he called the *Great Roads*, but offered to restore the emperor either *Friburg* or *Philipsburg*, provided his allies, the *Furstemburgs*, were replaced in their territories. We have already seen in what manner the peace of *Nimeguen* was concluded, and likewise the operations of the *French* armies in the field both before and after. It consisted, properly speaking, of several treaties: one concluded the 10th of *August* 1678, was between *France* and the *States General*, by which *Maestricht*, the only conquest which *France* retained in the *Low Countries*, was restored to the *Dutch*, and the prince of *Orange* to his family estates. The second treaty was between *France* and *Spain*, and concluded the 17th of *September* following; by which the *French* agreed to restore to the *Spaniards*, *Charleroy*, *Binch*, *Aeth*, *Oudenarde*, *Courtray*, the city and duchy of *Limburg*, *Ghent*, the country of *Waes*, *Leuwe*,

Vol. IX.
p. 192,
193, 422.

Leuwe, *St. Gislain* and *Puicerda*: on the other hand, it was agreed that the *French* king should retain the county of *Burgundy* or *Franche Comte*, the towns of *Valenciennes*, *Bouchain*, *Condé*, *Cambray*, *Aire*, *St. Omer*, *Ypres*, *Werwick*, *Warneton*, *Poperingen*, *Baillent*, *Cassel*, *Basay* and *Maubeuge*, all which they had conquered in the war. By a third treaty, concluded between the *Empire* and *France*, on the 3d of *February* 1678-9, *France* renounced all pretensions to *Philipsburg*: the *French*, on the contrary, were to keep *Friburg* till an equivalent should be given them.

We have already mentioned the terms which were offered to Battle of the duke of *Lorrain*, and which he disdained to accept of. A *St. Dennis*. peace was likewise made between *Sweden* and the elector of *Brandenburgh*, and another between *Sweden* and *Denmark*, upon such conditions as *Lewis* was pleased to prescribe. His haughtiness, during the whole negotiation, especially towards the princes of the empire, was as mortifying to them as his power; but their weakness and divisions obliged them to submit. The prince of *Orange* in vain remonstrated to the *States General*, that the whole system of the late concluded peace was an imposition. Before he had any regular notification of the peace (or at least any that he would own) he, at *St. Dennis*, attacked and beat the duke of *Luxembourg*, who was continuing the blockade of *Mons*; but the action, though sharp and Vol. IX. desperate, had no consequences, and *Lewis* fate down with p. 422. the empty glory of giving the *Dutch* a barrier, and enlarging his territories by the destruction of his subjects.

All *Europe* soon saw how well founded the remonstrances of *Ibid*. the prince of *Orange* were, by *Lewis* opening the chambers of p. 193. reunion (which we have already mentioned) at *Brisac* and *Metz*, with a view of reviving the empire of *Charles the Great*, in his person. His people bestowed upon him the surname of *Great*, and his medals bore that epithet. The chambers of reunion abolished the privileges of ten free imperial cities in *Alsace*, and entered vast claims in right of the three bishoprics of *Metz*, *Toul* and *Verdun*. All that the princes who were stripped of their possessions could do, was to carry their complaints to *Ratisbon*, where they were neglected. In a few months *Lewis* was more powerful than ever. He encreased *Lewis* his armies; he fortified his frontiers; he soothed the *English*; obliges he overawed the empire, *Spain* and *Holland*, and, in fact, his the States will gave law to *Europe*. He built the fort of *Hunninghen*, of *Bar-* by which he bridled *Swisserland*, and he obliged the catholic bary king to relinquish the titles of duke and earl of *Burgundy*; while he improved his marine so amazingly, that *France* was the mistress of the ocean. *Toulon*, *Brest*, *Dunkirk*, *Havre de Grace* and *Rocheport*, were rendered next to impregnable; and the *Algerines*, *Tunisians* and *Tripolitans*, were chastised by *du Quesne*, who in the expedition against them, made the first trial of bomb-ketches. It was about this time that *Colbert*, to whom *Lewis* was principally indebted for his glory, died, and

and the
Genoese to
submit.

Vol. X.
p. 340,
& seq.

Vol. IX.
p. 195.

He em-
ploys the
arts of
corrup-
tion.

Beginning
of the
grand
confede-
racy a-

and *Lewis* formed the faithless plan of exterminating the protestant religion in *France*. By his edicts, he excluded the protestants from holding places of profit, and multiplied penalties upon all converts to protestantism. In short, the seven years of peace which succeeded the treaties of *Nimeguen*, were more oppressive and ruinous to *Europe*, than the wars which preceded them. *Lewis* appeared to carry on a declared enmity to every independent state; and when he had raised his marine to its height, he demanded satisfaction of the *Genoese*, for suffering their ships to assist his enemies, the *Spaniards* particularly. The *Genoese* refused to submit, and *Scignelay*, *Colbert's* son, went on board a fleet commanded by *du Quesne*, who would have reduced the superb city of *Genoa* to ashes, had not her senate yielded to the most mortifying concessions, even that of sending, against the capital constitution of their republic, their doge and four of their members, to implore the clemency of *Lewis*, and to prostrate themselves before him at the *French* court, which they accordingly did.

Even the bigotry and prepossessions of *Lewis* gave way to his ambition, and we have already seen in what manner he mortified his holiness, notwithstanding his allowed pretences to infallibility. By the dint of power and gold, he raised *Furstemburg* to the electorate of *Cologne*, and seized *Avignon* in defiance of the Pope. He summoned, under pretence of the jurisdiction of *Metz* and *Brisac*, not only the princes of the empire, but the kings of *Spain* and *Sweden*, to appear at his courts, and reduced the empire to the most deplorable situation, by the assistance he gave to the *Turks*, who appeared at the gates of *Vienna*, where they were defeated by the king of *Poland* and the duke of *Lorraine*. But *Lewis*, amidst all his glory, was mean enough to stoop to the arts of corruption. Under pretence that *Strasbourg* belonged to his part of *Alsace*, he bribed the citizens to yield it up, and he rendered it one of the strongest places in Christendom. He stript the prince of *Orange* of that principality, which he gave to the dukes of *Nemours*; and proceeding from one degree of severity to another against the protestants, he ordered all their churches built since the edict of *Nantes*, to be demolished. At last, in direct violation of the most sacred and fundamental engagements of his crown, he not only revoked that edict, but inhumanly, as well as impolitically, set on foot a persecution of all his protestant subjects, whom he put to death, tortured, and imprisoned in every quarter of his kingdom. *England* and *Holland* reaped the benefit of those cruel measures, by receiving vast numbers of useful manufacturers, whom the revocation of the edict drove out of *France*.

Lewis, at last, by his injustice and haughtiness, laid the foundation of that confederacy against his power, which had almost ended in his own and his kingdom's destruction. After taking possession of *Strasbourg*, he proposed to oblige the electors, especially those of *Cologne*, *Mentz* and *Treves*, whom he

he thought he held at his devotion, to chuse his son, the dauphin, king of the *Romans*; and when the siege of *Vienna* was raised, he demanded possession of *Alost*, in the *Low Countries*, which his armies again filled with ruin and desolation. They took *Courtray* and *Dixmuyde*, and at last, after various operations, *Luxembourg* itself. He demolished the fortifications of *Treves*, under pretence of fulfilling the spirit of the treaty of *Nimeguen*, and he pretended he did a favour to the imperialists and the *Spaniards*, by granting them at *Ratisbon*, a twenty years truce. These appearances of power flattered the ambition of *Lewis*, but were destitute of sound policy. The roman catholic, as well as protestant princes, thought it now high time to check the ambition of *France*, and a new alliance was formed at *Augsbourg*, between the emperor, the princes of the empire, *Spain*, *Holland* and *Sweden*, through the indefatigable perseverance of the prince of *Orange*. This confederacy gave *Lewis* a pretext for renewing the war upon the *Rhine*, and the reader will find the particulars in the history of *Germany*.

Ibid. p.

197, &

seq.

Ibid. p.

198, 199,

& seq.

The obstinacy of *Lewis*, in maintaining the cause of cardinal *Furstemburg*, in opposition to prince *Clement* of *Bavaria*, whom Pope *Innocent* had nominated to the electorate of *Cologne*, was of infinite prejudice to his affairs, because it induced his holiness to put himself at the head of the confederacy against *France*, and even to become a party in the revolution, which in 1688, filled the throne of *England* with a protestant king, and displaced from it a roman catholic. *Lewis*, at that time, had a hundred thousand men on foot, in *Germany* alone, under the dauphin, who was assisted by the marshals *de Duras*, *Vauban* and *Catinat*, and every day produced some proof that *Lewis* aimed at universal monarchy. When he perceived the consequences which were likely to attend the great confederacy formed against him, he offered peace to the empire, upon the emperor and the princes acknowledging the cardinal of *Furstemburg* as elector of *Cologne*. The confederates informed him that they would hear of no terms until the treaties of *Westphalia*, the *Pyrenees* and *Nimeguen* should be absolutely re-established and completed, and the peace of *Europe* secured against the throne of *Spain* being filled by a prince of the house of *Bourbon*. *Charles* the II^d was then the catholic king, and being a weak prince, was entirely under the influence of the emperor, who drew him into the confederacy against *Lewis*, in the manner that shall be seen in the history of *Spain*. In the mean while the dauphin surprized *Manheim*, *Spire*, *Mentz*, *Crutzenach*, *Bacarack*, *Heidelberg*, and several other places in *Germany*. The ravages of the *Palatinate* were renewed, in a manner so shocking to humanity, that those of *Turenne* were forgotten; but at last self-preservation obliged the confederates to take the field, and to form an effectual barrier against the ambition of *Lewis*.

He

*Lewis as-
sists king
James.*

1689.

He entered into the concerns of the abdicated king of *England*, not from any principle of religion or justice, but of pride and policy, because *James* was his ally, and while he was the determined enemy of the court of *Rome*, he was the abject slave of her church. Knowing of the preparations making by the prince of *Orange*, for bringing about the revolution, he offered, by his embassador, *Barillon*, to send over twenty thousand men to the assistance of *James*, who refused them, by the advice of his then first minister, the earl of *Sunderland*. When that prince and his family were driven out of *England*, his queen, in *January* 1689, was kindly received by *Lewis* at his court; and both she and *James* were most magnificently entertained at his palace of *St. Germain*. Immense preparations were made by *Lewis*, for replacing him on the throne. He fitted out a great fleet, on board of which *James* embarked, with an army of *French* troops for *Ireland*. *Chateau-Renaud* was the *French* admiral during this expedition, and after he had set *James* on shore, he fought admiral *Herbert* for two hours, but with doubtful success, though in the main the *French* seemed to have had the advantage. *James* besieged *Londonderry*, but it was relieved by *Kirk*, and *James*, much to his discredit, was forced to raise the siege. Admiral *Tourville* soon after joined *Renaud*, and their fleet amounted to seventy-eight ships of the line, besides frigates and fireships. Lord *Torrington* then commanded the *English* fleet, and being joined by a squadron of the *Dutch*, an engagement ensued, in which the *French* destroyed six *Dutch* and two *English* ships of the line, and obtained a complete victory. *Tourville* then insulted the *English* coasts, and made a descent near *Tinmouth*, but with no remarkable success. We are now to attend the operations of the *French* arms upon the continent.

State of
the war
on the
continent.

At the time of the inhuman devastation of the *Palatinate*, *Lewis* maintained four hundred and fifty thousand men in arms, the most formidable regular army perhaps, that ever appeared in *Europe*. The *French* generals produced an order from *Louis*, authorized undoubtedly by *Lewis*, for burning all the towns and villages in the *Palatinate*, and it was obeyed with the most punctual barbarity. This cruelty, which reduced to unspeakable misery above five hundred thousand unfortunate inhabitants, raised a spirit in *Germany* to make reprisals upon *France*. The duke of *Bavaria* commanded on the *Upper Rhine*, the duke of *Lorraine* on the *Middle*, and the elector of *Brandenburgh* on the *Lower Rhine*; while prince *Waldeck*, at the head of forty-three thousand *English* and *Dutch*, commanded in *Flanders*. The duke de *Duras* commanded the *French* troops under the dauphin, but his army was inconsiderable, because of the detachments which had been sent into garrisons. The imperialists took *Rhinberg*, *Keyserswaert* and *Mentz*, which was bravely defended by the marquis d'*Uxelles*. *Bon* followed the fate of *Mentz*, but *Beufflers* obtained some slight advantages

advantages at the head of a flying army, over the imperialists; the command of the army in *Flanders* was given to *Luxembourg*, instead of the marshal *d'Humieres*, who had been beaten by prince *Waldeck*. In *Catalonia*, the duke of *Noailles* was defeated by the *Spaniards*, and the duke of *Savoy* joined the grand alliance against *France*, upon his being made captain-general of the confederates in *Italy*. He was beaten by *Catinat*, one of the best of the *French* generals, and the rival of *Luxembourg's* glory. The battle was fought near the abbey of *Stafarola*, and the dispositions made by *Catinat* were so masterly, that four thousand of the confederates were killed, with the loss of no more than three hundred *French*; the consequence was, the reduction of all *Savoy*, excepting the fortress of *Montmelian*, which was afterwards likewise reduced.

Necessity alone had raised *Luxembourg* to the command of *Luxembourg's* the *French* army in *Flanders*, for he was disagreeable to *Louvois*. He beat prince *Waldeck*, in the battle of *Fleurus*, by his mere superiority of genius in the military art. In that battle the confederates lost six thousand killed, and eight thousand taken prisoners, besides two hundred stands of colours. The approach of winter prevented *Luxembourg* from pursuing his victory, and king *William*, after finishing his conquest over his father-in-law, flew to the relief of his country. In the depth of winter, an assembly of the confederate princes was held at the *Hague*, to repair the misfortunes of the preceding campaign. This they did so effectually, that the confederates took the field in the year 1691, with an army superior to that of *France*, which, notwithstanding, got the start of the allies, by forming the siege of *Mons*, under the eye of their king. Here the vast benefit of dispatch was again seen, for when the siege was formed, prince *Waldeck* was in no condition to face the *French*. *Lewis* had under him eighty thousand men, and the dauphin, with the dukes of *Orleans* and *Chartres*, were witnesses to his reduction of *Mons*, which capitulated after a siege of nine days, and thereby all *Hainault* fell under the *French* power. *Lewis* left his new conquest to return to *Versailles*; and *Luxembourg* won the battle of *Leuze* on the 19th of September, against prince *Waldeck*, whose army was vastly superior in numbers. These misfortunes to the allies were chiefly owing to the dilatory motions of the imperialists and the *Spaniards*. The duke of *Savoy* lost great part of *Piedmont*, where *Catinat* had besieged *Coni*, but his kinsman, prince *Eugene*, who was then beginning to make a great figure in war, not only raised the siege of *Coni*, but drove *Catinat* out of *Piedmont*. *Lewis*, at this time, sustained an irreparable loss by the death of *Louvois*, an unfeeling, cruel, minister, but a fit tool for his master's ambition; for it was, in fact, under his administration that the glory of *Lewis* arrived at its greatest height. It is said, that being a fat man, he died of an apoplectic fit, from an affront he received from *Lewis*, but others, with less reason, attributed his death to poison. The elector of *Saxony* about

1691.

Death of
Louvois,

about the same time died, which threw the affairs of the imperialists, whose general he was, into inexpressible disorder. *Noailles* continued still to have the superiority in *Catalonia*, and the *French* fleet, under *d'Etrees*, bombarded *Alicant* and *Barcelona*; so that, upon the whole, the year closed with no very favourable aspect for the affairs of the confederates.

The
French
fleet de-
feated at
la Hogue.

1692.

Vol. IX.
p. 427.

The
French
gain the
battle of
Steinkirk.

The expences of *Lewis* were, at this time, incredible, and were maintained only by the infatuated fondness of his people for his person. He had, as we have already hinted, maintained a superiority by sea, but it was chiefly owing to the cowardice, treachery, or misunderstanding of the confederated admirals. His fleet, under *Tourville*, in the beginning of the year 1692, rendezvoused at *la Hogue*, with an intention to make a descent upon *England*, and a large army was encamped on the sea coast for that purpose. *Lewis* thought that the conquest of *England* was almost now certain, and had ordered *Tourville* to fight either the *English* or *Dutch*, as they should present, but had no intelligence of their having been joined. The *French* fleet consisted of sixty sail, some of them the finest ships in the world, and the confederates of eighty sail. Admiral *Russel* commanded the *English*, and ordered admiral *Rooke* to begin the attack, which he did, with so much success, that the *French*, under *Tourville*, were entirely defeated. The *French* lost in the fight four capital ships; two first rates and a second rate were burnt by the *English* admiral, *Delaval*, and Sir *George Rooke* destroyed eighteen more in *la Hogue*, while the loss of the confederates was but inconsiderable. By this important defeat, which king *James* beheld from the shore, that prince lost all hopes of being restored to his dominions; and the marine of *France* received a blow, which it has never yet recovered.

Lewis, though stung with this defeat, endeavoured to conceal his disgrace, by making greater efforts than ever in the *Low Countries*, where, in the year 1692, he took the field, with a hundred thousand men, and besieged *Namur*, one of the strongest fortresses, and defended by *Coehorn*, one of the ablest engineers in *Europe*, but it was attacked by *Vauban* and *Luxembourg* so furiously, that both town and citadel surrendered in the sight of the confederates under king *William* and the duke of *Bavaria*, who were unable to relieve it. *Lewis*, as usual, returned to his capital, with this fresh wreath added to his laurels, and king *William* passed the *Senne*, to fight *Luxembourg*. He attacked him near *Steinkirk*, with amazing courage, and at first fought with probability of success; but he was defeated, though his majesty obtained great honour by the retreat he made. The allies, in this engagement, lost about seven thousand men, and the *French* three thousand; and some of the best general officers, on both sides, were killed. The young princes of the blood in *France* were present in this engagement, and were received by the populace, upon their return to *Paris*, with the most extravagant demonstrations of joy. In *Germany*, the duke *de Lorges* defeated the duke of

Wir-

Wirtemberg, and made him prisoner; and the *French*, under Vol. IX. the dauphin, recovered *Heidelberg*; and the duke of *Savoy*, p. 129, this year, made an irruption into *Dauphiny*, but without any & seq. signal success.

The campaign in the *Low Countries*, during the year 1693, 1693. was very bloody, owing, in some measure, to the personal Their suc- animosity which king *William* and the duke of *Luxembourg* cesses in bore to each other. The *French* marshal, *Villeroy*, took *Huy*, *Flanders*, before that king could relieve it; and he was afterwards defeated by *Luxembourg*, in the battle of *Landen*, with the loss of eight thousand men. It was with difficulty that the king could prevent *Brussels* from falling into the hands of the *French*; but *Luxembourg* took *Charlemont*, and yet, upon the whole, *France* rather suffered than gained by her conquests. She lost *Cesal* in *Italy*, though *Catinat* defeated the duke of *Savoy*, and every thing now tended to turn the tide of those successes, in which *France* had so long gloried. Through the unaccountable inactivity of the allies, the naval power of *France* recovered and a- ed itself in a few months, by the arrival of *d'Etrees* at *Brest* gainst the with the *Toulon* Squadron, and even became superior to that of *English* by the allies. *Tourville* took or destroyed three of their men of sea. war, and eighty of their merchant ships, and might have had greater successes, had he been properly supported by the officers in command under him. He insulted, however, the coasts of *Spain*, and distressed the trade of the allies in the *Mediterranean*, while *Bembow* was fruitlessly bombarding *St. Malo*. So great a famine, at this time, prevailed in *France*, Famine in that every victory she gained added to her miseries, and every *France*, *Te Deum* sung in her churches, was accompanied by the bitter groans of her subjects, who were dying upon her highways and in her streets.

The king of *England* rejoiced at the distressed state of *France*, without considering that the continuance of the war fell equally heavy upon his own subjects and friends. He endeavoured to make a diversion of the *French* arms from *Catalonia*, by ordering lord *Berkeley*, who was at the head of the admiralty in *England*, to make a descent upon *Camaret Bay*, where the *English* were repulsed, but they took their revenge upon *Dieppe* and *Havre*, which they bombarded. In *Spain*, the duke of *Noailles* beat the viceroy of *Catalonia*, and took *Palamos* by storm, where the *French* soldiers butchered all the inhabitants without distinction, and it was with difficulty that he was prevented by the *English* admiral, *Russel*, from taking *Barcelona* itself. The strong push made by *Noailles* in *Catalonia*, hindered *Luxembourg* from being properly supported in *Flanders*. King *William* took *Huy*, but *Luxembourg*, with admirable address, saved *Courtray*. The death of *Luxembourg*, who is said to have united all the military qualifications of *Condé* and *Turenne*, was an irreparable blow to the glory of *Lewis*, nor has *France* to this day produced his equal in the field. In *Germany* and *Italy* the war languished, partly through the

Namur
taken by
king Wil-
liam.

1695.

Opera-
tions in
the two
Indies.

the weakness, and partly through the secret collusions of both sides. The chief *French* generals were now *Catinat* and *Boufflers*, but the latter was commanded by *Villeroy*, who had little more than great court interest, and the partiality of *Lewis* in his favour, to recommend him. The fortune of king *William* rose as that of *Lewis* declined, for he besieged *Namur*, which was then thought to be impregnable, both by nature and art, besides being garrisoned by fifteen thousand men, and the army of *Villeroy* entrenched in the neighbourhood. Nothing could resist the enthusiasm of valour which the *British* troops displayed on this occasion. The town was taken, and *Boufflers* retired with the garrison into the citadel, which *Villeroy*, after becoming master of *Dixmuyde* and *Deynse*, endeavoured to relieve, at the head of ninety thousand men, but he made a retreat which did no service to his character as a general. The defence made by *Boufflers* did honour to the *French* arms, but he was obliged to capitulate on the 1st of *September* 1695. In marching out of the citadel, he was arrested by king *William*'s order, till satisfaction was made for the unjust detention of the garrisons of *Dixmuyde* and *Deynse*.

The taking of *Namur* was the greatest military action ever performed by king *William*, and served only to exasperate *Lewis* the more, for he bombarded *Brussels*, without any prospect of taking it. The war was not confined to *Europe*; the *Dutch* took *Pondicherry*; the establishment of which, in the *East Indies*, had cost *France* immense sums; the *English* destroyed the *French* settlements on *St. Domingo*; but the *French* privateers from *Brest* and *St. Malo*, who acted with great spirit, plundered and laid waste the *English* possessions on the coast of *Africa*, insulted the coasts of *Jamaica*, and became masters of *Newfoundland*. It does not enter into the province of general history to relate the particulars of all these expeditions; but it is certain that the *French* admirals, *de Pointis* and *Gue Trouin*, were in their departments far abler seamen than those of the confederates of the same rank. The former took the town of *Carthagen* in the *West Indies*, and, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the *English* admirals, he escaped back to *France*, with a booty amounting to about two millions sterling. The *English* were this year no where superior by sea, but upon the coast of *Catalonia*, where admiral *Russel* commanded, and defended it against *Vendosme*, the *French* general. In the meanwhile, the duke of *Savoy* was tampered with by *French* ministers, and being suffered to take *Casal*, the war was at a total stand in *Italy*. Even in *Germany*, nothing decisive was done, while the face of the country was ravaged by the unmanly resentment of both parties.

Distresses
of all the
powers at
war.

In the beginning of the year 1696, *Lewis* found out what none of his courtiers had honestly enough to tell him, that his military operations were hourly bringing his kingdom to the brink of ruin. He was too proud to own this, but he knew that king *James* had a strong party in *England*; that he him-

self had another in *Holland*, and that king *William* had many enemies in both countries. He negotiated secretly and with success; for king *William* was unable to raise money sufficient for carrying on the war with vigour, which gave *Lewis* an opportunity for pushing it the more warmly in *Catalonia*, where the duke of *Vendosme's* arms were superior to those of *Spain*. The duke of *Savoy* now publicly owned the treaty he had concluded with *Lewis*, who agreed that the duke of *Burgundy*, the heir of the *French* crown, after the death of the dauphin, his father, should marry his daughter. Upon the desertion of the duke of *Savoy* from the confederates, and the intrigues of the *French* ministers at the court of *Madrid*, *Spain* accepted of a neutrality for *Italy*, and the *Swedish* ambassador at the *Hague* offered his mediation between *France* and *Holland*. *Callieres*, the *French* ambassador there, acted with so much address, that preliminaries were settled before king *William* arrived in *Holland* time enough to oppose them. He was obliged to submit to conferences being opened at *Neuburgh*, one of his seats near *Ryswick*. Those conferences did not retard the operations of the war, and *Lewis*, by the successes of his arms, was encouraged to hope that he might yet repair all his losses.

The duke of *Vendosme* beat the *Spaniards* in *Catalonia*, and took *Barcelona*, though defended by ten thousand regular troops, under the prince of *Hesse Darmstadt*. The death of the king of *Poland* at this time, encouraged *Lewis* to hope that he might raise the prince of *Conti* to that throne. He expended an immense treasure, and employed the abbé, afterwards the famous cardinal *Polignac*, as his ambassador in *Poland*, but without success, as will be seen in the sequel of this history; for though the prince actually was elected king, he was supplanted two hours after by *Augustus*, elector of *Saxony*, who died on that throne. All those events, and above all, the state of parties in *England*, contributed to the peace which was then on the carpet. The imperialists insisted upon *France* being reduced to the precise situation she was in when the treaty of *Munster* was concluded. The *Spaniards* demanded the full completion of the treaties of the *Pyrenees*, and *Nimeguen*; and such intricacies in the negotiation ensued, that king *William*, notwithstanding his innate hatred of *France*, ordered his favourite, the earl of *Portland*, to conclude preliminaries with the *French* marshal *Boufflers*, who had instructions to the same purpose from his master. Though a greater antipathy never subsisted between two princes than between *Lewis* and *William*, yet the preliminaries were easily adjusted, and cordially accepted by both. We have already seen the terms of the peace, which submitted the claim of the dutchess of *Orleans* to the *Palatinate* to the pope, and restored the duke of *Savoy* to all his dominions, except *Sarlouis* and *Lengui*, which, with all *Alsace*, were ceded to *France*, while *Catalonia* and *Flanders* were restored to *Spain*. All *Europe* was amazed at the quietness and condescension which *Lewis* discovered in concluding this

Peace of
Ryswick.
Vol. IX,
p. 203.

this peace, and it is to this day a problem, whether he had in his eye the vast advantages with which it was attended. It is certain that it was not the moderation, but the weakness of *Lewis*, which agreed to its terms, for he was forced to abandon the unfortunate king *James*. That disgrace touched him so much, that he apologized to the exiled queen of *England* for being obliged to forsake her husband, and to acknowledge king *William's* title to the throne of *Great Britain*. "I wish," (answered she) that the peace may be as much for your majesty's glory, as it is for your interest;" a cutting sarcasm! after the assurances which *Lewis* had given to *James*.

Claim of
the *Bour-*
bon family
upon the
crown of
Spain.

Notwithstanding all *Voltaire* has said, as if *Lewis* and his ministry had no farther views than to give a respite to the miseries of *France* (which certainly were great) yet common sense dictates other principles. The posterity of *Maria Teresa*, the eldest daughter of *Philip* the IVth, were the princes of the house of *Bourbon*; and in her right, *Lewis*, who was her son, and his descendants, had an indisputable claim upon the crown of *Spain*. It is true, she had renounced that claim, and her father had barred it by his testamentary will, but it was not in the power either of the one or the other to deprive their posterity of a crown which devolved upon them from their ancestors, and we must have a poor opinion of the casuistry as well as the politics of the *French* court, to imagine otherwise. A medium was proposed and adopted, which was that the electoral prince of *Bavaria*, by the archduchess *Mary*, daughter of the emperor *Leopold*, should succeed to the crown of *Spain*; by which the two houses of *Bourbon* and *Austria* must be excluded. It is uncertain how far that expedient might have been successful in preserving the tranquillity of *Europe*, but its execution was prevented, by the death of the electoral prince. *Europe*, by that death, was plunged in the same difficulties as before. The emperor disputed the will of his daughter's grandfather, *Philip*, and insisted upon the electress of *Bavaria*, mother to the late prince, being set aside from the succession, and upon his second son, archduke *Charles*, as being the great grandson of *Philip* the IIIrd, succeeding to the throne of *Spain*. But this claim must be understood as being founded on the ridiculous renunciation of *Maria Teresa*.

State of
the *Span-*
ish court,
and treaty
of parti-
tions.

The queen of *Spain* directed and governed her husband, *Charles* the IIrd, who was equally infirm in body and mind, and she was so much in the *Austrian* interest, that her husband was always surrounded by *Germans*. *Lewis* could make no progress in the scheme of his family succeeding to the *Spanish* monarchy, while the confederacy against him subsisted. The peace of *Ryswick* dissolved it, but he found it impracticable to proceed in the plan of a total succession. He therefore turned, or pretended to turn, his thoughts to a portion of that great monarchy, and king *William*, from his eager desire of preserving the balance of power in *Europe*, adopted the project; though there is reason for believing that it originally proceeded from

from him. Two partitions took place. By the first, the dauphin was to enjoy *Biscay*, *Naples* and *Sicily*, with all the places on the coast of *Tuscany* belonging to *Spain*, with the islands of *San Stefano*, *Porto Ercole*, *Orbitello*, *Telamone*, *Porto Longone*, and *Piombino*, but all *Guipuscoa*, beyond the *Pyrenean* mountains, was to remain to *Spain*. The archduke *Charles*, second son to the emperor, was to have the *Milaneſe*; and had the electoral prince of *Bavaria* lived, he was to have succeeded to the *Spaniſh* monarchy, with its dependencies in *Europe*, *Africa*, and both the *Indies*. Upon the death of the electoral prince, a second partition treaty was concluded between king *William* and *Lewis*, by which the dauphin's share was to be augmented with *Final* and *Lorrain*, the duke of which, was to have the duchy of *Milan* in exchange; but the archduke *Charles* was to succeed to the kingdom of *Spain*, and all its dependencies; and that treaty was signed on the third of *March* 1700, by the plenipotentiaries of *France*, *Britain*, and the *States General*. 1700.

We have had already occasion to relate the consequences of Vol. IX. this important and unjust treaty. It was condemned by the p. 204. parliament of *England*, and adopted by *Lewis* only, to deprive the house of *Austria* of its surest ally in the person of king *William*. During its dependence, *Lewis* renewed his persecution of the *Huguenots*, whose only breathing time was that of war, and he kept up all his standing troops. A stupendous encampment of fifty thousand men was formed near *Compeigne* in *Picardy*. The luxury that abounded in the tents (which were adorned as palaces) of the general officers, particularly that of marshal *Boufflers*, was incredible, and the troops practised the same exercises as they did in time of war.

Lewis had then the count of *Harcourt*, an artful minister, at The duke the *Spaniſh* court, which had been extremely disgusted by the of *Anjou* brutal, insolent, manners of the imperialists. *Harcourt* had the succeeds to address to bring over cardinal *Portocarrero* to the interest of the crown France, and the pope very properly had declared the renuncia- of *Spain*. tion of *Maria Teresa* to be void and null. In short, the unhappy king, to observe a middle course, and to salve his conscience, nominated the duke of *Anjou*, the second son of the dauphin, for his successor, and soon after died. *Lewis*, though he had expended immense sums in bringing about that event, deliberated whether he should accept of the will or not. The dauphin behaved on this occasion, as a man of sense, by hinting to his father, that he was determined to maintain his own and his family's rights; and *Madame de Maintenon*, who was at this time the mistress, if not the wife, of *Lewis*, took part with the dauphin. *Lewis* agreed to accept the will, and on the 4th of *December*, the young king, after receiving a solemn admonition from his father, to remember that he was a prince of *France*, set out for *Spain*. It was an unusual circumstance, to see a father of a king, and the son of a king, waiting upon both in the character of a subject. But more of that in the history of *Spain*. Apologies for the breach of the partition

State of
the war
on the
continent.

tion treaties were delivered to the *English* and *Dutch* ambassadors, who remonstrated against the conduct of *Lewis*. It was soon foreseen that the duke of *Anjou's* succession to the crown of *Spain*, must occasion another general war in *Europe*. The ministers of *Lewis* had a peculiar art in representing the power and grandeur of *Lewis* in the most advantageous light. In *Italy*, they brought the duke of *Mantua* to admit of a *French* garrison, into his capital; the king of *Portugal* became their ally, as did the duke of *Savoy*, who was then important, only, by the situation of his territories. The dukes of *Wolfenbuttel*, and *Sax Gotha*, thought that the tyranny of *France* was more supportable than that of *Austria*; the bishop of *Munster* agreed in their sentiments. The elector of *Saxony* was in a manner neutral, but the elector of *Bavaria* declared himself highly in favour of *France*, and his brother, the elector of *Cologne*, followed his example. Such was the internal situation of *Great Britain*, that even king *William* was obliged to acknowledge the duke of *Anjou*, as king of *Spain*.

ibid.
p. 206.

The emperor was, in fact, deserted by all his allies, and had only a glimmering hope of being befriended by the *States General*. *Lewis* knew that he had an eye to the *Milanese*, which prince *Vaudemont*, its governor, delivered to *Philip V*. Prince *Eugene* was appointed the imperial general, in *Italy*. He forced the post of *Carpi*, and it was with difficulty that *Catinat*, the *French* general there, could cover the *Milanese*. The history of *France* at this period becomes very intricate. A secret party was formed in the cabinet of *Lewis*, which obliged *Catinat* to resign his command, and he was succeeded by *Villeroy*. The duke of *Savoy* was beaten at the battle *Chiara*, where he commanded as the *French* general, though at the same time, he had secretly entered into the measures of the allies. *Catinat* discovered this, and the loss of the *Mantuan*, together with the surprize of *Villeroy's* person, and other incidents, gave many alarming suspicions to the *French* court. King *William* died at that critical period; but his successor, queen *Anne*, pursued his measures, and the earl, afterwards the famous duke, of *Marlborough*, renewed the alliance against *France* with the *States General*. The emperor of *Germany*, who was principally concerned, became, likewise, a party; and it was agreed that war against *France* should be proclaimed at once in *London*, *Vienna*, and the *Hague*.

ibid.

1702.

Never was there a more untowardly situation than that of *Lewis* and his court, in the beginning of the year 1702. His great and successful generals were dead. Impressed by a high opinion of his own experience, he employed young secretaries, whom he thought he could direct and train up to business, and in that he was encouraged by madam de *Maintenon*. *Chamillard* was, by her, recommended as his first minister, but he discovered no genius in politics, at the time it was most wanted, and honesty was his only recommendation. He filled the army with young officers, who had no other quality but

but valour. In short, the affairs of *Lewis* were desperate in the eyes of all, but himself. The kingdom of *Naples* revolted against his grandson; the king of *Portugal*, and the duke of *Savoy* abandoned his alliance; his arms were defeated in *Italy*, and *Germany*, and the confederates thought that the internal state of *France* was exhausted. They were deceived, *Lewis* had still vast resources, which must have rendered him victorious, could he have re-animated the generals he had left.

Lewis had an opinion of *Boufflers*, and the campaign of 1702 was opened by that marshal, under the auspices of the duke of *Burgundy*, the grandson of *Lewis*. The reader, in ^{ibid.} a former part of this work, may see the superiority of the duke of *Marlborough* over the *French* generals, whom he baffled, and defeated in all their attempts. The elector of *Ba-* ^{Superiority of the al-} *varia*, it is true, seized upon *Ulm*, and *Villars*, who was then indisputably the best general *Lewis* had, beat prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, who was an obstinate old man, and a kind of a clog upon the duke of *Marlborough* and prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*. Upon the death of king *James*, *Lewis*, through the ascendancy which madam *de Maintenon* had over him, acknowledged his son as king of *Great Britain*, which determined queen *Anne* and the *English* parliament to act more vigorously than ever against *France*. Prince *Eugene*, it is true, received a check at *Luzzara*, but the allies reduced *Keyserwaerth*, *Venlo*, *Ruremonde*, *Leige*, *Stevenswaerth*, and *Landau*.

In the year 1703, the allies took *Bonn* and *Limburg*, but *Boufflers* beat the baron *d'Obdam*, and *Tallard* defeated the prince of *Hesse Cassel*, who attempted to relieve *Landau*, which was surrendered to *Tallard*, as *Brisac* was to the duke of *Burgundy*. The elector of *Bavaria* took *Augsbourg*, but was prevented from joining the duke of *Vendosme*. The duke of *Savoy*, at this time, joined the grand alliance, and must have been ruined, had he not been seasonably supported by the imperial general, count *Staremberg*. The junction of the elector of *Bavaria* with *Tallard*, in 1704, must have laid ^{1704.} *Germany* under the yoke of *Lewis*, had not the duke of *Marlbo-* ^{ibid.} *rough* beaten the *French* at the battle of *Blenheim*, where *Tallard* ^{p. 207, &} was taken prisoner, and sent to *England*; while the reduction ^{seq.} of *Landau*, *Triers*, and *Traerbach* were the consequences of the victory.

Nothing could be more impolitic than the conduct of *Lewis*, The who still retained his haughty ideas amidst so many disasters. *French* He proceeded in his persecution of the protestants, who stung ^{protestants} by despair, entered into rebellion, as it was called at the ^{persecut-} *French* court, in the *Cevennes*; but it was quieted by the pru- ^{ed.} dence of *Villars*. *Lewis*, notwithstanding all his misfortunes, continued to make the most amazing exertions of power. His troops, during the year 1705, preserved so good a coun- ^{1705.} tenance, that the allies got no considerable advantage over them; but the duke of *Vendosme*, who was then the favourite general

1706.

Vol. IX.
p. 213, &
seq.The siege
of *Turin*
raised.

general of *France*, was superior to prince *Eugene* at the battle of *Cassano*, in *Italy*. The year 1706, presented so favourable a prospect to *France*, that *Lewis* adopted the most vigorous measures. He resolved at once to besiege *Barcelona*, and *Turin*, and to hazard a general battle against the allies. He failed in them all, though the duke of *Berwick* took *Nice*, and marshal *Villars* forced the imperial lines near *Haguenau*. The siege of *Barcelona*, which had been taken by the earl of *Peterborough*, was raised by the fleet of the confederates, and thus all *Catalonia* fell under their power. We have already seen the great events of the year 1706, when the duke of *Marlborough* gained the glorious battle of *Ramilies*. Its consequences were the reduction of all *Brabant*, part of *Flanders*, and the taking of *Antwerp*, *Malines*, *Ostend*, *Menin*, *Dendermonde*, and *Aeth*. The duke and prince *Eugene* seemed to rival each other in the paths of glory; but nothing could be more amazing than the insensibility of *Lewis*, under so many repeated blows. He had preferred *Villeroy* to the command of his army, merely through the prepossession he had in his favour; and though the *French* had lost the battle entirely through that general's ignorance and obstinacy, yet when he appeared at court, all that *Lewis* said to him, was, "People, Sir, at our time of life, are not fortunate." His patience was not the result of magnanimity, but of pride. He could not imagine that victory would all at once desert his standards, and he thought that the fortune of his arms in *Piedmont*, would repair the loss he had suffered at the battle of *Ramilies*. He entertained more resentment against the duke of *Savoy*, than against all the other confederates; and he had ordered the war against him to be prosecuted with such unrelenting rigour, that his generals, the duke of *Orleans* and count *Marfin*, besieged *Turin*, while prince *Eugene* was on the other side of the *Adige*, at the head of an army, and thought to be at too great a distance to relieve it. The duke *de Feuillade*, son-in-law to the prime minister, *Chamillard*, conducted the operations of the siege, which were carried on at an incredible expence, with great courage, but no judgment. The duke of *Savoy* left the city at the head of his troops, but was hunted from place to place of his dominions, while his general count *Daun* defended the city with the greatest intrepidity, till it was known that prince *Eugene*, on the 13th of *August*, was within a short march of the besiegers. The latter held a council of war, in which *Marfin* produced an order under the hand of *Lewis*, importing that the other generals, if any dispute should arise, should be directed by *Marfin*, whose opinion, on this occasion, was, that the *French* should keep within their entrenchments.

While they were debating, they were attacked by prince *Eugene*, and the duke of *Savoy*, who were at first repulsed, but at the second attack, the entrenchments were forced, and in two hours after the *French* army was totally defeated. The

duke

duke of *Orleans*, after giving the greatest proof of personal courage, was carried wounded out of the field, and *Marfin* was killed. This victory cost the *French* five thousand men, killed, and six thousand taken prisoners; besides sixteen thousand who died or were killed during the siege, and the remainder of their army retreated in disorder to *Pignerol*. The victors entered *Turin* triumphally, and the *French*, with their allies, the *Spaniards*, lost all they held in *Italy*.

Madam de *Maintenon* ventured to disclose the fatal news to Despon-
Lewis, who at the same time heard that his general *Medavy* dency of
Grancy had defeated the prince of *Hesse Darmstadt*, in the Lewis.

Mantuan. Lewis still trusted to the divisions in *England*, the blunders committed by the *Germans* in *Spain*, and the fortune of *Vendosme*, whom he had sent for out of *Italy*, to command his army in *Flanders*. He was more fortunate than he had reason to expect. He divided the confederates by offering them terms, which they ought to have accepted, but which were rejected by the ambition and avarice of the duke of *Marlborough*. In *Spain*, the arch-duke, who took the title of *Charles III.* was at no pains to improve the glorious successes of the earl of *Peterborough*, the *British* general; and a great party in *England*, exclaimed against the backwardness of the *Germans* and *Dutch*, who left the vast expences of the war to be defrayed by *Great Britain*. Lewis took advantage of those circumstances, and was affectionately served by his people, who raised immense sums for supporting the war.

The year 1707, brought some comfort to Lewis: Marshal 1707.
Villars forced the *German* lines at *Stolhoffen*, and ruined the imperial army, under the margrave of *Bareith*. The glorious His suc-
scheme, formed by the *English* for taking *Toulon*, miscarried, cesses.
entirely through the selfishness of the house of *Austria*, which exerted all its strength in *Naples*. *Fourbin*, the *French* admiral, took two *English* men of war, and twenty merchant ships, besides burning twenty-two more; but above all, the defeat of the confederates upon the plains of *Almanza*, by the duke of *Berwick* (which we shall have occasion to mention in another part of this work) revived in Lewis the ideas of his former grandeur and success. In short, the campaign of the year 1707, was far from being glorious to the allies, though it might have been decisive in their favour, had they acted with the same spirit as the *English*. Lewis thought that one vigorous effort might give him all he desired, and conquering all opposition from the lowness of his finances, and the distracted state of his affairs, he ordered six thousand land troops, under the command of the marshal de *Matignon*, to be put on board eight men of war and seventy transports in the port of *Dunkirk*, to effect a descent upon *Scotland*.

The state of that kingdom was undoubtedly favourable for Invasion such an enterprize. The union had rendered the *Scotch*, in of Scot-
general, discontented with the *English* government, and the land,

Jacobite faction both there and in *England*, held up a correspondence with the court of *St. Germans*, where the young Pretender, son to king *James*, and his mother, resided. The reign of *Lewis* contained a series of contradictions, with regard to the *Stuart* family. Under the administration of *Mazarine*, they had been treated with the greatest indignities, and driven out of *France*. They were afterwards pensioned and caressed by *Lewis*; but though, as we have already seen, he gave a generous reception to the unfortunate *James* and his family, yet, by the peace of *Ryswick*, he abandoned their interests; though no sooner was the elder *James* dead, than by the persuasion of madam de *Maintenon*, he recognized young *James* as king of *Great Britain*, which was one of the provocations that renewed the war. *James* had ever since resided in *France*, and *Lewis* put him on board the squadron intended to invade *Scotland* under *Fourbin*. Some think that the marshal had secret instructions from *Lewis*; for though *Fourbin* arrived time enough on the coast of *Scotland* to have landed the troops, yet no descent was made, and Sir *George Byng*, the *English* admiral, coming up with a superior squadron, the *French*, after a slight engagement, were driven back to *Dunkirk*. Others imagine, that a disagreement or misunderstanding on the part of the Jacobites, who did not answer the concerted signals, rendered the expedition unsuccessful.

unsuccessful.

1708.

Whatever may be in this, it is certain that *Lewis* was very sanguine in his expectations from the campaign of 1708, especially on the side of *Flanders*. The duke of *Burgundy*, the apparent heir of his crown, and the darling of *France*, had the command; but he was assisted by the duke of *Vendosme* and the elector of *Bavaria*, who had been made governor of *French Flanders*, while the duke of *Berwick* commanded on the *Rhine*, as *Villars* did in *Dauphiny*. *Ghent* was surprized by *la Faille*, a *French* officer, as *Bruges* was by the count de *la Motte*. The confederate army did not exceed eighty thousand men, while that of *France* was above a hundred thousand in number. The duke of *Burgundy* did not support the great expectations conceived of him, for he shewed an unbecoming perplexity and indecision, when it was known that the allies were preparing to cross the *Schelde*, to attack him near *Oudenarde*. *Vendosme* was for attacking them after half their army had passed the river, but before any resolution could be formed, the whole of the allied army had passed it; and a vigorous battle ensued. The victory was in dispute for an hour, and the engagement lasted from four in the afternoon till nine, when the *French* army fell into disorder. If the victory on the part of the allies was not improved into a total defeat of the *French*, it was owing to night coming on, and the vast military talents of *Vendosme*, who with great difficulty retired towards *Ghent*. The ill success of this battle, which was fought on the 11th of *July*, was owing in a great measure to the

Battle of
Oudenarde.

the

the *French* soldiery themselves, who were dispirited by a long train of misfortunes, and begun to think that the allies were invincible.

It was in vain for the *French* to pretend to dispute the honour of the battle of *Oudenarde*, for its consequences decided it against them. Prince *Eugene*, who had just returned to the *Netherlands*, invested *Lisle*, at the time the court of *France* imagined that the allies were themselves defeated and besieged. The siege of *Lisle*, the citadel of which was reckoned one of the most regular fortifications in the world, was undertaken with prodigious disadvantages on the part of the allies. They had no communication either with *Ghent* or *Antwerp*, and were obliged to bring their convoys from *Ostend*. A capital one, under general *Webb*, who commanded no more than six thousand *English*, was attacked by fifteen thousand *French* near *Wymondale*, who were defeated, and left five thousand dead on the field. *Lisle* itself was held out by a garrison of twenty thousand men under *Boufflers*, who bravely defended it for four months, but it was finally taken on the 8th of *December*, and *Ghent* was likewise reduced by the allies, as was *Bruges* and many other places.

The calamities of war were encreased by those of a famine all over *France*, which is said to have given *Lewis* a sensible concern, but he proceeded on sound plans of policy, though his affairs seemed to be desperate on all sides, excepting on that of *Spain*, where the duke of *Orleans* commanded his army, after the battle of *Almanza*. Parties from the *Dutch* garrisons scoured the roads of *France*, to *Versailles* itself, where they mistook one of the dauphin's domestics for himself, and carried him off prisoner. The duke of *Savoy* obtained many important advantages over *Villars* in *Dauphiny*, where he took *Perouse*, *Fenestrelles*, and other places. The *English* under their admiral, Sir *John Leake*, reduced the islands of *Sardinia* and *Minorca*, and the imperialists were masters on the *Rhine*. *Lewis* renewed his offer to the allies, to *Holland* especially. The *Dutch* were left to settle their own barrier, to keep great part of the *Spanish Netherlands* in their hands; to fix a treaty of commerce on their own terms, and any other security that *Lewis* could give them for his good faith. He offered to the *English* more than they had demanded in the beginning of the war. In short, his proposals were so specious, that a great party among the *Dutch*, influenced by *Petkum*, the *Holstein* minister, inclined to open conferences. *Heinsius*, the pensionary of *Holland*, though intimately connected with the duke of *Marlborough* and prince *Eugene*, was obliged to give way, and, after many secret negotiations, the president *Rouillé* had a conference with *Heinsius*, and *Vanderdussen*, another state oracle of *Holland*. All the efforts of *Lewis* towards a pacification were rendered fruitless by the preparations for the campaign; but at last, he succeeded so far, that the marquis *de Torcy* and *Rouillé*, his two best negotiators, were admitted

Lisle taken.

Proposals for peace.

to confer with the duke of *Marlborough*, prince *Eugene*, and the president *Heinsius*. *Torcy* had secret instructions from *Lewis* to gratify the duke to the utmost of his ambition and avarice. That nobleman was attended by lord *Townshend*, who appeared there as an *English* plenipotentiary likewise, and *Torcy* insinuates that his presence was a check upon *Marlborough*, who was in other respects very inclinable to the cause of the pretender. But *Torcy* was a *Frenchman*, and a friend of the *Stuart* family. It is certain that the duke remained inflexible, nor would the plenipotentiaries of the allies treat before those of *France* agreed to the most mortifying preliminaries. *Lewis* was to abandon his grandson *Philip*, and to acknowledge *Charles III.* as king of *Spain*. He was to yield up to the emperor *Strasbourg*, *Fort Kehl*, *Brisac* and *Landau*, and to demolish *Hunninghen*, *New Brisac*, with all the other fortresses he possessed on the *Rhine*, from *Basil* to *Philipsbourg*. He was to acknowledge the title of the queen of *Great Britain*, and to demolish the harbour of *Dunkirk*; to add *Furnes*, *Menin*, *Ypres*, *Lisle*, *Cassel*, *Condé* and *Maubeuge* to the *Dutch* barrier, and to deliver up all the places he possessed in the *Spanish Netherlands*. He was to restore all he held in *Savoy* to its duke, with additional territories, and to evacuate all the places he had ceded, by a certain day.

1709.

Distress of
the *French*,
who are
beaten at
the battle
of *Malpla-*
quet.

As soon as those preliminaries were signed, *Torcy* returned to *France*, but *Lewis* refused to ratify them, upon which *Rouillé* was ordered to leave the *Hague*. *Lewis* wisely addressed himself in a kind of manifesto to his subjects, setting forth the injustice and cruelty of his enemies and his own concessions, with the reasons why he could not agree to the preliminaries. This had the desired effect. The nation was fired with indignation, and the people resolved to vindicate the honour of their king, at the expence of their lives and fortunes. A famine had for some time raged in *France*, and *Lewis* had sent ships to the *Levant*, who brought him home corn, so that the only granaries in the kingdom were in the hands of the crown. Thus his subjects, through necessity, as well as loyalty, flocked to his standards, and above a hundred and twenty thousand men appeared in the field under *Villars* and *Boufflers*, who sacrificed all his private resentment by serving under a junior officer. The confederates, after taking *Tournay*, prepared to invest *Mons*, which *Villars* endeavoured to prevent by occupying an encampment which was thought to be almost impregnable. The allies resolved to attack him, which they did with inexpressible fury. The *French* defended themselves with such resolution, that they killed above twenty thousand of their enemies with the loss of not above seven thousand of their own men. The duke of *Marlborough*, however, forced the center of their entrenchments, *Villars* was wounded, and the *French* army made their retreat, under *Boufflers*, towards *Valenciennes*. So wanton a carnage attended by an almost useless victory, disgusted the most moderate of the confederates themselves,

themselves, as *Lewis* by the preliminaries had offered to evacuate *Mons*, which the allies took about the end of *October*.

The *French* arms were more fortunate in *Germany*, where the marshal *Dubourg* defeated the imperialists under count *Mer-ci*. The duke of *Berwick* more than kept his ground in *Italy*; and the *French* general, *Asfeldt*, took *Alicant* in *Spain*. *Lewis* found that the credit his arms had obtained during the campaign, could not relieve his subjects, or re-people his kingdom. He again supplicated for a negotiation, which with difficulty was granted, and the *French* plenipotentiaries *D'Uxelles*, and the famous *Abbé* (afterwards cardinal) *Polignac*, appeared before those of the confederates at *Gertruydenberg*, as petitioners for peace. By them, *Lewis* renewed all his former offers, and even to advance money for driving his grandson out of *Spain*. The allies madly refused even those terms, and insisted upon *Lewis* employing his own troops in dethroning his grandson. To evade that disagreeable step, he consented to accept of the preliminaries he had before rejected; but the allies were inexorable, and *Lewis* recalled his ambassadors. 1710.

How far *Lewis* would have faithfully fulfilled the terms he proposed at *Gertruydenberg* is doubtful, but it is certain the rejecting them, gave the first fatal blow to the grand alliance. The Tory party in *England* operated upon queen *Anne*'s personal resentment, which she entertained for the treatment she had received from the dutchess of *Marlborough*, and succeeded in persuading her, that she was making war only for the benefit of the *Austrians* and the *Dutch*, and for the aggrandizement of the *Marlborough* family. She, in short, conceived a disgust at the *Whigs*, and imagined that they intended to give her a superior in the person of that duke, by making him general for life. Her sentiments were soon known at the court of *France*, and adopted by the landed interest of *England*. A certain writer has forged a magnanimous sentiment for *Lewis*, when he found that his terms were rejected. "I will draw out the arriere ban of my kingdom (said he) and die at the head of my people, before I will grant more." This declaration is little suited to the character of a man, who in his younger days, had always declined to expose himself to the dangers of the field. If he expressed himself in that manner, it was not till after he knew (which he might easily do) that the *English* ministry was resolved upon a peace. The loyalty and liberality of the *French* towards their king, encreased proportionably with the distresses to which the haughtiness of his enemies reduced him. He received considerable supplies from the trading part of his subjects, who made immense profits by their commerce with *South America*, and in the beginning of the campaign in 1710, after the conferences of *Gertruydenberg* broke up, *Villars* was again at the head of a fine army, but could not prevent the allies from taking *Douay*, *Aire*, *Bethune*, and *St. Venant*, the only important events that happened during that campaign on the side of *Flanders*. *Lewis* received some

Confer-
ences at
Gertruy-
denberg.

Reflecti-
on on the
same.

Voltaire.

1711.
Death of
the royal
family of
France.

some consolation for those losses, by the successes of the duke of *Vendosme*, who, as we shall relate in the history of that kingdom, re-established *Philip* on the throne of *Spain*, and the *French* arms under the dukes of *Berwick* and *Noailles* baffled all the attempts of the allies in *Provence*. The Whig ministry in *England* was totally removed in the year 1711; but on the 14th of *April* that year, the dauphin died of the small-pox in the 50th year of his age. The duke of *Burgundy*, his elder son, succeeded him in the title of dauphin. His second son, was *Philip* king of *Spain*; and his third, *Gaston* duke of *Berry*. The duke of *Burgundy* died soon after his father, and was succeeded by his eldest son, the duke of *Bretagne*, as dauphin, who survived his father but a month, and he was succeeded by the third son, the duke of *Anjou*, who is the present king of *France*. About the same time, *France* received another irreparable loss by the death of marshal *Boufflers*.

Negotiations for
peace.

The negotiation was far advanced, by this time, between the courts of *England* and *France*. One *Gaultier*, a *Frenchman*, who had resided for some time in *London*, was employed by the new *English* ministry, to insinuate to the *French* court, that the queen was by no means averse to a negotiation upon proper terms. A train of intrigues followed, which though all of them pointed at peace, did not retard the operations of the war. *Marlborough* was continued in his command of the *English* army and mercenaries; but the complexion of the grand alliance was entirely altered by the death of the emperor *Joseph*, on the 17th of *April*, 1711, as the armies were about to take the field. It was easy for the *French* ministers to convince those of *England*, that after that event, they could not contend for the right of the arch-duke *Charles*, to the crown of *Spain*, as he had succeeded his brother in the empire.

ibid.
p. 224,
225.

Bouchain
taken.

The warlike operations still continued, and *Villars* was in possession of a very advantageous camp behind the river *Sanset*, but his army was weakened by the detachments he was obliged to send to the elector of *Bavaria*, upon the *Rhine*. Many masterly strokes of generalship passed between the duke of *Marlborough* and *Villars*, but the genius of the duke still preserved its ascendancy, clear, penetrating, and enterprizing as *Villars* was. All he could do, was to prevent the duke from signalizing his dismissal from his command, which he every day expected, by some decisive action. He besieged *Bouchain*, and took it on the 13th of *September*, notwithstanding the strength of the place, and its garrison, which consisted of four thousand men. Soon after, both armies retired into winter quarters, and the taking *Bouchain* was the last military exploit of the great *Marlborough*. During this campaign, the duke of *Berwick* gained ground upon the duke of *Savoy* in *Italy*, and *Vendosme* maintained his superiority in *Spain*, while the *French* fleet continued to plunder the *Portuguese* and *English* settlements in *South America*.

Prior,

Prior, the famous *English* poet, was now engaged by the Vol. IX. Tory ministry of *England*, in the secret negotiation with p. 227. *France*, and had settled the preliminaries. Their demands Prelimi- were high, but *Lewis* was in no condition to dispute them, so naries set- that *Menager*, a *French* agent, was empowered to ratify them tled. on the part of *Lewis*, and sent to *England* for that purpose. The queen behaved with a scrupulous good faith towards her allies, and the earl of *Strafford* laid before them the prelimina- ries she had agreed to. They exclaimed against her conduct, but finding her firm, *Utrecht* was agreed upon for the place of the conferences, which opened on the 29th of *January* 1712. 1712, The ministers for *France*, were the marshal *D'Uxelles*, the abbé *Polignac*, and *Menager*, the two last, greatly superior in talents to the earl of *Strafford*, and the bishop of *Bristol*, the *British* plenipotentiaries. The allies were unable to answer one plain fact urged by the latter, which was that *England* had borne the greatest burthen of the war, and that their masters had been deficient in every stipulation they entered into, when the grand alliance was formed. Some difficulties arose with regard to the security demanded by the *English*, that the crowns of *Spain* and *France* should never be united in one person; but they were got over, by the consent of king *Philip* to keep the crown of *Spain*, and to renounce that of *France*. No sooner did *Lewis* understand that the *English* ministry were satisfied, than he resumed his haughtiness, and talked in a lofty tone to the other allies.

The duke of *Ormond* had now superseded the duke of The con- *Marlborough*, in the command of the *English* army. *Villars* federates knew that *Ormond* had orders to remain inactive. The earl beaten at of *Albemarle*, the *Dutch* general, threw some bombs into *Denain*. *Arras*, and prince *Eugene* besieged, and took *Quesnoy*, while the duke of *Ormond* informed him of his mistress having agreed to the preliminaries of peace, and had ordered him to agree to a cessation of arms, and to withdraw in a few days, with the *English*, and all the troops that were in their pay. This was no more than what prince *Eugene* had foreseen, and he gave orders for general *Grovestein* to penetrate into *France* with fifteen hundred horse, which he did, with so surprizing a rapidity, that even *Paris* was alarmed. *Villars*, in like manner, ordered one *Pasteur*, a *French* partizan, to ravage the island of *Tortola*; and this filled the *Hollanders* with consternation. The town and port of *Dunkirk* were now in possession of the *English*. Prince *Eugene* had persuaded the *English* auxiliaries not to withdraw with the duke of *Ormond*; and had besieged *Landrecy*. The earl of *Albemarle* lay at *Denain*, to cover the prince's lines, and *Villars*, by a most masterly feint, which deceived *Eugene*, attacked and totally defeated the earl, before the prince could advance to support him. No more than four hundred escaped out of seventeen battalions, of whom a great number were drowned in the *Schelde*. Prince *Eugene* endeavoured, in vain, to retrieve the

Quesnoy
taken.

honour of the confederate arms, but was dissuaded by the *Dutch* deputies from hazarding a general battle. The loss of the *French* at the battle of *Denain* was inconsiderable, but its consequences were great, for *Villars* forced the post of *Marchiennes*, and took *Douay* and *Bouchain*, with an immense loss to the confederates. On the 8th of *September*, *Villars* invested *Quesnoy*, where the artillery of the confederates had been deposited after the siege of *Landrecy*. On the 4th of *October*, the place surrendered, though defended by two thousand men, and the surprisal of fort *Knocque* was the only advantage the confederates gained in this campaign. The grand alliance, now that the *English* had abandoned it, appeared like a rope of sand, and all that the *Germans* could do, was to preserve a superiority in *Italy*, for they lost footing in all other quarters. A suspension of arms was concluded between *Spain* and *Portugal*, and the *French* fleet under *Cressart*, laid waste the *Dutch* settlements in *America*. Though *Lewis* had scarcely another object now in his eye than the completion of peace with *England*, and though it was thought that he would have sacrificed every thing to that end, yet new difficulties daily started, especially with regard to the *American* limits, not to mention the strong party which the imperialists and *Dutch* had in *England*.

Intrigues
for a
peace.

The Tories had gone too far to recede without completing the work of peace, and they had discovered too much fondness for it, during the conferences. They had rendered themselves extremely obnoxious to the other allies, and the *French* ministers availed themselves of their situation, by raising disputes upon points, which at the beginning of the negotiation they would have quietly given up. *Lewis* now talked in the strain of a conqueror, and allowed the emperor time, to the 1st of *June*, for acceding to the preliminaries that had been concerted between *France* and *England*. Though the *Dutch* had scarcely behaved with common decency to the *English* ministers, yet they saw the necessity they were under of being comprised in the treaty. Prince *Eugene*, and count *Zinzendorf*, the imperial minister, endeavoured to animate them with the hopes of a rebellion in *England*, and the promise of giving *Villars* battle; but towards the end of the campaign they saw all their hopes dashed, and themselves reduced to take shelter under the wings of the ministers they had so lately insulted. The conferences then went on at *Utrecht*, and every concession made by *Lewis*, carried with it an air of complaisance to queen *Anne*, and of defiance to all the other allies. The treaties of commerce between *France* and *England* were signed in the beginning of *April*, and were followed by other treaties with *Portugal*, *Prussia*, *Savoy*, and *Holland*. *Lewis* acknowledged the protestant succession to the crown of *Great Britain*; he consented to give up *Newfoundland*, *Nova Scotia* or *Acadia*, and *Hudson's Bay*, in *America*; and that *Gibraltar*, and *Mi-*
norca, should be retained by *Great Britain*. The princes of
the

Vol. IX.
p. 228.

Ibid.
Prelimi-
naries set-
tled.

the *French* branch of the house of *Bourbon* renounced all claim to the succession of the *Spanish* crown, as king *Philip* did his to that of *France*. The king of *Prussia* gained the upper quarter of *Guelderland*, and the sovereignty of *Neufchatel*, and the *Dutch* obtained an advantageous treaty of commerce.

However the facts may be varnished, it is certain that the imperialists, prince *Eugene* particularly, for some time, were fully convinced that their party would be able to raise a rebellion in *England*, and this was the great motive for the emperor's rejecting all the terms that had been settled at *Utrecht*. It was perhaps owing to the moderation of the duke of *Marlborough*, who had more at stake than any subject in the kingdom, that *England* did not then become a scene of blood. The imperial court continued the war after the treaty was signed at *Utrecht* in 1713, and protested against all that had been done; but even the great prince *Eugene*, now that he was unsupported by *Marlborough*, found himself an unequal match for *Villars*, who took *Worms*, *Spire*, *Kayserlautern*, *Wolfstein*, *Kirn* and *Landau*. The reader, in the history of *Germany*, will see the other great events of the war, all of them terminated in favour of *France*, but *Lewis* had many weighty reasons, which grew more alarming every day, for restoring peace to his dominions. His age and infirmities, and the tender years of his successor, made him consent to a conference being held at *Radstadt*, between *Villars* and prince *Eugene*. Nothing could be agreed on in this conference, because each party talked in the stile of a conqueror. *Villars* had reduced *Friburg*, and thought himself in every respect on a footing with *Eugene*. The conferences, however, were renewed, and the imperial ministers, who were jealous of prince *Eugene's* glory, persuaded their master to accept of worse terms than had been offered him at *Utrecht*. We have already given the particulars of the peace concluded at *Radstadt*, and which, every thing considered, was glorious for *Lewis*.

Lewis, having thus against all probability, obtained peace from *Britain*, and given it to the rest of *Europe*, employed his few remaining hours in repairing the horrible ravages which the war had introduced into his finances and dominions. Those could not be rectified but by degrees, and by obliging his subjects to submit to the most cruel losses and taxations, that the crown might recover strength, while the people were overwhelmed with misery. An almost general bankruptcy took place in *France*, and those who had money by them, privately sent it out of the kingdom, to prevent its being seized by the hand of power. The rebellion, which broke out in *Great Britain*, in favour of the pretender, would have given *Lewis* an opportunity of plunging *Europe* into fresh troubles, had he not been disabled by the desperate state of his internal government. *France* began now to feel the sores of which she had been insensible during the heat of the late war; but low as *Lewis* was, he discovered a strong inclination to have over-

Bad faith of *Lewis*. thrown the protestant succession in *Great Britain*; for he undoubtedly assisted the pretender with what money he could spare, and had he been in a condition to have defrayed the expence he would have sent over the duke of *Berwick* to *Scotland*, at the head of fifteen thousand men. The earl of *Stair*, a vigilant and an intrepid minister, was ambassador from the *English* court, when *Lewis* lay upon his death-bed, and was highly instrumental in disconcerting all the schemes formed at his court, to favour the house of *Stuart*.

Upon the death of the duke of *Berry*, the younger brother of the king of *Spain*, *Lewis* formed a design for giving to his two natural sons, the duke of *Maine*, and the count of *Thoulouse*, all the rights of the legitimate succession to the throne of *France*. Though this was a measure equally unjustifiable as impracticable, yet so great was the veneration the parliament of *Paris* had for their aged sovereign, that they passed his edict for that purpose into a law, and registered it without intending to regard it.

Religious differences in *France*. The history of *France*, under *Lewis XIV.* would be imperfect, without some account of the religious differences which distracted his reign. One *Jansenius*, a doctor of *Louvain*, and afterwards bishop of *Ypres*, had undertaken to give the true sense of *St. Austin*, in a treatise concerning Grace and Free-will, but his work was attacked by a Jesuit, and the dispute came before his holiness the pope, who condemned five propositions in the bishop's book. The Jansenists were divided in regard to this condemnation. One party admitted that the propositions were heterodox, but denied that they were to be found in the book. The other party maintained that they were not heterodox, even if they were found in the book. It was insisted upon, that admitting the pope's infallibility in judging upon the orthodoxy of an opinion, yet he might be fallible as to a matter of fact, and mistaken in imagining that a book contained a doctrine which it did not. The Jesuits espoused the pope's infallibility in both senses; and pope *Clement XI.* endeavoured to compromise the difference, by actually giving up, or rather waving, his right of judging as to the fact. This was far from quieting matters. The Jansenists lost no opportunity in exposing to the world the whole system of Jesuitical casuistry, and management, while the Jesuits upbraided their antagonists as being Molinists, and Quietists, and guilty of the crimes which they charged upon them. Cardinal *Noailles* took part with the Jansenists, though he had been so much their enemy before, that he had ruined their abbey of *Port Royal*. Father *Quesnel* of the oratory, about this time happened to write his famous book, entitled *Moral Reflections on the New Testament*, and he had accompanied the famous *Arnaud*, into exile, for being a Jansenist. Several bishops, with cardinal *Noailles* at their head, approved of the book, but others condemned it. The cardinal complained to the king, and he referred the affair to the pope, who condemned it as containing a hundred and

and one heretical propositions. The first word of this bull of condemnation was *unigenitus*; from whence the whole was called the bull, or constitution, *unigenitus*. Some of the parliament, and many of the clergy appealed from it to a general council, but *Lewis*, who was in his old days Jesuit-ridden, was resolved that the bull should be received universally, and many of the Jansenists were severely punished, or driven out of the kingdom.

Such was the state of affairs spiritual and temporal, in *Death and France*, when *Lewis* on the 11th of *August*, fell into a complication of disorders, which, by too freely indulging himself in eating and drinking, that he might the better impose upon the world, put an end to his life, on the 1st of *September* 1715, by 1715. bringing on a violent fever, and opening an old sore in his leg, which tended to a mortification, in the seventy third year of his reign. We have already given some account of the family of *Lewis XIV.* who was succeeded by the present king of *France*, who was the third son of the dauphin-duke of *Burgundy*, and was born in 1710. *Lewis*, by madam *de la Valiere*, had a daughter, who was married to the prince of *Conti*, but died without issue. By madam *de Montespan* he had the duke of *Maine*, who left a numerous family, the dutchess of *Bourbon*, the count of *Tholouse* and a daughter. His brother *Philip*, duke of *Orleans*, was married to *Henrietta Maria*, daughter to *Charles I.* of *England*. By her he had a daughter married to the duke of *Savoy*; so that his *Sardinian* majesty in her right is the nearest in blood to the exiled house of *Stuart*. The same duke of *Orleans* was afterwards married to *Charlotte Elizabeth*, daughter of *Charles Lewis*, elector *Palatine*, and by her he had the regent duke of *Orleans*.

The character of *Lewis XIV.* has generally been treated in Character extremes. The flatterers of his memory are too apt to term of *Lewis*. his ostentation, magnificence; his pride, magnanimity; and his cruelties, justice. Few princes ever sat on a throne, who possessed more of those ill qualities than *Lewis* did. The cruelties of his armies in *Germany*, and *Italy*, were exercised by his own orders. By admitting the fulsome, and even blasphemous, adulations paid him by his subjects, he acknowledged, that he thought them his due. His munificence to men of genius and learning, was more uncommon than it was meritorious. It seldom exceeded a hundred pounds a year, and commonly not fifty. It was paid to their flatteries rather than their abilities, and often given and resumed by court influence. It is, however, only doing justice to the memory of *Lewis*, to acknowledge that notwithstanding the miserable education he received, he had a natural turn which qualified him to be no bad judge of the fine arts. The blaze of royalty into which he broke out all at once, upon the death of *Mazarine*, was the most solid foundation of his glory, but his heart was soon corrupted by pride and ambition; and his understanding perverted by priests and statesmen. He seldom punished

nished his unsuccessful generals, or ministers, because he disdained to have it thought that his reign was unfortunate, that his judgment was misled, or his favours misplaced. His haughtiness was without bounds, and he preserved so much of it in the midst of his misfortunes, that they were unpitied. His conduct with regard to *James II. of England*, discovers him to have been a man of no principle, and that his, was a government of expedients. Had he been dethroned by the allies, his own injustice was to blame, and if that event did not take place, it was owing to their being guilty of the very excesses which they blamed in him, and which at last sapped the foundation of the grand alliance. It is true, *Lewis* made great concessions at *Gertruydenberg*; but there is the greatest reason to believe that they were insincere, that he never felt for his people, but for himself and his family, and that he was incorrigible under his misfortunes. This appeared from the haughty airs he and his ministers resumed the moment that queen *Anne* shewed a disposition for peace. In his person, it is said, he was not brave, but was not observed to make any signal discoveries of cowardice. That he had not that depth of discernment which constitutes a great king, appears from the choice of his generals and ministers, whom he always supported, till they ruined his affairs both in the field and the cabinet. During the last twenty years of his reign, he was entirely under the influence of madam *de Maintenon*, a weak visionary woman, who governed him by permitting him to think that his will was her law. It is now generally agreed, that she was his wife, though she never appeared as his queen. His two great generals, towards the latter end of his reign, *Vendosme* and *Villars*, were always under the frowns of his court, and never were employed till his troops would fight under no other.

Lewis the Fifteenth, surnamed the Well-beloved.

State of
parties in
France.

FRANCE was in the deplorable situation we have seen, at the death of *Lewis XIV.* The regent duke of *Orleans* had, by the last will of *Lewis*, been appointed to little more than the presidency of the council of regency, which consisted of the dukes of *Orleans*, *Bourbon* and *Maine*; the count *de Tholouse*, the chancellor, the president of the royal council, the marshals *Villeroy*, *Villars*, *Uxelles*, *Tallard* and *Harcourt*; together with the comptroller-general of the finances, and the four secretaries of state. Of these, the duke of *Maine* was to be governor, and to have the charge of the royal person, and *Villeroy* to be sub-governor. Those were dispositions inconsistent with the constitution of *France*, and the duke of *Orleans* resolved

resolved to avail himself of the power of the parliament; but he had many difficulties to surmount. The king of *Spain* had a strong party in the kingdom, and he was the declared enemy of the regent duke, who, about the time of the treaty of *Gertruydenberg*, had *Philip* been deposed, would have claimed the crown of *Spain*.

On the other hand, the unsettled state of affairs in *Great Britain*, rendered the friendship of the regent duke of *Orleans* importance to *George I.* and his was of no less to the regent; declared but the latter, was favoured by the parliament. The members of that body considered the last will of *Lewis XIV.* not only to be an invasion of their privileges, but an act of delirium, and set it aside, together with the legitimation of the late king's natural children, so that the duke was voted to be sole regent, with full powers. In consideration of this, he restored to the parliament of *Paris*, the right of deliberating upon the acts that they passed into laws. He next took under his consideration the state of the crown debts, which were said to amount to three hundred millions sterling. He called in the *Louis d'ors* at sixteen livres, and when they were recoinced, he obliged the people to take them at twenty livres, and he made no other apology for this rapacious proceeding, but 'that necessity has no law.' He erected a court called *chambre ardente*, for punishing the embezzlements of the public revenue, during the late reign, and he gave the court of *Great Britain* secret intelligence of all the pretender's proceedings in *Scotland*, though he did not venture openly to disavow his cause. He met with great trouble in settling the affairs of religion, and by the indefatigable pains he took, he prevented one party from persecuting the other. He recalled all who had been exiled, and freed all who had been imprisoned, on account of the bull *unigenitus*. He restored to the Jansenists, part of their rights; but obliged the bishops, who refused to accept of that bull, to desist, under certain modifications, from their opposition. He durst not, however, stop the persecution of the protestants which was then raging, though the king of *England* procured the release of some of them from the galleys.

The arrival of the czar, *Peter* the Great, at the court of *France*, for some time, diverted the people from the contemplation of the real miseries they suffered; and the project of the *Mississippi* company, gave them high spirits. Some adventurers during the late reign, had entered that river, and had formed a plausible scheme for carrying on a trade there, that should, in time, pay off the public debts. The particulars of this romantic project, with many others, calculated to amuse and rob the people, are immaterial to our present purpose. It is sufficient to say, that in money matters, the regent duke acted more arbitrarily than any king of *France* had ever done. He made it penal for the subjects not to carry their money to the *Mint*, from whence he forced them to

accept of every Louis d'or at the rate of thirty-six livres, to be paid in state bills. All the fair professions that had passed between the regent and the parliament now vanished into smoke; but their opposition and remonstrances were ineffectual, for he strengthened himself by additional connections with the house of *Hanover*, whose succession to the crown of *Great Britain* he guaranteed, as *George I.* did that of the house of *Orleans* to the throne of *France*.

History of The court of *Spain*, at this time, was not idle, and cardinal
Law's *Alberoni*, having formed most ambitious schemes, was making
Mississippi incredible efforts for restoring the *Spanish* marine. The re-
 scheme. gent's administration, after he had robbed the subjects of
France of near two hundred millions sterling, became so un-
 popular, that he was obliged to support it by the army, where
 he was beloved. Some partizans of the *Spanish* faction were
 taken into custody, and some were executed, but the regent
 still proceeded in his ruinous measures. He patronized and
 encouraged one *John Law*, a *Scotch* projector, in establishing
 what he called, the royal bank, and for some time, the plau-
 sibility of this project, together with that of the *Mississippi*
 scheme, stifled the public clamour, while the irretrievable
 blow which the *Spanish* fleet got from that of *England*, under
 1713. Sir *George Byng*, in 1718, established the regent's power in
France, beyond all opposition. The art and address with
 which *Law* amused the *French* nation, had prodigious effects,
 notwithstanding the remonstrances of the parliament, for he
 prevailed on them to believe that the imaginary wealth of his
 banks was raising them to riches and prosperity, while it was
 plunging them into misery. The more penetrating part of
 the subjects saw through his artifices, and that they were
 calculated only to bring all the money of the kingdom into
 the regent's hands. They endeavoured to elude the edicts,
 that were every day publishing, for converting money into
 paper; but the government by insidious pretences, having
 procured a new circulation of money, instantly lowered its
 value, and obliged the proprietors to exchange it for bank
 bills. Not contented with this, a power was given to the
 members of the *India* company to make forcible entries into
 all houses without exception, and to search for concealed
 money, that it might be converted into paper. As the edicts
 for those arbitrary proceedings regarded only coined money,
 foreigners in general, who had specie by them, converted it
 into bullion, and carried it to the working silversmiths, to be
 formed into plate, so that in the space of three months, no
 fewer than a hundred and twenty thousand dozens of plate,
 besides dishes, were made in *Paris*, the whole supposed to
 amount to seven millions, two hundred thousand pounds
 sterling. The arbitrary regent put a stop even to this practice
 by limiting the making of plate to the weight of an ounce.
 His oppressions at last became so intolerable, that a general
 insurrection all over *France* was daily expected, and he was
 obliged

obliged not only to recall some of his edicts, but to send Mr. *Law* out of the kingdom, with a guard. The consequence was, that, at last, the *Mississippi* company, which had cost *France* immense sums in building ships upon their imaginary profits, was dissolved, and commercial matters were restored to their former footing.

The proceedings both civil and military between the courts of *France* and *Spain*, and the conspiracies entered into by the *Spanish* ministry against the regent, will be recorded in the *Spanish* history. The first intimation of the conspiracy came from the court of *Great Britain*, and the prince *de Cellamaire*, the *Spanish* ambassador, was put under an arrest, as were several great *French* noblemen in the same party. It went so far, notwithstanding the defeat of the *Spanish* fleet, that *Alberoni* laid a plan for giving a new face to the system of affairs all over *Europe*. The imperial power in *Germany*, was to have been reduced by a strong confederacy among the *Northern* princes, into which he persuaded the czar of *Muscovy*, and the king of *Sweden* to join; and they were at the same time, to have supported a rebellion in *Great Britain* in favour of the pretender; but all his schemes were dashed by unforeseen accidents, and the firmness of the *British* ministry, while the regent duke was so much alarmed, that he ordered an army of thirty-six thousand men to be quartered in or near *Paris*. This did not prevent the parliament from continuing their opposition. The regent banished them to *Pontoise*, a town within six miles of *Paris*, and by the plenitude of the royal power vested in him, he erected another court for registering edicts, and supplying the functions of that body. In the mean while, as the *French* king's life was very precarious, and as the regent knew that the succession would be disputed by the catholic king, he entered into a new alliance with the king of *Great Britain* and the *States General*. In consequence of this alliance, he obliged the pretender to depart from *Avignon*, and to cross the *Alps*, and confirmed such parts of the treaty of *Utrecht* as were most favourable to *Great Britain*. It was known that the emperor, whose sole view was the establishment of the pragmatic sanction, neither could nor would oppose this treaty, and in fact, the triple was soon turned into a quadruple, alliance by the accession of the emperor. *Spain* now stood single in the war, and at first, her demands were very high; but *Philip*, having dismissed his ambitious minister *Alberoni*, grew more moderate, and at last, it was agreed that a double marriage between *France* and *Spain* should take place, by the *French* king marrying the infanta of *Spain*, who was but about four years of age, and the prince of *Asturias* marrying one of the regent's daughters. A third marriage was projected, but never took place, between don *Carlos* and another of the regent's daughters.

While *France* was suffering all the miseries of distress and poverty, a plague broke out at *Marseilles*, by the arrival of a plague of foreign *Marseilles*.

foreign ship. It was attended by a most horrible mortality, and had gathered ground by its being at first treated only as a malignant fever. During the month of *September*, 1720, it was computed that no fewer than forty thousand people died of the infection at *Marseilles* alone, besides the vast numbers that were carried off in *Provence* and *Languedoc*. The precautions taken by the *French* in stopping the infection, by means of lines of circumvallation and other methods, can never be enough admired, and were at last successful, but they were such as could only have been executed under an arbitrary government, which can rigorously enforce its own ordinances.

Magnificence of the *French* court. About the time of the king's marriage with the infanta of *Spain*, the court of *France*, notwithstanding all the calamities the nation had suffered, appeared in greater splendour than it had done during the most glorious periods of the late reign.

1722.

Death of the regent. The jewels that covered the king's robes when he gave audience to a *Turkish* ambassador, were valued at twenty-five millions of livres; those of the princes of the blood, and his chief courtiers, were in proportion. The regent duke, by this magnificence, amused the eyes of the public, and he ventured to remove *Villeroi* from his place about the king's person, on pretence that he affected to be too independent on the regency. He made his creature, the cardinal *du Bois*, who had been equally the instrument of his pleasures and his power, first minister of *France*. In 1722, the king was crowned at *Rheims*, and was afterwards declared to be of age. Among the first acts of his nominal government, was his reserving pensions out of certain bishops revenues, which were conferred upon the creatures of the regent. *Du Bois* enjoyed his place of first minister, but a very short time; and, upon his death, the duke of *Orleans* took it into his own hands, but he himself was carried off by an apoplexy on the 2d of *December* following. His character was that of a man of pleasure, but a prince of vast abilities, both civil and military.

Duke of *Bourbon* first minister.

1723.

Though the title of regent ceased by the king's being declared of age, yet the power continued in the person of the duke of *Bourbon*, who was appointed to the post of first minister. His letters patent were registered in parliament, the very day after the death of the duke of *Orleans*, and he restored *Villeroi* to court. During his administration, the congress of *Cambray*, which had been first suggested by cardinal *du Bois*, and had been agreed to by the *European* powers, for supplying all the defects of the treaties of *Utrecht*, and *Radstadt*, was opened. The marshal *Tesse*, who was the *French* ambassador at *Madrid*, and the duke of *Richelieu*, who resided in the same character at *Vienna*, laboured with great zeal for confirming the tranquillity of *Europe*, and the *French* ministers in general, acted with so much address, that *Paris* was then the only theatre of politics in *Europe*. The conferences opened on the 26th of *January* N. S. 1723, but when the

the

the plenipotentiaries met, their claims appeared so incompatible, that the conferences, at first, broke up without effect, though the emperor had, pursuant to the quadruple alliance, given the investiture of *Tuscany*, *Parma* and *Placentia*, to don *Carlos*.

The change of the administration brought no relief to the Great distress of *France*. The duke of *Bourbon*, for the sake of orders in foreign commerce, had reduced the Louis d'or from twenty-seven to twenty-four livres, and from that to twenty; and every other species of money in proportion. This occasioned such a combustion among the inland traders, that murders and assassinations were every night committed in the streets of *Paris*, and a general insurrection must have happened, had not the people been over-awed by the standing army. The ecclesiastical state of *France* was as much embroiled as the commercial. The young king was prevailed on to publish an edict, in which he was made to say, "That of all the great designs which his great grandfather *Lewis XIV.* formed during the course of his reign, there was none he had more at heart to pursue and see executed, than that of extinguishing heresy out of his kingdom." At the same time that this barbarous rage was exerted against the protestants, the court censured the bishop of *Montpelier*, and even the abbess *de Ghelles*, daughter to the late duke of *Orleans*, with many other illustrious ecclesiastics, for not accepting of the bull *unigenitus*, which the ministry seemed resolved to enforce all over *France*. The prisons of the kingdom were full of recusants on the same account, and a famine with which *France* was afflicted occasioned insurrections both in *Paris* and *Rouen*.

Though the duke of *Bourbon* did not possess the shining talents of the duke of *Orleans*, yet he was a much honest man. The king of *Spain* had resigned his dominions to his elder son don *Lewis*, but on the death of that prince he had resumed them. All *Europe* was convinced that his resignation was only intended to evade the renunciation he had made of the *French* crown, if *Lewis XV.* should die without issue, because it enabled him as a private man to ascend that throne, which he could not do as a monarch. The duke of *Bourbon* was seconded by the people of *France*, when he urged the necessity he was under of sending back his infant queen to *Spain*, and of his taking a wife who could bear him children, recommending at the same time to his bed *Maria Leizinski*, daughter to king *Stanislaus*. The king complied, and wrote to the king of *Spain*, a polite, but sensible letter of the indispensable duty he lay under to his people, to marry a wife, who could have children. This letter was far from appeasing the king and queen of *Spain*. They stormed against the duke of *Bourbon*, and sent back to *France* the queen dowager of *Spain*, and her sister, madam *de Beaujolois*, who had been destined to don *Carlos*. About the same time, the infant queen

queen arrived in *Spain*, attended by the *Spanish* ministers who had resided at *Paris*.

Rise of the
treaty of
Hanover.

The court of *Madrid*, upon this, withdrew its plenipotentiaries from the congress of *Cambray*, where nothing of importance had been done, and demanded that some signal punishment should be inflicted on the duke of *Bourbon*. This not being complied with, his catholic majesty, influenced by his queen, endeavoured to divide *Great Britain* from *France*, by offering to submit to *George I.* as sole mediator, all his differences with the emperor. That wise prince refused the mediation, and a treaty without any mediation was concluded between his catholic majesty and the emperor; which goes by the name of the first treaty of *Vienna*, but its contents are foreign to this place. The *Vienna* treaty equally provoked *England* and *France*; and *George I.* having declared that it contained stipulations prejudicial to his rights, as king of *Great Britain*, brought on another treaty, which was afterwards concluded at *Hanover*, and in which the king of *Prussia* and the *States General* became parties, but without any intention of fulfilling its contents. In the mean while, the *French* government underwent a revolution.

The king
governs
by cardinal
de Fleury.

1726.

The duke of *Bourbon* found it necessary to lay on fresh taxes, particularly one of two per cent. upon all real and personal estates, which extended to the clergy and nobility. It was in vain for the parliaments of the kingdom to make the most pathetic remonstrances against registering those money edicts, for they were obliged to comply, but the opposition made to them by the clergy, gave such a shock to the credit of the duke of *Bourbon* with the young king, that he was removed from his place of first minister, and the king took the government into his own hands, in the year 1726. The truth is, *Lewis* was, at this time, secretly governed by his preceptor *M. de Fleury*, bishop of *Frejus*, who was raised to the purple by the name of cardinal *de Fleury*. Under a plausible appearance, he was the friend, if not the slave of the *Jesuits*, and a violent bigot for the acceptance of the bull *unigenitus*, though he was, at the same time, a warm advocate for the continuance of public tranquillity, both in *France* and *Europe*. At the time of his accession to power all the allies in the treaty of *Vienna* and *Hanover*, were making the most vigorous preparations for war; but *Fleury* distinguished his administration by his pacific measures. He could not indeed prevent the *Spaniards* from their unsuccessful attempt upon *Gibraltar*, nor *England* from fitting out vast armaments for distressing the *Spanish* trade both in *Europe* and *America*; but he found means, by co-operating in the disgrace of the duke of *Bourbon*, who was confined to his own house, to soften the queen of *Spain*, on the head of peace. On the 17th of *August*, 1727, *Te Deum* was sung at *Paris* for the birth of two princesses, but the king in his letter to that archbishop, enjoined

1727.

enjoined him to pray for the birth of a dauphin. By the death of *George I.* which happened about this time, the *French* branch of the house of *Bourbon* lost a firm ally. It was thought that that prince's jealousy of the house of *Austria*, and his affection for his *German* dominions, led him into connections with *France*, which gave her too much weight, in the scale of public power, and it is certain that she made now the capital figure in *Europe*. *Fleury's* plan led him to renew the conferences of *Cambray*, but he had the art to get them transferred to *Soissons*, that he might the more conveniently attend them, without being at too great a distance from his master's person. So far back as *May 1727*, the cardinal had prevailed with the courts of *Spain* and *Great Britain* to sign the preliminaries, but disputes arising about their meaning, an act was signed at the court of *Spain*, which took away all differences. The *French* king, to give the greater lustre to his minister, hunted at *Compeigne*, while the conferences were going on at *Soissons*; so that they never were above the distance of two hours journey between one another. Those conferences were fruitless, because her catholic majesty knew, that, on the one hand, the emperor was not sincerely disposed towards the favourite object she had in view, the settlement of her family in *Italy*, that she received no adequate return for the immense subsidy of a million sterling a year, which she remitted to *Germany*, and that the emperor was unable to support against the *Dutch* and *English* the commercial arrangements in favour of his *Ostend* company, that had been made by the treaty of *Vienna*. Those considerations, in fact, determined her catholic majesty to do nothing conclusive at the congress of *Soissons*. She, however, renewed all the high claims which *Spain* had upon *Great Britain*, that she might intimidate the latter into her measures with regard to her family settlement, and she was successful.

Though the conferences at *Soissons* ended without effect, yet the *French* minister gained his end so far, that he broke off the intimate connections that had subsisted between the courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*, and laid a foundation for their subsequent misunderstandings. During those transactions, the queen of *France*, to the great disappointment of her husband and the kingdom, was brought to bed of another daughter; the persecuting measures of the court against the protestants, and the opposers of the bull *unigenitus*, were still continued; and in *November*, the king recovered of a dangerous illness he had contracted. The negotiations for a peace, in the year 1729, took the turn that cardinal *Fleury* had wished for and foreseen, for they were transferred to *Seville*, where a new treaty was entered into between *England*, *Spain*, *France*, and *Holland*, for carrying the queen of *Spain's* family settlement into execution, if it should be opposed by the emperor, which it actually was. Great pains were employed for bringing *Lewis* to guaranty the pragmatic sanction; but that measure

Congress
of *Soissons*.

Treaty of
Seville.

1729.

1733.

was always carefully eluded by the cardinal, under pretence that *France* was no party in the second treaty of *Vienna*, by which *England* had agreed to that guaranty. Very little of consequence occurred, if we except the parliamentary and religious disputes in *France*, till the year 1733, when *Augustus*, king of *Poland*, died. *Lewis* could not in decency become an unconcerned spectator in a new election. His father-in-law, *Stanislaus*, was called by a great party in *Poland* to that throne, but he was strenuously opposed by the elector of *Saxony*, son to the late king. The cardinal could not avoid entering into the affair, and the marquis *Del Monte*, the *French* ambassador at *Warsaw*, had orders to engage all the votes of the dietines he could, in favour of *Stanislaus*; and in this, he was so successful, that *Stanislaus* ventured to travel in disguise through *Germany*, and lodged for some time concealed in the house of the *French* ambassador.

Stanislaus
denounced,
after
being
elected
king of
Poland.

The czarina of *Muscovy*, the emperor of *Germany*, and the king of *Prussia*, did not think it consistent with their interests that *France* should give a king to *Poland*. The *Russian* and imperial armies took the field, which made the primate hasten the election, and he declared that a majority of voices was in favour of *Stanislaus*. The imperial troops assembled in *Silesia*, with a view of penetrating into *Poland*, while the command of a *French* army upon the *Rhine*, was given to the duke of *Berwick*, who, upon that event taking place, was to enter *Germany*. In the mean while a *Russian* army of fifty thousand men, under general *Lacy*, entered *Poland*, for the protection of the *Saxon* interest there, proclaimed *Augustus* king, and took possession of *Warsaw*; while king *Stanislaus* and the primate were forced to fly to *Dantzic*. This arbitrary proceeding of the northern powers, produced a treaty between *France*, *Spain* and the king of *Sardinia*, for maintaining the liberties of *Europe*; but the coldness of *Fleury* in the interest of *Stanislaus*, damped all their zeal, though they could not entirely check the ardour of the *French* court, for the duke of *Berwick*, before the end of the campaign, passed the *Rhine* and took *Fort Kehl*. His *Sardinian* majesty about the same time declared war against the emperor, and by the assistance of a *French* army under *Villars*, drove the imperialists out of the *Milanese*. The emperor, intimidated by so powerful a confederacy against him, and knowing that he would be but ill supported by the *Russians*, whose only object in the war was to assist *Augustus*, applied for the mediation of *Great Britain*, to terminate all differences between him and the *Spaniards* in *Italy*. Sir *Robert Walpole* was then the *British* minister, and the mediation was accepted of by king *George*; but his catholic majesty pretended it was too late, and sent a fresh army into *Italy*, which took the fortress of *Aula*. During the winter, his most christian majesty spoke warmly in favour of his father-in-law, and seemed disposed to hazard every thing in his cause.

The pacific disposition of the *British* minister, however it Remon- might flatter the *French* for the present, proved fatal to them frances of in the end. It is true, they made many noble settlements the *French* under *Fleury's* administration, and their trade was extended to parlia- a degree never known before; but *Fleury's* limited ideas never ments. suggested to him that a marine is necessary to protect com- merce, and that a more warlike minister, than he had to deal with, might arise in *Britain*. He was equally mistaken with regard to the internal government of *France*. Being devoted to the universal acceptance of the bull unigenitus, he erected the prerogative of the king as a law of the kingdom, and insisted upon the parliaments desisting from their opposition to his majesty's will and pleasure. The parliaments, without disputing the supremacy of the king in matters of government, pretended that they must be traitors to his authority, if they should render it subject to the pleasure of the pope, who was a foreign prince, and which they must effectually do, if they received his bull for the king's law. This was the language of their remonstrances. They urged them with a boldness that would have cost them their heads under such a minister as *Richelieu*, but they were treated with a roughness that would have driven a spirited parliament to other arguments than remonstrances. The king again and again commanded them, under pain of his displeasure, to desist from remonstrating. They as often disobeyed him, and when they were sent into banishment, (the only censure inflicted upon them) their punishment served but to encrease their popularity. The opposition of the parliament rendered it however necessary for *Fleury* to keep large armies on foot, and notwithstanding his pacific dispositions, he was forced to give way to *France* being engaged in wars that were, in fact, foreign to her interest. Such was that of *Poland*, and their fighting for the *Spaniards* in *Italy*. The *French* ministry addressed a manifesto to the electors and princes of the empire, declaring that their king had no other intention in taking *Fort Kehl*, but to be in a capacity to assist them as guarantee of the treaty of *Westphalia*, in case the emperor should offer to oppress them. *Fleury's* regard to the trade of *France*, at this time, was such, that the count *de Maurepas*, secretary of state, wrote a letter to the merchants of *Dunkirk*, who were apprehensive that the war between *France* and the emperor might communicate itself to the imperial *Flanders*, and thereby ruin their commerce, permitting them to trade as usual with the *Austrian Low Countries*.

The unwillingness of *Fleury* to support *Stanislaus*, appeared *Dantzic* from his not sending a good fleet to protect him while he was bombard- in *Dantzic*. Instead of that, he only sent fifteen hundred ed. men, under a brigadier, who in vain attempted to land at *Fort Wechselmunde*. Finding that impracticable, they bore away for *Copenhagen*, where being joined by a few more troops, the whole not amounting to three thousand, they returned, under count

count *Plelo*, the *French* ambassador in *Denmark*, to the relief of *Dantzic*, which by this time suffered all the miseries of war from the *Russian* army, which was besieging it. The *Dantzickers*, at first, flattered themselves with the hopes of being vigorously supported by *France*, and were in hopes that the king of *Prussia* would declare for them, so that they behaved towards the *Russians* with a spirit that was more for their honour than their interest. Count *Plelo* landed with the *French* auxiliaries, who, according to *Voltaire*, did not exceed fifteen hundred men. He attacked the *Russian* entrenchments, but as he had foreseen, in a letter which he wrote home to the *French* ministry, he fell in the attempt, and the *French* were obliged to surrender prisoners of war, on condition of their being carried to their own country. A *Russian* ship which was then taken by the *French*, furnished a pretext for carrying them to *Petersburgh*, where the empress *Anne* nobly refuted all the ideas which they had conceived of *Russian* barbarity, by treating them not only with humanity, but magnificence. The *Russian* fleet, under *Gordon*, soon after appeared before *Dantzic*. *Fort Wechsefmunde* was surrendered. The greatest part of *Dantzic* was reduced to ashes by a bombardment, and king *Stanislaus* perceiving that his person, upon which the *Russians* had set a price, was the chief object of their resentment, escaped in the habit of a peasant, after undergoing incredible hardships, to *Marienwarder* in the *Prussian* dominions. The *French* ambassador, *Monte*, was taken by the *Russians*, and notwithstanding his character, treated as a captive. *Dantzic* fell likewise into the hands of the victors, and submitted to *Augustus*, as did all the noblemen in the party of *Stanislaus*.

*Philips-
bourg
taken.*

All the great abilities of prince *Eugene*, the imperial general on the *Rhine*, could not check the progress of the *French* in *Germany*. Not being joined by the troops of the empire, he was obliged to remain inactive in a strong camp at *Heilbron*, while the count, afterwards the famous duke, *de Belleisle*, took *Traerbach*, and the duke of *Berwick* invested *Philipsbourg*, but on the 12th of *June*, his head was carried off by a cannon ball. He was succeeded in his command by his old companion in arms, the marquis *D'Asfeldt*, who executed the duke's plan so completely, that he baffled all the attempts of prince *Eugene*, after he was joined by the troops of the empire, to raise the siege; and the place, after a noble defence, was surrendered to the *French*. Our history of *Spain* will give a detail of the *French* operations in *Italy*, under which head they naturally fall.

1734.
Insult of-
fered by
France to
*Great
Britain*.

It is difficult to account for the contempt the *French* at this time expressed against *Great Britain*; for in the winter of this year, an edict was published in *Paris*, commanding all the *British* subjects in *France*, from the age of fifteen to that of fifty, if not in actual employment, to leave that kingdom, under pain of being sent to the galleys. This ordinance was executed with rigour, and the prisons of that capital were filled

filled with *British* subjects. The cardinal however thought proper to release them, and to publish another edict, which confined the meaning of the former to vagabonds alone. The advantages of the *French* upon the *Rhine*, answered the real intention of the *French* minister, and he found means, when he saw the empress of *Russia* was determined to send a powerful army to the support of the emperor, to hint, that it was not impracticable for the latter to enter upon a secret negotiation. The imperialists readily embraced the offer, and the cardinal, after a few conferences, digested his favourite plan into preliminaries, which the imperialists signed. The conquests which *France* had made in *Germany*, were to be restored; *don Carlos* concluded to be acknowledged king of *Naples* and *Sicily*, but the reversion of the duchy of *Tuscany* was to go to the duke of *Lorraine*, who was to put king *Stanislaus* into possession of his duchy; but after the death of *Stanislaus*, it was to be for ever annexed to the crown of *France*. Perhaps the emperor would not have consented to those conditions, which left him in possession only of the *Milanese*, the *Mantuan* and *Parma* in *Italy*, had not *France* agreed to guaranty the pragmatic sanction. The duke of *Lorraine* was to receive a pension of three millions five hundred thousand livres, till he could be put in complete possession of *Tuscany*, which did not happen till the year 1737.

By this unexpected peace the system of *Europe* was again changed, the duke of *Lorraine* having been actually married to the emperor's eldest daughter, heiress to all the *Austrian* dominions. This was far from disconcerting the cardinal's measures. When the *French* queen sometimes used to say to him, that she did not think her father had been properly supported; he and his creatures in the ministry roundly told her, she was not to expect that *France* would engage in a ruinous war merely for the sake of her father. We should carry our refinements to a ridiculous length, were we to pretend that the cardinal foresaw the dispute about the *Polish* crown was to terminate in the acquisition of *Lorraine* by *France*, for it certainly was owing to events, of which the cardinal made the best in the prosecution of his plan. When the *Spanish* ambassador on the part of his court upbraided him with having given away *Tuscany*, which belonged to *don Carlos*, he told him that the obstinacy and injustice of the court of *Madrid* rendered it unavoidable, because their breach of promise to the king of *Sardinia*, had exasperated that prince so much, that he was ready to throw himself into the hands of the emperor. The *French*, contrary to their expectations, came into immediate possession of *Lorraine*, which they gave to *Stanislaus*, and they gave up *Fort Kehl* and *Philipsbourg* to the *Germans*, but not without demolishing their own additional fortifications. The greatest disquiet the cardinal met with, in perfecting this great work of peace, which is perhaps the only shining period in his administration, arose from *Chauvelin*, the keeper of the seals, whom

whom he considered, not only as the friend of *Spain*, but the rival of his power. The cardinal pretended that his moderation did not suffer him to carry that minister's punishment, for the secret practices he had been guilty of, to its full length. He was therefore contented with his disgrace and exile.

A new war breaks out between *Spain* and *England*,
 The administration of *Fleury*, after this event, was a continued calm, till the war broke out between *Spain* and *England*. He foresaw that this might break into his pacific system, and he again and again offered the mediation of *France* for making up all differences between the two crowns. He even went so far as to propose to Sir *Robert Walpole*, to procure for the *English* a free navigation in the *Spanish West Indies*, provided *England* would restore to *Spain*, *Gibraltar* and *Port Mahon*. The spirit of the *British* nation at this time did not suffer Sir *Robert* to give much attention to this proposal, and the war which broke out between the two crowns justified all the cardinal's apprehensions. The death of the great duke of *Tuscany*, in 1737. July 1737, freed *France* from the great annuity she paid to the duke of *Lorrain*, and seemed to crown the glory of the cardinal as a minister. The queen of *Spain* would gladly have engaged the court of *England* to have assisted her in keeping *Tuscany*, but that being found impracticable, she engaged the *French* king and his minister so much in her interest, that they filled all *Europe* with remonstrances against the injustice of the *English* nation. Their marine was increased, and they marched large bodies of troops to their sea-coasts, in order to draw the attention of the *English* thither, during their war with *Spain*. Upon the taking of *Porto Bello*, and the other advantages gained by the *English* over the *Spaniards*, the cardinal could no longer stick to the neutrality he had so much affected; and, upon the *English* fitting out a vast armament for *America*, in order to stop its sailing, he once more offered the *French* king's mediation to put an end to the war. This being rejected, the marquis *d'Antin* had orders from the *French* court to sail with a strong squadron which lay at *Brest*, for the protection of the *Spanish* possessions in *America*. The vigilance of the *English* ministry in preventing *d'Antin's* squadron from being victualled from *Ireland*, had reduced it to a most miserable plight; but he was obliged to sail to *America*, where he died, and almost all his sea-men perished, without being able to effect any thing in favour of the *Spaniards*. While the fate of *d'Antin's* expedition was uncertain, and before it was known at the *French* court that he had lost three thousand of his men, their ministry, in gross violation of the treaty of *Utrecht*, employed some thousands of men under the duke *de Boufflers* and the marquis *de Gevry*, in repairing the fortifications of *Dunkirk*. This, together with a fresh declaration they emitted in vindication of *d'Antin's* sailing to *America*, was looked upon as preludes of a declaration of war; but, at this time, it is necessary to mention some great events that happened in *Europe*. The first was the death of the king

in which
France is
 engaged.

of *Prussia*, who was succeeded by his son, the present king, long the ally, and afterwards the enemy, of *France*. The second was the death of the emperor *Charles* the VIth, and the last was the death of the czarina *Anna Imanouna*.

That of the emperor, which happened on the 9th of *October* 1740. was the most interesting to *France*, who had so lately Death of guaranteed the pragmatic sanction in favour of his eldest the emper- daughter, *Maria Teresa*, wife to the duke of *Lorrain*. The ror of Ger- *French* may be said at this time to have been intoxicated with many, and prosperity. Without denying the fact of the guaranty, they its conse- pretended that they could not act against the prior rights of quences. the elector of *Bavaria* and the king of *Poland*, who had been married to the daughters of the emperor *Joseph*, elder brother to *Charles* the VIth. The active count *de Belleisle* formed a plan for placing the elector of *Bavaria* on the imperial throne, and for that purpose, he received money sufficient to bribe the *German* electors, while the elector of *Bavaria* was declared the *French* generalissimo in *Germany*, and put at the head of twenty-five thousand of their troops, to take possession of the *Austrian* territories. *Fleury* could not resist the impetuosity of a torrent which promised so fair to bear down the house of *Austria*, the great barrier to the *French* ambition in *Germany*. *Belleisle*'s scheme was assisted by the tenderness of the king of *Great Britain*, to enter upon a war that might endanger his *German* dominions, and by the king of *Prussia*'s invading *Silesia*, where he conquered all before him. *Belleisle* negotiated with such success in *Germany*, that he threatened to give law to the daughter of *Charles* the VIth, who took the title of queen of *Hungary*, upon the bastions of *Vienna*; and even the king of *Great Britain* concluded a treaty of neutrality with *France*, and promised his vote for raising the elector of *Bavaria* to the imperial throne; an event which afterwards took place. Nothing but the immoderate insolence of *France* could have now prevented the ruin of the house of *Austria*. The queen of *Hungary* had madly rejected all the offers made her by his *Prussian* majesty. She was deaf to all the calm exhortations of *George* the IIId, but elated beyond measure by the dispositions of the *British* parliament in her favour.

Cardinal *Fleury* was now eighty-five years of age, but though Plan and he was unable to stop the impetuosity of *Belleisle* and the prin- activity of ces of the blood, yet he had still credit enough to limit the count *Bel-* execution of their plans. *Belleisle* demanded to be put at the leisle, head of fifty thousand men, of whom twenty thousand were to be cavalry, that he might pass the *Rhine* towards the *Danube*, while forty thousand *French* were to lie on the borders of *Westphalia*, to over-awe the electorate of *Hanover*. This mighty scheme gave umbrage to the king of *Prussia*. The elector of *Bavaria* himself thought, that, if executed, it would put him, as emperor, too much in the power of *France*, and made proposals to the queen of *Hungary*, which she rejected, and thereby obliged him to throw himself, without reserve,

reserve, into the arms of *France*, who declared that she acted only as guarantee of the treaty of *Westphalia*. Cardinal *Fleury* underhand disliked the whole of *Belleisle's* plan, and he was furnished with no more than ten thousand cavalry. Some are of opinion that the elector of *Bavaria* had a secret correspondence with the cardinal; for instead of marching to the gates of *Vienna*, from whence the queen had fled to *Hungary*, he all of a sudden turned short, and marched towards *Bohemia*. This gave a breathing time to the *Austrian* generals, but the elector of *Saxony* having joined the *French* and *Bavarians* with twenty thousand men, *Prague* was taken by the confederates.

whose
schemes
are frus-
trated.

1741.

Death of
cardinal
Fleury.

Belleisle was then at *Franckfort*, and exclaimed most bitterly at the gross deviations that had been made from his grand plan of operations. It was in vain for him to complain to his own court, where the elector of *Bavaria* excused himself on account of the great strength of the fortifications and garrison of *Vienna*; and upon the 12th of *February* 1741, he was chosen emperor, at the very time that *Khevenhuller* and the other *Austrian* generals, were ruining the *French* and *Bavarians* in the field, and obtaining the most important advantages. *Khevenhuller*, after ravaging *Bavaria*, made himself master of its capital, *Munich*. Prince *Charles* of *Lorraine* was at the head of fifty thousand men, and it was owing to the king of *Prussia*, who entered *Bohemia*, and fought the battle of *Czafau*, that all the *French* army under marshal *Broglie*, was not cut in pieces. The war obliged *Lewis* to impose new taxes upon his people. The parliament opposed them, but by words and remonstrances only, nor could they prevail upon him to stop the prosecutions on account of the bull *unigenitus*. At last, he published edicts for collecting the tenth penny upon all ranks of his subjects. It was apprehended that this would raise a civil war in *France*, and some appearances of that kind actually broke out at *Lyons*, but were attended with no material consequences. The death of cardinal *Fleury*, which happened about this time, left *Belleisle* and the warlike part of the *French* ministry at liberty to continue their plan of operations; but prince *Charles* of *Lorraine* was now at the head of an army, which obliged the *French* generals, *Broglie* and *Belleisle*, to retire under the cannon of *Prague*. This retreat afforded a lively picture of the *French* character. Insolent and unmerciful conquerors, while they had the superiority, timid and confused when their affairs were doubtful. They had recourse to every stratagem of war, but were unsuccessful in all. They lost half their army through irresolution, without coming to an action, and offered to surrender *Prague*, *Egra*, and all they held in *Bohemia*, provided they were suffered to depart with their arms, artillery and baggage. The *Austrians*, in their turn, were guilty of the like extremes in conduct. Instead of listening to this proposal, or to the very moderate terms proposed by the emperor, nothing would satisfy the court of *Vienna* but the utter extermination of the *French* army in

in *Bohemia*. Despair effected what prudence and resolution failed in. *Lewis* ordered marshal *Maillebois*, who commanded an army upon the *Rhine*, to march to *Belleisle*'s relief; and he was joined at *Amberg* by the *French* and imperialists from *Bavaria*. This diversion obliged prince *Charles* to leave the blockade of *Prague*, where *Belleisle* was then shut up, to the *Austrian* general, *Festitz*, and to march against *Maillebois* with the main body of the army; but he could not bring him to an engagement. Neither durst *Maillebois* proceed to *Prague*, and to the amazement of his own court, he fell back upon the *Palatinate*, but lost more men in his retreat than he could have done in an unsuccessful engagement.

In the mean while *Festitz* was obliged to abandon the blockade of *Prague*. The *French* took post at *Leutmeritz*, and *Broglie*, in the disguise of a courier, escaped to take command of *Maillebois*'s army, who was now disgraced. retreat had obliged the *French* generals once more to shut themselves up in *Prague*, where their troops were reduced to such extremity, that they subsisted for some weeks upon horse-flesh and unclean animals. It was then *Belleisle* shewed a masterly genius in war, by outwitting *Lobkowitz*, one of the best of the *Austrian* generals, who commanded the blockade of *Prague*. The dispositions of *Belleisle* were so admirable, that he left that city with fourteen thousand men, carried with him some citizens as hostages, for the safety of nine hundred men, whom he left in garrison to blind the *Austrians*, gained a day's march of the *Austrians*, and though he himself was then much indisposed, he behaved with such a presence of mind and activity, that the *Austrian* cavalry who were sent to pursue him, could make no impression upon the main body of his army. All this however could not be done without immense loss. Great numbers of his men perished in the snow, through the inclemency of the season, amidst the dreadful mountains he passed, and he lost all his artillery and equipages; nor was he well received at the court of *Versailles*, where he upbraided the ministers for having so poorly supported him. Notwithstanding those misfortunes, in the beginning of the year 1743, *France* had a great army on foot, but the emperor could not persuade *Broglie* to hazard a battle for the deliverance of *Bavaria*, which had once more fallen into the hands of the *Austrians*; so that the emperor *Charles* the VIIth, was obliged like a fugitive to hide his head in *Franckfort*, where he lived, with scarcely the accommodations of a private nobleman. He now saw that the *French* court had adopted his cause only for their own convenience, and he had concluded a neutrality with the *Austrians* for his electoral dominions. The low state of the emperor awakened compassion in the breasts of their *Britannic* and *Prussian* majesties, which at this time was of more service to him than all the pretended friendship of *France*.

During the winter of the year 1742, sixteen thousand *British* troops were quartered in the *Netherlands*; and in *May* 1743, they

Belleisle
blocked
up in
Prague,

from
whence he
bravely
escapes.

1743.

The
French lose
the battle

of *Dettingen*.

they began their march to join prince *Charles* of *Lorraine*. The *French* court were embarrassed by the state of affairs in *Germany*, and gave the command of an army far superior to the *British* and *Hanoverian*, to the marshal duke *de Noailles*, while marshal *Coigny* was ordered with another army to guard the passes of the *Rhine*, in case prince *Charles*, finding himself unable to join the *British* troops, should make an irruption into *Alsace*. The dispositions of *Noailles* were masterly; but the *British* commander, field marshal *Stair*, found himself so much cramped in his command, that he lost all the advantageous posts upon the *Upper Mayne*; so that when his *Britannic* majesty and his son, the duke of *Cumberland*, joined their army on the 9th of *June*, the *French* were so well situated, that there was a moral probability of their obliging their enemies to surrender at discretion. The presumption and insolence of the *French*, disappointed all the well laid schemes of *Noailles*. The duke of *Grammont*, who commanded the front of the *French* army, instead of acting on the defensive, attacked the *British* troops, and the *French* were defeated with the loss of five thousand men. Had it not been for the partiality of his *Britannic* majesty in favour of his electoral dominions, this battle, which was called that of *Dettingen*, might have been decisive of the war. The advice of the earl of *Stair* was, to pursue and destroy the enemy's army; but king *George* did not chuse to hazard the total devastation of *Hanover* by the *French*, and the pursuit was prevented.

1744.

The *French* attempt an invasion of *Great Britain*, but are prevented.

In the beginning of the year 1744, the troops of *France* amounted to two hundred and thirty thousand men, besides a very powerful marine. The state of affairs in *America*, which were then unfavourable to the *English*, determined them to join the *Spaniards*, as principals in the war. As *Great Britain* was the only power they had to dread, they formed a plan of diversion for her forces, by inviting into *France* the eldest son of the pretender to the *British* crown. It is uncertain upon what terms the young adventurer, whose family had been so often the dupes of *French* treachery, embraced the proposal, nor are the designs of the *French* in their operations, very intelligible. Cardinal *Tencin*, who owed his elevation to the purple to the old pretender, had succeeded to great part of *Fleury's* power, and without doubt, was the first who suggested to *Lewis* the scheme of an invasion. We can scarcely suppose the *French* court to have been so credulous as to imagine they could have imposed a descendent of the *Stuarts* on the people of *England* for their king; but without any such romantic view, the scheme was undoubtedly founded on true maxims of policy, as the invasion must have created a powerful revulsion of *British* troops from the continent. The young adventurer arrived in disguise at *Paris*, and the first scheme of his restoration, was no less than that of sending him at the head of an army and a powerful fleet with the marshal *de Saxe*, the best officer in *France*, to command under him, in a descent upon *England*.

That

That country was indeed then miserably divided by faction; but that in favour of the pretender was magnified beyond all credibility at the *French* court by jacobites, exiles and jesuits. *Roquefeuille*, a *French* marine officer of character, had the command of the fleet which was to consist of twenty ships of the line; and the troops, with the young pretender and marshal *de Saxe* being put on board, he set sail for the *English* channel. The *British* ministry, though apprized of the invasion, left too much to chance; but, by a fortuitous concurrence of circumstances, their admiral, sir *John Norris*, by almost incredible efforts, opposed them with a superior navy, which *Roquefeuille* did not think proper to engage, and fortunately for his fleet, he escaped to *Brest*, though with some loss of ships, which were driven ashore and destroyed. After this mutual declarations of war between *France* and *Great Britain* were published, and the *English* fleet suffered, under *Matthews* and *Lestock*, the indelible stain of permitting the *French* and *Spanish* squadrons to escape out of *Toulon*. *Monf. de Court* was the *French* admiral, and his loss, through the dissension that reigned between the two *British* commanders, was but inconsiderable.

Tranquillity, at this time, might have been restored to *Europe*, had it not been for the obstinacy of the court of *Vienna*, which would hearken to no terms of accommodation, though the emperor, in effect, offered to abandon the alliance and protection of *France*, if he could obtain but reasonable terms. The *English* ministry were well disposed, at first, to accept his offers, but the queen of *Hungary* was resolved to obtain all or none. Even *George* the II^d, though sincerely disposed for peace, thought it was practicable to exterminate the *French* in *Germany*, and his ministers came over to the same opinion. The distresses of the emperor thus daily multiplying, saved him from perdition. The king of *Prussia*, the king of *Sweden*, as landgrave of *Hesse Cassel*, and the elector palatine, formed a league with him at *Francfort*, and engaged to support the imperial dignity according to the *Germanic* constitutions. *France* now declared war against the queen of *Hungary*, and an army of a hundred and twenty thousand men, with a most dreadful train of artillery, were assembled for the conquest of the *Netherlands*, under the marshal count *de Saxe*.

Obstinacy
of the
court of
Vienna.

That general was natural son to the late king of *Poland*, and, with a narrow capacity in all other respects, was a great military genius. He had seen much service, and though a protestant, his merit recommended him to the command of the *French* army. His rendezvous on the plains of *Lisle* was very splendid, for the army was reviewed by *Lewis* in person, attended by the ladies of his court, and in a few days he took *Menin*, *Ypres*, *Fort Knocque* and *Furnes*. On the 29th of *June* *Lewis* made a triumphal entry into *Dunkirk*. While he thus thought himself on the pinnacle of fortune, prince *Charles* of *Lorraine*, by an amazing train of operations, passed

Danger
of the
French
king.

the *Rhine*, and obliged *Seckendorf* and *Coigny*, the imperial and *French* generals in *Alsace*, to fall back, that they might cover *Strasbourg*. The *Austrians* took *Haguenau* and *Saverne*, and laid all *Lower Alsace* under contribution. *Lewis* ordered thirty thousand men to defile from the *Netherlands*, to oppose prince *Charles*; but while he was marching to head his armies in *Alsace*, he fell into so severe a distemper, that his physicians despaired of his life. It was from that circumstance, that his friends and flatterers affixed to his name the epithet of the *Weilbeloved*. All *France* seemed to be in mourning. The queen, the royal family, and the princes of the blood, hurried, under the greatest affliction, to take their last leave of him at *Metz* in *Lorraine*. His notorious infidelities to the marriage bed, gave him some compunction, and he ordered his ladies of pleasure to be dismissed, while the strength of his constitution getting the better of his disease, he recovered.

Conduct of marshal Saxe in the *Netherlands*. The king of *Prussia* was, by this time, master of the electorate of *Saxony*, but affected to act only as a mediator. He overran great part of *Bohemia* in that character, but in the mean while, notwithstanding all the efforts of the marshals *Coigny*, *Belleisle*, and *Noailles*, prince *Charles* repassed the *Rhine* in sight of their army, and soon obliged his *Prussian* majesty to relinquish all his conquests in *Bohemia*, and to perform a precipitate, if not a shameful, retreat to *Silesia*. In *August*, *Lewis* being now perfectly well recovered, arrived at his army, which had besieged *Fribourg*, and after losing fifteen thousand men during the siege, he closed the campaign with the conquest of that important place. The vast efforts made by the *French* upon the *Rhine*, disabled marshal *Saxe*, who had been left to command the army in the *Netherlands*, from acting offensively. He was favoured by the misconduct of the generals *Wade* and *Aremberg*, who commanded the allied army; but hated one another, and, though triple his force, they were unable to bring him to a battle; so that all parties went into winter quarters. The *French* fleet was then at sea, under *Monf. Rochambault*, and the *English*, under *Sir John Balchen*, went in quest of it, but it was saved by a storm which overtook the *English*, and sent their admiral, in the finest first-rate ship in the world, to the bottom. A few days after the reduction of *Fribourg*, marshal *Belleisle* and his brother were apprehended in the *Hanoverian* territories, by a magistrate of that electorate, and sent over to *England*. They insisted on having the benefit of the cartel, but it was denied them at first, and they resided as prisoners in *England* for some months, till the affair was adjusted to their satisfaction, and then they returned to *France*.

The queen of *Hungary* restores the electorate of *Bavaria*. Upon the death of the emperor *Charles* the VIIth, notwithstanding the intrigues of the *French*, the queen of *Hungary*'s husband, the great duke of *Tuscany*, stood a candidate for the imperial throne, and the *French* were beaten by the *Austrian* general, *Bathiani*, in *Bavaria*; out of which the young elector was driven. To prevent his losing the whole of his dominions,

dominions, he entered into a compromise with the queen of *Hungary*, who generously restored him to his electorate, and acknowledged the imperial dignity of his father, upon his promising to give his vote for the great duke. The day for the election drawing near, the prince of *Condé*, who lay with a band *French* army in the neighbourhood of *Franckfort*, was obliged to repass the *Rhine* at *Nordlingen*, by the great duke in person, and the majority of voices being in his favour, he was declared to be duly elected emperor. This did not prevent the king from pushing his conquests on the side of the *Netherlands*. In the spring, marshal *Saxe* had assembled a great army, to which the king and the dauphin repaired, and on the 30th of *April* they besieged the strong town of *Tournay*. The duke of *Cumberland*, who commanded the allied army, resolved to risk every thing to save so important a place ; and notwithstanding the inferiority of his numbers, he attacked the *French* in their lines, at *Fontenoy*, with so great intrepidity, that they must have been totally defeated, had the *Dutch* troops done their duty. Marshal *Saxe* was more than once on the point of forcing the *French* king and his son to retire from the field of battle, where it is said they behaved with sufficient resolution. The scandalous cowardice of the *Dutch*, however, forced the duke at last to retreat, and to leave the victory to the *French*. It is thought that the allies lost above twelve thousand men, and the *French* the same number in this battle, and on the 21st of *June*, *Tournay* capitulated. The duke took up a strong camp at *Lessines*, and sent a detachment of four thousand men to reinforce the garrison of *Ghent*, but most of them were cut off on their march, and *Ghent* fell into the hands of the enemy, as did *Ostend*, *Dendermonde*, *Oudenarde*, *Neuport*, and *Aeth*, while *Lewis* returned in triumph to *Paris*.

Her husband

chosen

emperor.

Campaign

in the Ne-

therlands.

Battle of

Fontenoy.

Those losses in the *Netherlands* were, in part, compensated to the *English*, by the vast naval advantages they obtained this year, over the *French* in the *East Indies* and *America*, and by the reduction of *Louisbourg*, the *American Dunkirk*, together with the conquest of *Cape Breton*.

Though the *French* conquests in the *Netherlands* seemed wholly to engross that court, yet they never had lost sight of raising a rebellion in *Great Britain*, by means of the young pretender. Ever since he had been driven from the coast of *Britain*, he had kept up a close correspondence with the discontented in *England* as well as *Scotland*; and having communicated his dispatches to the *French* court, he embarked on board a frigate at *St. Lazare*, and putting to sea, he was joined on the 14th of *July* by the *Elizabeth*, a *French* man of war of 66 guns. The *Elizabeth* was attacked by the *Lion*, an *English* man of war of the same force, and the *French* sailors were never known to behave so well as they did in the dreadful engagement which followed. Both ships were equally disabled from continuing the combat, and it was with the greatest difficulty that they continued above water, till they reached their

The

young

pretender

sails to

Scotland,

where he

raises a re-

bellion ;

several harbours. The young pretender continued his course in the frigate, and arrived off the coast of *Scotland*, where he landed, and soon saw himself at the head of about fifteen hundred men. He was attended by a *French* agent, whom he called an ambassador, but it soon appeared that he was to expect but little assistance from that court. A few ships indeed dropt in with arms, and some money was sent ashore; but upon the whole, the assistance he received from *France* was very inconsiderable; nor was even the money (which did not exceed fifty thousand pounds) sent him by *Lewis*, but by his father, and his friends on the continent. *France* however, who never meant that he should succeed, gained her ends. A flame was blown up in *Britain*, which disconcerted all his *Britannic* majesty's measures on the continent. The success of the young adventurer was at first rapid beyond belief. After disarming and making prisoners a large detachment of regulars in the *Highlands*, he marched southward, took possession of the capital, and in a manner at its gates, he attacked and totally defeated the king's troops under general Sir *John Cope*. He amused himself, after this, with the hopes of being able to take the castle of *Edinburgh*, where the national bank and treasures were lodged, and trifled his time at *Edinburgh*, instead of improving the panic into which his successes had thrown the friends of the government.

At last, he marched forward, surprized the town and fortresses of *Carlisle*, and proceeded to *Derby*, within ninety miles of *London* itself. By this time the duke of *Cumberland* was arrived in *England*, as were six thousand *Dutch* troops, and very considerable detachments from the *British* army in *Flanders*. The *French* made a shew of vast preparations at *Boulogne* and *Dunkirk*, for a descent upon the southern parts of *England*; but they were rendered ineffectual, by the vigilance of the *English* admiral, *Vernon*, and a number of their ships, bound for *Scotland*, with men, arms, and accoutrements, were intercepted, so that not above five hundred *French*, most of them of *Fitz James's* regiment, were landed. The young adventurer saw his hopes dashed; but notwithstanding the most prudent dispositions of the duke of *Cumberland*, and field marshal *Wade*, he made a most amazing retreat northwards, and returned to *Scotland* almost without loss. The *French*, who had landed, were commanded by lord *John Drummond*, an officer destitute of experience and resolution; but the young pretender was still in hopes that the spirit of his *Scotch* friends would repair all the disappointments he had met with from the court of *France*, and his cold reception by the *English* jacobites. His expectations were not wholly destitute of foundation, and the hopes of his party were again revived, by their giving a fresh defeat to the king's troops under general *Hawley*, at *Falkirk*. The duke of *Cumberland* then took the command of the army, which he was at great pains to discipline, so that his soldiers should be a match for the rebels, in their own way of fighting.

fighting. The latter were then besieging *Stirling*; but when they heard that his royal highness was approaching, they blew up their magazines, and made a most precipitate retreat northwards, in order, as they gave out, to collect their whole force, that they might fight a decisive battle. The many skirmishes and adventures that followed, are foreign to this history. The duke of *Cumberland* proved victorious at the battle of *Culloden*, and the *French* troops in the rebel army surrendered themselves to his royal highness, without having done any thing worthy of the name of soldiers; and thus ended all the hopes of the *French* from the *British* rebels. which is quelled.

By this time, the *States General*, after the most abject submission to the *French* court, found themselves stripped of their barrier. Marshal *Saxe* had, during the winter of 1745, taken *Brussels*; and the rebellion that raged in *Great Britain* disabled *George* the II^d from supporting the party of his son-in-law, the prince of *Orange*, who were desirous to enter as principals in the war. In *April* 1746, the *French* king and his general *Saxe*, were at the head of a hundred and twenty thousand men, and forced *Bathiani*, the general of the allies, to take post in the neighbourhood of *Brabant*. 1745.

The consequence was, that the *French* made themselves masters, by means of a more dreadful train of artillery than ever had been seen in the field before, of *Antwerp*, *Mons*, *St. Guislain*, and *Charleroy*; so that by the middle of *July*, *Lewis* saw himself in possession of *Flanders*, *Hainault*, and *Brabant*. 1746. Vast progress of the *French* in *Flanders*. *Lowendahl*, the kinsman of *Saxe*, and second only to him in military genius, took *Huy*, and cut off the communication of the allies, who were commanded by prince *Charles* of *Lorraine*, with *Maestricht*. The prince was obliged to repass the *Maese*, and the *French* took *Namur*. By the motions of prince *Charles*, he had received some reinforcements from *Great Britain* under Sir *John Ligonier*, and regained his communication with *Maestricht*, but he found *Saxe* too advantageously encamped at *Tongres*, to force him to a battle. *Saxe* watched his opportunity, and defeated the allies under the prince of *Waldeck*, at *Roucoux*. This battle was ineffectually bloody, and of little service to either side. Soon after both armies went into winter quarters.

During the operations in the *Netherlands*, the allies formed great hopes from two expeditions. The one was, the invasion of *Provence*, where the *Austrian* general, *Brown*, besieged by the *Antibes*, but without effect, for he was forced, by *Belleisle*, to repass the *Var*. *Provence* invaded by the *Austrians*. The other expedition was to have been executed against *Port l'Orient*, by general *Sinclair*, a *British* officer, at the head of six or seven thousand men, but very unequal to that, or indeed any other, command, for he abandoned his enterprize just as the inhabitants were preparing to lend him the keys of their town. Upon the recess of the armies, some conferences for peace were held at *Breda*, but the terms demanded by the *French* were such, that the court of *London* determined to prosecute the war with more vigour than ever.

A descent
formed
upon Zea-
land.

Battle of
Lafeldt.

Bergen-op-
Zoom ta-
ken.

For that purpose the duke of *Cumberland* passed over to *Holland*, where he concerted the operations of the succeeding campaign; and in *February* following, he encamped at the head of the *English*, *Hanoverians*, and *Hessians*, at *Tilberg*. *Bathiani* remained in the neighbourhood of *Venlo*, with the *Germans*, and the prince of *Waldeck* in that of *Breda*, with the *Dutch*. It was thought that his royal highness committed an error by taking the field so early in a rigorous season. *Saxe* lay in his cantonments, and is said to have insulted his royal highness upon his error. It is certain that vast numbers of the allies died through the inclemency of the weather; nor did *Saxe*, who was now created marshal general of *France*, make any movement till *April*, when he detached twenty-seven thousand men, under *Lowendahl*, into *Dutch Flanders*. That accomplished general, who shone at sieges, as much as *Saxe* did in the field, soon reduced *Sluys*, and a great number of other places, which were shamefully given up by the *Dutch*; and *Lowendahl* had orders to prepare flat-bottom'd boats for a descent upon *Zealand*. Here *Saxe*, in his turn, committed an error, for the imminent danger they were in, united the common people in *Holland* against their pusillanimous magistrates, and the prince of *Orange* was chosen their Stadtholder. *Maestricht* and *Bergen-op-Zoom* were then covered by the position of the duke of *Cumberland*, between the two *Neths*; but *Saxe* made dispositions for besieging *Maestricht*, and at the same time, for fighting the allies. A battle accordingly ensued, at *Lafeldt*, to the disadvantage of the latter, through the cowardice of the *Dutch*. The duke of *Cumberland* was in the most imminent danger of being made prisoner, when he was disengaged by Sir *John Ligonier*, at the head of a regiment of *British* cavalry; but that general was himself taken prisoner, and carried to the *French* camp.

From that hour, we may date the serious negotiations for peace, entered into by the *French*. *Lewis*, in fact, had been more successful than he could have expected, and he knew that he would gain more by having the *Dutch* for his obsequious allies, than if they were his subjects. He hinted his inclinations for peace to his captive, who communicated what passed, to his own court; but in the mean time the operations of war went on with vigour, for *Lowendahl*, in an almost wonderful manner, besieged and took *Bergen-op-Zoom*, one of the strongest fortresses in *Europe*, and situated in *Dutch Brabant*. This conquest crowned the glory of *Lewis* for that campaign, and *Lowendahl* was rewarded with a marshal's baton. Those splendid conquests served only to disguise from the vulgar, the true state of *France*. Her commerce was ruined in almost every quarter of the globe. She had not now the face of a naval armament in *America*, but she fitted out two squadrons, one under *Fonquiere*, who was to act in the *West Indies*, and another under *St. George*, who was destined to the *East Indies*. Before they separated, they were

defeated

defeated by the *English* admirals, *Anson* and *Warren*; and rear admiral *Hawke* defeated another *French* fleet under *l'Etendeur*, only two ships of the line escaping. Such, and many other, were the blows that disposed *Lewis* for peace. The empire had now an *Austrian* head: The *French* king could reap no real benefit from the aggrandizement of the king of *Prussia*, and the *Dutch* seemed to be united against him as one man. In *Italy*, *Lewis* had the empty glory of assisting the *Genoese* against the *Austrian* tyranny; but the *French* troops, under the chevalier *de Belleisle*, brother to the marshal, were defeated, at the pass of *Exilles*, in attempting to penetrate into *Piedmont*, and he himself was killed. It affected *Lewis* deeply, at the same time, that the *British* commerce in the midst of the war, was in a more flourishing state than it ever had been known, in the time of peace.

The desire of a negotiation was quickened in *Lewis*, by a Peace of treaty of subsidy entered into by king *George* with the court of *Aix-la-Russia*, who had engaged to send thirty-five thousand of its *Chapelle* best troops to the assistance of the allies. *Aix-la-Chapelle* was concluded pitched upon for the place of treaty, and the preliminaries of peace were actually signed there on the 13th of *May* 1748, but still the operations in the field continued. The *French* had invested *Maastricht*, which made a noble defence, and the siege was far advanced, when advice arrived of the preliminaries having been signed at *Aix-la-Chapelle*. By a secret convention, it was agreed that *Maastricht*, for the glory of the *French* arms, should be delivered up to *Saxe*, but he was to return it safe to its former owners. 1748.

The peace of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, by which the *British* court gave hostages till certain matters were regulated in *America* and the *East Indies*, was far from being either for the interest or the glory of *Great Britain*. The only apology made for it, came from the gentlemen of the army, which, they said, must have been absolutely ruined if it had not been concluded. *Lewis*, on the other hand, boasted of his moderation, by consenting to give up his chief conquests in the *Netherlands*, but in a defenceless state. He was at that time in no easy circumstances at home, through the jarring claims of his clergy and parliaments. They arose to such a height, that the chambers of parliament refused to register the king's letters patent, till they had justice done to their privileges. He banished them all; but they exulted in their exile, and at last, *Lewis* dissolved all the known tribunals of justice in *France*, and, by his own authority, he instituted a royal chamber, by which all causes, civil and criminal, were to be judged. The parliaments maintained their former firmness. They were backed by the people of *France*, as *Lewis* was by his standing army; but after many altercations, the monarch was obliged to recede from his high pretensions, and the parliament was restored to its former functions.

Rise of the
American
war.

Those differences between the king and his parliaments employed all the interval of time between the peace of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, and the breaking out of the succeeding war, which was terminated by the peace of *Paris* in 1763. It was soon discovered that the treaty, with all its specious appearances, was, on the part of *France*, no better than an insidious truce. No sooner was it concluded, than she made preparations for settling the neutral islands of *St. Lucia*, *Dominica*, *St. Vincent* and *Tobago*; but in this she was deterred by the representations of the *English* ministers at *Paris*. The most important points of the *British* navigation, and possessions in *North America*, had been left to the settlement of commissaries, a species of negotiation in which the *French* have always been our superiors. The establishment of the town and colony of *Halifax* in *Nova Scotia*, gave them disquiet, and they had made a considerable progress in settling the island of *Tobago*, under the authority of their governor of *Martinico*, till they were interrupted by captain *Tyrrel*, a *British* sea officer. Upon proper representations being made at the *French* court, his most christian majesty thought proper to disown the proceedings of his governor. The *French* made a great merit of this, and behaved in such a manner towards the court of *London*, as if they were ready to sacrifice every thing to satisfy his *Britannic* majesty, and they had soon an opportunity of exhibiting a signal instance of their complaisance. They had agreed, by the late peace, that the young pretender should be sent out of *France*, but he refused to depart, before the promises made to him by his most christian majesty were fulfilled. He even affected to appear in public in the same places with the *British* hostages. *Lewis*, upon this, without any ceremony, gave orders that he should be arrested, which he accordingly was, in entering the opera house, and sent pinioned to a dungeon, where he remained a prisoner for three days, till he conformed himself to his most christian majesty's pleasure. At this time, *Lewis*, to do him justice, applied himself with great assiduity in repairing the ravages which the war had made in his dominions. He reduced half his army, and an incredible progress was made in restoring his marine. In the disputes between *Sweden* and *Russia*, he and the king of *Prussia* inclined to take part with the former, and those two powers, as being the natural enemies of the house of *Austria*, co-operated together in all the affairs of *Germany*.

The
young
pretender
arrested,
and sent
out of
France.

Disputes
between
the *English*
and *French*
about
America.

At *Paris*, conferences were held between the commissaries of *England* and *France*, concerning the limits of *Nova Scotia*. The latter had recourse to the most infamous evasions and palpable forgeries to certify their pretensions, while, at the same time, they were making such encroachments upon the *British* back settlements, as evidently pointed towards a war. The archbishop of *Paris*, the most violent prelate in *Europe*, seemed to be born for disturbing the tranquillity of his country, by disowning

disowning the authority of the parliaments, and pressing the acceptance of the bull *Unigenitus*. This, once more, filled *France* full of intrigues, and produced fresh disorders, but still to the disadvantage of the royal prerogative. The conferences concerning the limits of *Acadia*, or *Nova Scotia*, were still proceeding, but to no purpose. The *British* commissaries produced the most irrefragable proofs of the justice of their demands, but it was not long before the dispute exceeded the bounds of negotiation. The *French* claimed all the lands upon the *Ohio*, and an exclusive right of trading with the *Indians* on the banks of that river. The *English*, by an impolitic admeasurement of the *Indian* lands there, had rendered the natives their enemies; a circumstance of which the *French* governor of *Quebec* availed himself to the full. He claimed all the privileges of trading with the inland natives, and perhaps he was too precipitate in unmasking the real designs of his court, by ordering three *English* traders to be arrested, and sent prisoners, first to *Quebec*, and then to *Rochelle* in old *France*. This alarmed the *British* ministry, and though the affair was hushed up as much as possible, the traders were set at liberty, upon their being demanded by the earl of *Albemarle*, the *British* ambassador at *Paris*. The *French* court made fair professions, and pretended to send orders to their *American* governors for keeping up a good correspondence with the *British* nation, but they produced only daily encroachments upon the *English* trade and territory. These were so flagrant that at last, Mr. *Dinwiddie*, the lieutenant governor of *Virginia*, towards the end of the year 1753, sent one major 1753. *Washington* to expostulate with the commandant of a *French* fort, which had been built on the *British* lands, at the *Riviere au Bœuf*, which discharges itself into the *Ohio*, near the lake *Erie*. The commandant pretended he would transmit the complaint to his superior officer, the marquis *Du Quesne*, but took no farther notice of it; upon which, the *English* governor ordered a fort to be erected near the forks of the river.

The whole tenour of the *French* conduct was equally faith- Encroach-
less, and one of their officers, *La Corne*, fortified a post on ments of
the bay of *Chignecto*, so that the inhabitants of *Annapolis-* the *French*
royal, though really subjects to *Great Britain*, joined with the there.
French. The misfortune was, that the wrong steps taken by
the *English* planters and the *Ohio* company, made the *Indians*,
who had too great reason for complaint, irreconcilable to the
English interest, and the *French* under pretence that they had
no controul over the savages, gave way to their committing
the most cruel barbarities. Major *Lawrence* was detached
from *Halifax* by general *Cornwallis* to reduce the *Annapolitans*,
but found himself too weak, because they were under the
protection of *La Corne*, and were well provided with arms
and ammunition. Thus disappointed, the major was obliged
to return to *Halifax*; and the *Indians* instigated by the *Anna-*
politans or *French* neutrals, as they were called, committed
every

Farther
invasions
of the
French in
America.

every species of barbarity upon the inhabitants of *Halifax*, and the *English* who fell into their hands. Major *Laurence* was reinforced with a thousand men, and attacked the post, at *Chignecto*, with so much vigour, that he killed and wounded many of the neutrals, and obliged the remainder to fly across the river, where *La Corne* received and protected them. Several forts were built, one called *Beaufejour*, by the *French*; and another called fort *St. Laurence* by the *English*, which protected their respective partizans in that predatory scalping war. The *Indians* and the *French* neutrals mingled together as one body, and were furnished by the *French* governors with boats, arms, and ammunition, and every thing that could serve to annoy the *English*. They committed great cruelties on the inhabitants of the little town of *Dartmouth*, which lay across *Halifax* bay, by scalping some and carrying off others into a servitude that was worse than death itself. It would be endless to recount the number of forts they erected towards the back settlements, to secure an exclusive trade with the *Indians*, and to annoy the *English*, while at the same time the commissaries of both kingdoms were calmly debating at *Paris*, concerning the property of the ground on which those forts were erected. The earl of *Albemarle* presented memorials on those heads, and demanded the demolition of *Niagara* particularly; but he received little other satisfaction than fair words and promises. The *English* subjects in *America*, at last, received orders to repell force by force, and to drive the *French* from their settlements on the *Ohio*; but while they were deliberating on the manner of carrying those orders into execution, the *French* took *Loggs Town*, with the block-house and truck-house, with all their contents amounting to the value of twenty thousand pounds. Mons. *Contrecoeur*, a *French* officer, about the same time came from *Venango*, on the banks of the *Ohio*, and took a *Virginia* fort on the forks of the *Monongahela*.

Measures
of the
English
there.

It amazed all *Europe* that the *French* should be so successful against an enemy ten times more powerful than themselves on that continent. It was owing to their arbitrary form of government, by which every one of their governors or officers had the means of immediately executing their orders. But the forms of the *British* constitution subjected the *English* governors to checks, which required too much time; and in the mean while the *French* being always alert and ready, were proceeding with success before the *English* were in a condition to take the field. The latter were sensible of this disadvantage, and a plan was sent from *Great Britain* for a political confederacy among all their governments, and for bringing the *Indians* off from the *French* interest by dint of presents. A congress accordingly was held at *Albany*, and so successful had the *French* been in debauching the chiefs of the *Indians*, that few of the latter attended, but they who did, accepted the presents, and gave fair, but deceitful, words. Upon the break-

ing

ing up of the congress, colonel *Washington* was sent with four hundred men to take post on the banks of the *Ohio*, where he threw up some works breast high, and called them fort *Necessity*. A *French* officer, one *Jamonville*, was sent by *Du Viller*, his superior officer, to expostulate with *Washington* for his having built a fort upon *French* property. According to the *French* accounts, *Jamonville* and most of the party who attended him were butchered without provocation. The *English* say, that he began hostilities from an over impetuosity. *Du Viller*, who was at the head of nine hundred men, attacked and defeated *Washington*, and obliged him to surrender the fort. Unfortunately for the *English* interest, the governors and assemblies were at this time miserably divided, so that no effectual opposition was made to the *French*, till two *American* regiments, one under *Pepperell*, and another under *Shirley*, were ordered to be raised. The *English* ambassador at *Paris*, complained of what had happened in *America*, but was answered only by the *French* court sending daily supplies of troops, arms and ammunition to *Quebec*, to support their usurpations.

These were so flagrant, that the *British* ministry took the Troops matter upon themselves, and came to a resolution to send a sent from body of troops to *America* to co-operate with the provincials. *Great* The *French* continued to behave with the utmost dissimulation *Britain to* and insolence. They even imposed upon their own minister *America*. at the *British* court, the duke *de Mirepoix*, who was a man of honour, by authorizing him to declare that no infraction of treaties was made on the part of *France*. The duke having found out the duplicity of his own court, went to *Paris*, where he upbraided the ministry, but they found means to persuade him of their good faith, and he was sent back to *London* fraught with the same assurances as before. Scarcely had he delivered them, when undoubted intelligence arrived, that a powerful armament was ready to sail from *Brest* and *Rochfort* to *America*, upon which admiral *Boscawen* sailed with eleven ships of the line and a frigate, and some land troops, to observe the enemy's motions, but with orders to act offensively. The *French* armament was stronger than was imagined, for it was found to consist of twenty-five ships of the line, besides frigates and transports, which carried four thousand regulars, under baron *Dieskau*, a general of ability and experience. This squadron was commanded by one Mr. *M^r Namara*, and *Monf. Bois de la Mothe*; but the former, after seeing the latter out of the chops of the channel, returned to *France* with eleven capital ships.

The truth is, that the vigour and injustice the *French* mini- Two sters discovered on this occasion, was owing to a full convic- *French* tion they had that his *Britannic* majesty's tenderness for his ships tak- *German* dominions, would tie up the hands of his admirals en by *Bos-* and generals. The *English* ministers, on the one hand, *carwen*. declared loudly to *Mirepoix*, that *Boscawen* had orders to at- tack

tack the *French* fleet wherever he met it. *Mirepoix*, on the other hand, affirmed that he had express orders from his master, to declare that he would consider the first gun fired in a hostile manner at sea, as a declaration of war. *Boscawen* sailed on the 27th of *April*, and arrived on the banks of *Newfoundland*, but the fogs prevented him from seeing the *French* fleet which was there at the same time. The latter, however, knew of *Boscawen's* arrival, and part of them escaped up the river *St. Laurence*, and part by the straits of *Belleisle*, which, till then, were not thought to be navigable by ships of the line. Only two of the *French* ships, the *Alcide*, and the *Lys*, were taken, both of them bored for sixty-four guns, and each carrying a considerable number of land troops, with a large sum of money; but they did not surrender, till after a smart engagement. The *French* court could scarcely believe the news of this engagement, and the *English* were overjoyed, as they considered it as a declaration of war. The duke de *Mirepoix* was recalled from *London*, as *Bussy* was from *Hanover*, where he was attending his *Britannic* majesty, and negotiating a neutrality for *Hanover*, in which, however, he did not succeed. The same provocation that justified *Boscawen's* hostility, justified farther measures for disabling the *French*; and orders were issued in *England* for bringing all *French* ships which should be met with at sea, either homeward or outward bound, into *British* ports.

System of
affairs in
Europe.

The great difference between the genius of the *French* and the *British* nations was discernable, now that the latter were unfettered by any foreign considerations. *George II.* had been offered the most advantageous terms by the *French* ministry, if he would agree to a neutrality for *Hanover*. He considered that measure as so precarious a dependence, that he chose to throw himself upon the affections of his *British* subjects, who did not deceive him. They enabled him to conclude a treaty with the king of *Prussia*, to whom they paid a subsidy of seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds a year. The *French* were unsuccessful in their endeavours to procure the mediation of *Spain* for a suspension of arms, but they brought over the elector of *Cologne* to their party, and they had now recourse to their last measure, that of erecting vast magazines in *Westphalia*, for the invasion of *Hanover*. The complication of interests which then prevailed in *Europe*, altered its whole system. The empress of *Russia*, and the empress queen, had concluded a negotiation to which the king of *Poland* was invited, for a partition of the *Prussian* dominions. The count d'*Aubeterre*, the *French* ambassador at *Vienna*, offered to enter into all their measures, provided the two empresses would abandon the friendship of *Great Britain*, which they did by a secret treaty, concluded at *Versailles*. Thus the unnatural alliance between the houses of *Austria* and *Bourbon* against those of *Hanover* and *Brandenburgh* commenced.

The

The sea was now covered with *British* armaments, while those of *France* were shut up in their ports and harbours. Before the end of the year 1755, above three hundred rich *French* ships of the from *St. Domingo* and *Martinico*, carrying above eight thousand *French* by sailors, were brought into the *British* ports; an amazing proof of the encrease of the *French* commerce, since the late peace. *lish*. Their trade was ruined abroad, and their dissensions grew at home, where the parliament continued so firm, that *Lewis* was in a manner forced to take its part against the ecclesiastics, whom he obliged to make him a present of sixteen millions of livres, by way of free gift. In *America*, lieutenant colonel *Monkton*, after defeating the *French*, took *Fort Beaufejour*, though it mounted twenty-six pieces of cannon; the garrison was sent to *Louisbourg*, which, by the treaty of *Aix la Chapelle*, had reverted to the *French*; but on condition of their not serving in *America* for six months. The lieutenant colonel, after that, reduced a *French* fort upon the river *Gaspereau*, where he seized upon the *French* magazines. In the course of this successful expedition, above fifteen thousand *Acadians*, subjects of *England*, but debauched by the *French*, were disarmed and pardoned; and the *French* fort at the mouth of the river *St. John*, was demolished.

A resolution was next taken at the court of *Great Britain* of sending major general *Braddock* to conduct the operations against the *French* upon the *Ohio*, and he landed in *Virginia* with the regiments of *Dunbar* and *Halket* before the end of *February*. This expedition did not prove more unfortunate in its progress, than in the choice of its general, who was a haughty proud man, and had a sovereign contempt for the provincials whom he was to command. He despised all advice given him for being upon his guard in his march, against a surprize from the *French* and *Indians*. He joined the camp formed by the *Virginian's* at *Will's Creek*, where *Fort Cumberland* was built, and set out from thence to attack *Fort du Quesne*, but left colonel *Dunbar* with all the military stores behind, that he might march with the greater expedition. Proceeding without the least care or caution, he fell into one of those ambushes he had been so often forewarned of. Seven hundred of his little army were cut off all at once, and he himself was killed without their seeing an enemy, so artfully had the *French* and *Indians* ambushed themselves. The surviving regulars were carried off by the provincials, who behaved with the greatest coolness and intrepidity, but the enemy became possessed of his baggage, artillery, ammunition, and papers. According to the *French* accounts, which we have little reason to disbelieve, this terrible defeat (the slaughter of which fell chiefly upon the officers) was effected by no more than four hundred men, and those mostly *Indians*, whose loss was so small, that it is not to be mentioned.

The expedition against *Crown Point*, which was committed to the provincials, was more fortunate. Colonel (afterwards

Johnson defeats general) *Deskau*.

general) *Johnson*, an *Irishman*, but well acquainted with that country, commanded it, while *Shirley*, who succeeded *Braddock* in his command, undertook the reduction of *Niagara*. *Johnson* took up a camp near *Lake St. George*, guarded with a breast work, and soon had intelligence that the *French* under *Dieskau*, after having forced an important pass, were in full march to attack him. Upon reconnoitring *Dieskau's* army, it was found that he had no cannon, and they began their firing at too great a distance, while the *English* pointed their artillery so well, that *Dieskau* was soon abandoned by all his *Indians*. He seems to have fallen into the same error that proved so fatal to *Braddock*; for instead of attacking the breastwork at once, he made a halt that he might proceed regularly, which gave the *English* time to recover from their consternation. *Dieskau* continued his ineffectual fire, but was at last attacked by *Johnson's* men. Eight hundred *French* were killed, and *Dieskau* himself was taken prisoner, being dangerously wounded. When he set out from *Ticonderoga*, his design was to have surprized the entrenched camp of the *English* at the carrying place, which he might easily have done, but being told that it was provided with cannon, and that *Johnson's* camp had none, he proceeded on his ill judged attack. The *English*, however, lost about two hundred men in a detachment under colonel *Williams*, previous to this battle. *Johnson* was blamed for not pursuing the *French*, but he had been wounded, and was therefore the less able to give orders. Perhaps, he likewise was afraid of ambuscades. As this victory was acquired so late as the 7th of *September*, it had few or no consequences in favour of the *English*. As to *Shirley's* expedition against *Niagara*, it miscarried through indolence, slowness, and perhaps more shameful causes. Upon the whole, the operations in *America* this year were to the disadvantage of the *English*.

The
French
conquer
Minorca.

The scene was very different in *Europe*, where the *British* ports continued to be crowded with *French* captures. The court of *Versailles* endeavoured to stir up all *Europe* against the injustice of the *English*, as it was called, but with very little success, especially at the court of *Madrid*, where the *English* influence proved superior to that of *France*. The moderation of the *French* ministry was amazing, for they set at liberty an *English* ship of war, and her crew, taken in carrying governor *Littleton* to *America*. Perceiving that their moderation did them no service, *Rouille*, their secretary for foreign affairs, demanded, in a letter to the *British* secretary of state, satisfaction for the depredations committed by the *English* upon the *French* commerce; but was given to understand that the war had been begun by the hostilities and encroachments committed by the *French* in *America*, upon which the *French* made their usual threatening dispositions for invading *Great Britain*. This had too great an effect on the *English* parliament; but it soon appeared that their true design pointed to

another

another quarter, and that they had equipped a fleet for attacking *Minorca*. Their intention was discovered when it was too late, for their general, the duke of *Richelieu*, opened the trenches before *Philip's Fort*, the only strength the *English* had on that island, on the 25th of *April*. Twenty days before that, admiral *Byng* sailed with twelve ships of the line, but those excellently well provided, for the relief of the fort, at the time that *Galassioniere*, the *French* admiral, was on his return to *Toulon*, after landing the *French* troops. *Byng*, who was averse to the expedition, and had no stomach for fighting, arrived at *Philip's Fort*, when the *French* fleet appeared to the south east. An engagement ensued, in which, the infamous conduct of *Byng* (whatever his partizans may say in his favour) suffered the *French* fleet to escape, when he might have destroyed it; and without attempting to relieve *Philip's Fort* returned to *Gibraltar*. It is well known that *Byng* was shot by sentence of a court martial, for his behaviour on that occasion. The duke of *Richelieu* prosecuted the siege with vigour, and *Blakeney*, an old inactive man, while his garrison was in a manner undiminished and undisciplined, and before a breach was made in the place, capitulated, more disgracefully, perhaps, than *Byng* had fought, and was honoured by his master *George II.* by a peerage, and a ribband of the Bath.

The *French* were as much elated by the conquest of *Philip's Fort*, as they could have been by that of *London*, and affairs still went on unsuccessfully in *America*, where in *August*, 1756, the *English* lost *Fort Oswego*, which was most commodiously situated at the mouth of the *Onondaga* river; but in the mean while, war was formally proclaimed between *Great Britain* and *France*. On the 25th of *June*, general *Abercrombie* from *England*, took upon himself the command of the *British* troops lying at *Albany*, on the frontiers of *New York*, but found all in confusion through the irruptions of the *French* and their *Indians*. As he only served under the earl of *Loudon*, he postponed the execution of any important operation till his lordship's arrival, which was unaccountably delayed. The operations of this period are too trifling to be described here. It is sufficient to say that the reduction of *Oswego* was intrusted by *Vaudreuil*, the governor of *New France*, to *Mons. de Moncalm*, an active able officer, who likewise reduced *Fort Ontario*. Upon the surrender of *Oswego*, *Moncalm*, undoubtedly, behaved as a ruffian, for in violation of the articles, he not only suffered the *British* officers and soldiers to be insulted, robbed, and some of them massacred by his *Indians*, but gave up twenty of the garrison as an atonement to those barbarians for the same number of their countrymen who had been killed in the siege, and they were put to death with the most excruciating torments.

It was the 29th of *July*, before the earl of *Loudon* arrived at *Albany*, and took upon him the command of the army. He found the season too far advanced to undertake any thing of consequence

consequence that year, and the *French*, with their barbarous allies, were left to continue their cruelties.

Campaign
in *West-*
phalia.

Upon the mutual declaration of war between *France* and *Great Britain*, the *French* exerted themselves to prove what useful allies they were to the house of *Austria*. They sent two armies into the field, one consisting of about eighty thousand troops, under count *D'Etrees*, assisted by *Contades*, *Chevert*, and *St. Germain*, three able generals; and having passed the *Rhine*, they advanced by *Westphalia*, but pretended to act in no other capacity than those of allies to the house of *Austria*, and guarantees of the treaty of *Westphalia*. The other army, consisting of twenty-five thousand men, was commanded by the prince *de Soubise*, and intended to co-operate with the imperial army of execution. In that character, *Soubise*, before he passed the *Rhine*, took possession of *Cleves*, *Mæurs*, and *Gueldres*, as did a detachment from *D'Etrees* army of *Embsen*, and all the other *Prussian* possessions in *East Friesland*. It is not our intention to describe this war farther than the part the *French* took in it. It is certain that the king of *Prussia* was attacked by a most powerful confederacy, and was put to the ban of the empire; but many of the *German* princes, though overawed by the *Austrian* power, were so backward in their contingencies, that had it not been for *Soubise*, the army of the empire must have been ineffectual. The duke of *Cumberland* was sent to command an army of observation (as it was called) upon the *Wefer*; but it consisted of no more than thirty-six, or at most, forty thousand men. His royal highness exerted great abilities in endeavouring to prevent the *French* from passing that river, but all in vain. The *Hanoverians*, who served under him, were secretly disgusted with the rejection of the neutrality for their country; and even some of the most considerable of the *Hanoverian* regency, were of the same sentiments. Though *D'Etrees* was put to great difficulties in that barren country to find subsistence for his troops, yet he effected his passage of the *Wefer*, and he advanced against *Bielfeld*. The duke of *Cumberland's* commission did not leave him to act offensively, but under certain circumstances; and being forced to retire gradually before the vast superiority of the *French* army, he made a stand at *Hastenbeck*, a small distance from *Hammelen*. By this time, all the landgraviate of *Hesse Cassel* was upon the point of submitting to *Contades*, and *D'Etrees's* army had been very considerably reinforced. He attacked the rear of the *Hanoverians* at *Hastenbeck*, and obliged the duke, after losing about fifteen hundred men, to retreat towards *Ferden*; but the *French* reduced *Hammelen*.

Conventi-
on of *Clos-*
tersevern.

The displacing so able a general as *d'Etrees* was, at this critical juncture, exhibits a strong proof of the *French* monarch's weakness. The duke of *Richelieu*, who had acquired some reputation by the reduction of *Minorca*, was a favourite with madam *Pompadour*, his most christian majesty's mistress, and

formed

formed a scheme for repairing by rapacity, the fortune he had dissipated in luxury. *Pompadour* prevailed with her royal lover, to give him the command of his victorious armies in *Westphalia*, and he accordingly superseded *d'Etrees*. He sent the duke *de Randan*, a most humane nobleman, to take possession of the city of *Hanover*, which he did, without resistance. He issued orders for the tenants of *Hanover* to repair to his camp, that their contributions might be settled; and then he marched towards *Ferden*, from whence his royal highness retired to a strong camp between *Ottersburg* and *Rothenburg*, and from thence he retired, with his army, under the cannon of *Stade*. The springs which brought on the subsequent negotiation, have never been explained to the public. *Stade* is the strongest fortification in all the *Hanoverian* dominions; nor could the duke of *Richelieu* have attacked his royal highness there, without the most manifest disadvantages. *George* the 1st had given his *Hanoverian* regency, by all appearance, a secret power of controuling the operations of the war, and they persuaded the king of *Denmark*, whose interest it was, to send his minister, the count *de Lynar*, to mediate between his royal highness and the duke *de Richelieu*. A convention was accordingly settled at *Closterseven*, on the 8th of *September*, by which the *Hanoverian* troops, to the number of thirty-eight thousand, agreed to lay down their arms, and to retire to different cantonments in their own country. This convention was the more mortifying, because, after being obliged to sign it, his royal highness never thought himself at liberty to resume his military functions, and *Richelieu* giving a loose to his rapaciousness, laid hold of all the *Hanoverian* revenues.

The change of the ministry in *England*, at this time, produced an alteration in the management of the war. A resolution was taken to attack *France*; and a secret, well-formed, enterprize was concerted for reducing *Rochfort*, which must have not only given a dreadful blow to the *French* marine, but have created a powerful diversion in favour of the king of *Prussia*. A fleet was equipped in *England*, and six thousand land troops put on board it, under the command of lieutenant general Sir *John Mordaunt*, and the major generals *Conway* and *Cornwallis*. All *Europe*, *France* especially, was deeply concerned in the destination of this armament, which on the 21st of *September* appeared off *Rochfort*, and reduced the isle of *Aix*. The commanders, instead of executing, deliberated upon, their orders, and so much time was spent in their consultations, that there was some appearance of a camp on the shore; neither was it plain whether *Rochfort* was surrounded by a wet or a dry ditch, or whether, if the army had landed, it could have been taken by a *coup de main*, as the *English* generals and ministers had all along proposed. At the same time, both the weather and the coast proved unfavourable for landing the troops, and the admiral, Sir *Edward Hawke*, declared, that in case of a longer stay, he could not be answerable for the

An expedition against *Rochfort* miscarries.

safety of his majesty's ships; so that, after long and ineffectual debates, the army returned to *England* without landing. The *English* commander in chief was tried by a general court-martial, for this unaccountable miscarriage, but acquitted. The failure of the expedition against *Rochfort*, had almost proved fatal to the king of *Prussia*, whose enemies endeavoured to overwhelm him; but he made head against them all. *Richelieu*, who now despised the *Hanoverians*, plundered wherever he marched, and extended his contributions over *Halberstadt*, and the old marche of *Brandenburgh*. The prince of *Soubise* entered *Saxony*, that he might leave the imperialists at liberty to reconquer *Silesia*. His *Prussian* majesty secretly determined upon a battle with *Soubise* and the imperialists, but his motions were so various and mysterious, that his design was known to none but himself. His enemies advanced without the least apprehension or distrust, to the confines of *Misnia*, where they arrived about the 22d of *October*.

The king
of *Prussia*
gains the
battle of
Rosbach.

The cantonments of the *Prussian* army were then so distant from each other, that *Soubise* had not the smallest idea of the king assembling his army, which the excellent discipline he had introduced into his troops, enabled him, however, to do; and on the 5th of *November*, both armies meeting near the village of *Rosbach*, a battle became unavoidable. The *Prussian* army did not exceed twenty-five thousand. The combined army under the princes *de Soubise* and *Saxe Hilburghausen*, exceeded fifty thousand. The king of *Prussia* acted with a courage and conduct equal to the great stake he had depending, and gained a complete victory, though the *French* horse are said to have behaved well in the beginning of the engagement. Night alone saved the vanquished from, almost, total destruction. Three thousand of them were killed on the spot, and six thousand taken, together with sixty-three pieces of cannon; eight *French* generals, and two hundred and fifty officers were made prisoners. The event of the battle of *Rosbach*, gave the enemies of *France* a very indifferent opinion of her troops. Though by the convention of *Closterseven*, the *French* were equally, as the *Hanoverians*, bound to articles, yet *Richelieu* observed none. He converted his master's money to his own use, and left his troops to pay themselves by oppressing and plundering the unfortunate *Hanoverians* and *Hessians*, whom he not only attempted to disarm, but to shut up in cantonments so narrow, that they could not subsist. In short, the *French* general was unable to resettle discipline in his army, which, through habits of vice and indolence, was daily diminishing. It was in vain for the court of *Hanover* to complain of all those, and many other, infractions of the treaty of *Closterseven*; for instead of obtaining redress, one *de Faigy* set up a money-booth in the city of *Hanover* itself, for collecting the revenues of that electorate, and the *French* ministers, every where, declared that they considered it as a conquered country.

His

His *Britannic* majesty secretly sent a commission to prince *Ferdinand*, brother to the reigning duke of *Brunswic*, and he put himself at the head of the *Hanoverians*, who immediately resumed their arms, and cut in pieces the *French* wherever they met them. They took the town of *Harburg*, and the *French* retired on all sides. The defence they made in the castle of *Harburg*, was the only soldierlike action they performed, but it was likewise reduced. *Broglie* retired over the *Aller* with the last body of cavalry, and prince *Ferdinand* took post at *Ultzen*, halfway between *Zell* and *Lunenburg*, where he remained unmolested by the *French*. The conduct of *Richelieu* was so infamous, that, at last, his most christian majesty recalled him, and appointed the count *de Clermont* to the command of his army in *Westphalia*; and thus the same troops were, in the space of one year, headed by three generals. Early in the year 1758, the *Hanoverians* being reinforced by a small body of *Prussian* cavalry, resumed their operations. They pushed the *French* from post to post. They forced them to evacuate *Ottersburg*, *Bremen*, and *Werden*, and took from them the castle of *Rottersberg*. The hereditary prince of *Brunswic*, though not then twenty years of age, who so gloriously afterwards distinguished himself by his actions, and his marriage with his *Britannic* majesty's eldest sister, surprized count *Chabot*, at *Hoya*, a strong town on the *Weser*, in a manner that would have done honour to the ablest general, and thereby put the *Hanoverians*, not only in possession of a most important pass, but secured to them the passage of the *Weser*; and all this, with the loss of no more than a hundred men killed and wounded.

1758.

The duke *de Randan*, at last received orders to evacuate the city of *Hanover*, where his government had been humane, mild and generous, beyond example, and continued so to the end. He suffered his soldiers to be guilty of no irregularity. Instead of destroying, he distributed among the poor, the large magazines he had erected; and when he left the city, he was followed by the grateful tears and blessings of the inhabitants. Prince *Ferdinand* continued to advance, with the *Weser* between his army, till the whole of the electorate was evacuated, *Minden* excepted, which was garrisoned by four thousand men; but on the 14th of *March*, they were obliged to surrender prisoners of war. The miseries of the *French*, during their retreat towards the *Rhine*, which they performed in three columns, were inexpressible; but their insolence and rapaciousness, took from their enemies all compassion for their sufferings, and thousands of them were knocked on the head by the boors, as they lay oppressed by fatigue and famine on the highways. When their wretched remains arrived at the *Rhine*, the count *de Clermont*, who led the middle division, took possession of *Wesel*, while the others repassed the river, diminished in half the numbers of those who had passed it.

Their retreat towards the *Rhine*.

Opera-
tions
there.

All *France* was sensibly mortified and alarmed at the unexpected disgrace and ruin of their army in *Westphalia*. The authority of the king was lessened by his contest between himself, his parliament, and his clergy; and the complaints of the people, at seeing their most important concerns depending on his mistress's toilette, became outrageous. The publick voice pointed out the duke *de Belleisle*, as the only *Frenchman* who could retrieve the public disgraces, and he was placed at the head of the military department, as secretary at war, upon his own terms, and after making a speech, in which he bitterly inveighed against the late conduct of his countrymen in the field. The army in *Germany* was recruited, and re-established on a respectable footing, and the connections with the empress queen, and her allies, were renewed and enforced; but *France* was then without those resources of money which arise from trade. The *English* had ruined her commerce; she had neither stores nor seamen to secure her coasts from insults; and she was, in a manner, obliged to leave her *American* war to the management of her subjects and allies there. It was evident that the war in *Germany* ought to have been indifferent to her, had it not been for her concerns in *America*, in which she was disappointed; but this was far from discouraging her new minister, who was spirited in all he undertook, even to a degree of romance. On the first of *June*, 1758, and the six following days, prince *Ferdinand* passed the *Rhine*, with his army, in the sight of fifty thousand *French*, who retired before him. His intention was, to oblige the prince *de Soubise* to abandon the plan of operations he had concerted against the landgraviate of *Hesse*.

Prince
Ferdinand
beats the
French at
Crevelt.

Notwithstanding the glory which prince *Ferdinand* and his nephew acquired in this campaign, it is to be wished their military talents had been employed towards some more decisive purpose. They had obtained their great end, that of driving the *French* out of *Hanover*, but the latter now fought in a manner upon their own ground, and on their own terms, and were well supplied. Though *Clermont* at first retired before them, yet it was only to chuse an advantageous camp at *Crevelt*, and such as he thought almost impregnable. The allies however attacked him on the 23d of *June*, with such irresistible resolution, that they drove the *French* infantry from every post, and they must have been totally cut in pieces, had not their remains retreated towards *Nuys*, under their cavalry, who that day acted with incomparable courage and conduct. Seven thousand of the *French* were killed in this battle, and among them the young count *de Gisors*, in the first action he had ever seen. A youth so virtuous, so amiable and accomplished, that his loss may justly be considered as national. The loss of the allies amounted to above three thousand. The prince of *Soubise* was then upon the frontiers of *Hesse* and *Clermont*, notwithstanding his late defeat, sent him con-
siderable

considerable reinforcements. Prince *Ferdinand*, in the mean while, on the 28th of *June*, repassed the *Rhine*, and took *Dusseldorp*, which served for little more than to secure the passage of the *Rhine*, and to multiply his posts on that river. It was now evident that the victory at *Crevelt*, was of very little consequence to the allies, and that prince *Ferdinand* must be obliged to retreat from the *Rhine* with all his troops. He had flattered himself with the hopes that his taking *Dusseldorp* would have favoured the operations of the prince of *Ysemburg*, the *Hessian* general, and have obliged *Soubise* to fall back upon the main body of the *French* army now commanded by *Contades*; but he was deceived, for *Ysemburg* was totally defeated on the 23d of *July*, near *Sangerhausen*, by the duke of *Broglie*. This defeat destroyed the whole plan of the *Hanoverian* operations on the *Rhine*, as it gave the *French* the possession of the *Weser*, and all the adjacent part of *Westphalia*.

The situation of prince *Ferdinand* and his army, was now critical. He lay with the strong fortrefs of *Gueldre* on his right, and the enemy's army on his left, at the time when the victory at *Sangerhausen* rendered it highly probable that the *French* would be enabled to cut off the *English* troops, who were just landed under the duke of *Marlborough* at *Embsen*, which had been recovered from the *French*. Prince *Ferdinand* found his quarters daily straitened for provisions, and *Chevert*, one of the best officers among the *French*, formed a plan for surprizing the *Hanoverian* general *Imhoff*, who was posted at *Rees*, to preserve the communication between the duke of *Marlborough's* and prince *Ferdinand's* armies. *Imhoff* saw the intention of *Chevert*, who was near triple his force, and formed the desperate, but brave, resolution of not waiting to be attacked, and to act offensively. He accordingly marched out of his lines, and by the courage and good countenance of his party, he defeated one of the most dangerous and best concerted designs that was formed all that war. The *French* finding themselves unexpectedly attacked by the *Hanoverians*, with the greatest fury, and their bayonets at the muzzles of their pieces, fled under the cannon of *Wesel*, leaving a considerable number of prisoners, besides baggage, and eleven pieces of cannon, in the hands of the *Hanoverians*. The badness of the roads rendered it impracticable for *Imhoff* to join prince *Ferdinand's* army, but he made such judicious dispositions, that he joined that which was still advancing under the duke of *Marlborough*, while prince *Ferdinand*, with no little difficulty from the weather, repassed the *Rhine* at *Griethuysen*, on the 9th and 10th of *August*. The duke of *Broglie*, and the prince de *Soubise*, could no more improve their victory at *Sangerhausen*, than prince *Ferdinand* could his at *Crevelt*; for *Ysemburg*, notwithstanding his late defeat, still maintained a strong post which gave him a correspondence with prince *Ferdinand*, after the latter had repassed the *Rhine*. Prince *Ferdinand* knew the advantages of this communication, and dis-

His dangerous situation.

The *Hessians* defeated by *Broglie*.

posed his army so admirably along the *Lippe*, as to check the progress of the enemy, either in *Hesse* or *Hanover*. The *French* reinforced *Soubise's* army, and it defeated that of *Ysemburg*, at *Lawerenhagen* on the 30th of *September*, by which the *French* were enabled to push their foraging parties even to the gates of *Hanover*. Prince *Ferdinand's* army had been weakened before the battle of *Lawerenhagen*, by a detachment he had sent to support *Ysemburg*, under general *Oberg*; but his dispositions were so admirable, that he joined the remains of *Ysemburg's* army, and preserved the command of the *Weser*, though in fact, he seemed to give up the defence of *Hanover*; so that it became doubtful to many, whether that exhausted electorate was the real object for which the *French* now fought in *Germany*. But we are now to attend the naval operations of *England* against *France*.

Expeditions by the *English* against the coast of *France*,

The bad success of the expedition against *Rochfort*, deterred neither the people nor the ministry of *England*, from renewing their attempts against their coasts. About the latter end of *May* 1758, two squadrons were ready to sail from *England*. One under lord *Anson*, the first lord of the *British* admiralty, was destined for the bay of *Biscay*, and to alarm the *French* coasts; the other, under commodore *Howe*, was to make a descent in *Cancalle Bay*, a small distance from *St. Malo*, where the troops landed without opposition. Advancing towards that town, they found it was not to be surprised, and they wanted both numbers and artillery to besiege it. They burned, however, on the 8th of *June*, a hundred sail of shipping, many of them privateers, which lay under the cannon of the town, without the enemy firing a single gun; and then retiring to a fortified post they had left at *Cancalle*, the troops were reembarked; but finding it impracticable to proceed to any farther operations that year, they returned to *St. Helen's* on the 29th of *June*. General *Bligh* succeeded the duke of *Marlborough*, then in *Germany*, in the command, and prince *Edward* of *England* went on board the fleet, which was again commanded by commodore *Howe*, and set sail from *St. Helen's* on the 15th of *August*. In a few days, the *British* fleet appeared before *Cherbourg*, where the *French* had thrown up entrenchments, drawn lines, and made all imaginable dispositions to prevent the landing of the *English*. They were, however, shamefully abandoned, and those of the *British* commodore were so just, that the landing was effected on the 6th of *August*, without loss; and the *English*, though no more than six thousand regulars, entered the town of *Cherbourg* without opposition. *Cherbourg* was the most improveable place on the coast of *France* for distressing the *British* navigation, and incredible were the sums that had been expended upon its mole, basin, harbour and other works. Its costly improvements had been for some time discontinued, the *French* finances not being equal to the expence, but with a design to resume them at a proper time, and to render *Cherbourg* a second *Dunkirk*.

where they demolished *Cherbourg*.

Dunkirk. The *British* engineers demolished, in a few days, all that had been done, and rendered the works irreparable, carrying off the artillery, which were all of brass, and reckoned the finest in *France*, to the eternal disgrace of that kingdom.

The *English* troops, who had remained for ten days without the sight of an enemy, on the *French* coast, reembarked, and landed in the bay of *St. Lunar*; but the fleet, for safety, moved up to that of *St. Cas*. General *Bligh* commanded the *English* regulars, who were, perhaps, too secure, from what had happened, and they marched into the country as far as the village of *Matignon*, being skirted all the way by parties of the *French*, till they received certain intelligence that the duke *d'Aiguillon*, governor of *Bretagne*, was within six miles of their army, at the head of twelve battalions, and six squadrons of regulars, besides two regiments of militia. The *English* then tumultuously resolved to retire to *St. Cas*, where the fleet lay, with an intention to go on board. The distance was not above three miles, but the *English*, either from a contempt of their enemy, or some other unaccountable cause, trifled so egregiously while they were upon this short march, that their rear, which consisted of the grenadiers of the first regiment of guards, were not embarked, when they were most furiously charged by all the duke *d'Aiguillon's* army. The handful of *English* made a most noble resistance while their ammunition lasted, and were seconded by a brisk fire from their ships at sea, which served as a pretext for the *French* to give them no quarter. A great number of the *English* fell by the enemy, and some were drowned in endeavouring to get to their boats. When the firing from the ships ceased, quarter was given, but not before four hundred of the *English* were killed, and six hundred taken prisoners. The *French* exulted immeasurably upon this little advantage; and though the news at first threw a damp upon the *English*, yet it soon stimulated them to revenge.

On the 19th of *February* 1758, admiral *Boscawen* took upon him the command of an armament for *America*, which was reduced to assist in the second reduction of *Louisbourg*. All the *British* force of *America* was now collected, and never was so numerous a force seen on that continent as the *English* now brought to the field. It consisted of twenty-two thousand regular troops, and twenty-eight thousand provincials, little or nothing inferior to regulars in the field. Fourteen thousand were destined to act against *Louisbourg*, under general *Amherst*; eight thousand against *Fort du Quesne*, under general *Forbes*; sixteen thousand were to act under general *Abercrombie*, who had succeeded the earl of *Loudon* as the *British* commander in chief in *America*, for the reduction of *Crown Point*, on *Lake Champlain*; and a reserve was left at *Annapolis* and *Nova Scotia*. The chevalier *Ducroux* was the *French* commandant in *Louisbourg*, and the *English* found great difficulties in landing, which at last was effected, by the active intrepidity of general

Wolfe, the first in command under *Amherst*. Upon him the chief weight of the siege lay to the land side, and here the superiority of the *English* genius appeared, by their conquering what their enemies would have thought unsurmountable difficulties, had they been the besiegers. The place surrendered on the 26th of *July*, and the garrison, with the irregulars and seamen, the whole amounting to 5637, surrendered prisoners of war. The loss of *Louisbourg* was irreparable to the *French* on many accounts. General *Forbes* was no less successful against *Fort du Quesne*, for notwithstanding an advantage which the *French* garrison gained over an advanced *English* guard, the garrison, on the 24th of *November*, abandoned the place, which is now called *Pittsburgh*; but general *Forbes* died of the fatigue he suffered in this expedition. It now remains, that we speak of the attempt upon *Crown Point*.

who are
defeated
at *Ticon-
deroga*.

On the 5th of *July* general *Abercrombie* embarked his troops on *Lake George*, and being landed, they proceeded towards *Ticonderoga*, which serves as an outwork for *Crown Point*; but their march, being entirely through unfrequented woods filled with the enemies parties, was both dangerous and discouraging. On the 8th of *July* the army appeared before *Ticonderoga*, which was fortified by a kind of breastwork eight feet high, mounted with cannon, and defended by above four thousand men, while a vast number of trees that had been felled before the breastwork, rendered its approach very difficult. A resolution was taken to attack this entrenchment, which was by no means regular in its construction, before the heavy artillery came up. The attack was made with the greatest intrepidity, but without effect; the courage of the *British* troops proved fatal only to themselves, as their enemies were secured against all their efforts; and two thousand of their best men being killed, a retreat was ordered, and the *English* regained their former camp on *Lake George*, the evening after the action. It was some comfort for them, for the loss they had sustained at *Ticonderoga*, that colonel *Bradstreet*, on the 27th of *August* following, demolished *Fort Frontenac*, a *French* post of great importance at the communication of *Lake Ontario* with the river *St. Laurence*.

The allies
defeated
at *Bergen*.

The repulse of *Ticonderoga* was the last loss of any consequence which the *English* sustained, during the continuance of this war, the most extensive perhaps that ever was carried on. In all other quarters of the globe, they were victorious almost beyond precedent. They kept the command of the *Mediterranean*, notwithstanding their enemies were in possession of *Minorca*. They were victorious in the *East Indies*, though the *French* had sent thither general *Lally*; and in *Africa* they became masters of the two richest and most flourishing settlements the *French* had on that coast, that upon the river *Senegal* and the island of *Gorée*. On the 2d of *January*, 1759, the *French*, by an almost unexampled stroke of treachery, surprized

1759.

surprized *Frankfort* on the *Mayne*, by which they acquired the command of the course of the *Mayne* and the *Rhine*, a free communication with their allies, and free access to all kind of provisions. Prince *Ferdinand* formed a scheme for dislodging them from so important a post, and put himself at the head of thirty thousand men. The duke of *Broglie* foresaw his intention, and took post near *Bergen*, a village between *Frankfort* and *Hanou*. Prince *Ferdinand* attacked him there, but was repulsed with the loss of two thousand men, and his retreat without suffering more, was greatly commended. His defeat obliged him to act for some time on the defensive, and left the king of *Prussia* exposed to great danger in *Bohemia* and *Silesia*. The progress of the *French* was very rapid after the affair at *Bergen*. *D'Armentieres*, one of their best generals, took post at *Wesel*. They overran the bishopric of *Paderborn*, and they became masters of *Hesse* without opposition, while *the marshall de Contades*, at the head of their grand army, found nothing to resist him. Prince *Ferdinand* in his retreat, before him left garrisons in *Lipstadt*, *Retberg*, *Munster* and *Minden*, to interrupt his progress; and was so fortunate as to preserve his communication with the *Weser*. All the precautions of the prince proved in vain. *Minden* was taken by assault, and its garrison, consisting of fifteen hundred men, were made prisoners. *Retberg* was surprized, and *Lipstadt* blockaded; *Wesel* was in the hands of *d'Armentieres*, who made its garrison, consisting of four thousand men, prisoners of war. After which, he besieged and took *Munster* itself, on the 25th of *July*, where the garrison, consisting of four thousand more, were made prisoners likewise.

These conquests seemed decisive in favour of *France*. *Bel-* The battle
leisle and *Contades* entered into a close correspondence together, of *Minden*
 concerning the means of preserving *Hanover* and its electorate
 (the reconquest of which they made not the least doubt of)
 from being torn from them a second time. *Belleisle*, for this
 purpose, laid down a scheme of operations, the inhumanity of
 which, could not have been credited by posterity, had they
 not been published from his own writings. It consists chiefly
 of making all *Westphalia* a desert, in order to prevent the
 allies from approaching the *French* in their winter quarters.
 This doctrine is inculcated in *Belleisle's* letters to *Contades*
 with the greatest earnestness and precision; and indeed the
 conquest of *Hanover* was even at the court of *England* thought
 to be inevitable, and the archives of the electorate, with the
 richest part of the furniture belonging to the king as elector,
 had been sent to *Stade*, that it might be transmitted to *Eng-*
land. Prince *Ferdinand* had then his head quarters at *Peters-*
hagen, and the *French* army lay about nine miles distant in the
 neighbourhood of *Minden*, but so advantageously situated, that
 they were unassailable. Prince *Ferdinand* made movements
 to draw them from their situation, and took post at *Hillen*,
 considerably to his right; but left a strong body under general
Wangenheim,

Wangenheim, with the *Wefer* upon their left, and the town of *Thornhausen* on their right; and on the 28th of *July*, he gave the command of six thousand men to the hereditary prince of *Brunswick*, with orders to post himself in such a manner upon the enemy's left flank, as to cut off their communication with *Paderborn*. *Contades* and his council of war, imagined that those movements were the effects of despair, without any regular plan; and they resolved to destroy *Wangenheim's* division, in order to obtain their favourite end, that of cutting off prince *Ferdinand's* communication with the *Wefer*. On the 1st of *July*, they left their advantageous post, and passed the morass in their front; but prince *Ferdinand*, in the night time, had changed his position, and the duke of *Broglie* who was to lead the attack, saw, to his inexpressible amazement, all the allied army drawn up in regular order to receive him. It was too late to recede, and the allies now becoming the aggressors advanced against the enemy's center, which was composed of horse.

gained by
the Eng-
lish infan-
try.

The whole stress of the battle lay upon the *English* infantry, supported by a small body of *Hanoverians*. It would be doing injustice to think of describing the intrepidity, the discipline, and the manœuvres of the few *English* battalions on this occasion. It is sufficient to say, that they sustained and repelled the repeated attacks of a cavalry, that a few days before were the terror of *Europe*. Their foot attempted to support them, but nothing could withstand the *British* impetuosity, and the defeat of the *French* became thereby the more complete. It is thought that had prince *Ferdinand* been a little more precise in his orders for the *British* cavalry to have supported their infantry, the enemy's army must have been utterly ruined, especially, as in the morning of that very day, the hereditary prince entirely defeated the duke *de Brisac*, and drove the remainder of his detachment into *Minden*; by which the *French* lost all their advantageous posts on the *Wefer*. The duke *de Broglie* conducted the retreat, or rather the flight of the *French* to *Minden* in an admirable manner. About seven thousand were killed; the loss of the allies was two thousand, two thirds of whom were *English*; and it is but justice to record, that this glorious victory, which was in all respects equal to those of *Cressy* and *Agincourt*, was chiefly owing to the *British* regiments of *Waldegrave* and *Kingsley*.

The
French
retire to
Cassel.

Future ages may find out the reasons why the allies reaped no further advantages from the glorious victory of *Minden*, than barely to prevent their utter destruction. The *French* abandoned *Minden*, which prince *Ferdinand* garrisoned, and then he set out, when it was too late, in pursuit of the enemy, who retired in the most distressful condition towards *Cassel*. It is true the allies picked up some baggage, plunder, and prisoners in the pursuit, but they missed what ought to have been their main aim. They took the castle of *Ziegenhain*, and the hereditary prince defeated the famous *French* partizan *Fischer*;

Fischer; but it was the 11th of *September*, before the allies could reduce the inconsiderable castle of *Marpurg*, into which the *French* found means to throw a garrison, and this conquest terminated the offensive part of the campaign, on the side of the allies. The army of *Contades* was still superior to that of prince *Ferdinand*. The latter still had *Munster* behind him, and prince *Ferdinand* had ordered the *Hanoverian* general, *Imhoff*, to invest it; but upon the approach of *d'Armentieres*, with fifteen thousand men, the siege was raised. *Imhoff* was reinforced, and *d'Armentieres* in his turn retired to *Wesel*, the most fortunate post the *French* had, next to *Franckfort*, in all *Westphalia*; but *Imhoff*, though he had formed the siege anew, could not reduce *Munster*.

The despondency of *Lewis* and the *French* court, on their Despond-receiving intelligence of the battle of *Minden*, was in propor- dency of- tion to the sanguine hopes they had conceived before. *Lewis* the *French* shut himself up for some time with his favourite mistress in a king. gloomy silence, and the particulars were explained by mutual recriminations between the duke *de Broglie* and marshal *Contades*, who arrived at court. The public took part with *Broglie*, who was incomparably the better officer, and *d'Etrees* was sent to direct and command under both. He generously accepted of the commission, and had the glory to serve under his inferiors, that he might serve his country. But we are now to attend more distant operations.

In *November* 1758, a squadron of nine ships of the line, An expe- with sixty transports, carrying six regiments of foot, sailed dition a- from *England* for the *West Indies*, in order to attack the gainst the *French* *Caribbee* islands. We begin with *Martinico*, reckoned *French* the most considerable of them all. The land troops were com- *Caribbees*. manded by general *Hopson*, whose years and infirmities disqualified him for such a command, and the sea forces were to be under the orders of commodore *Moore*. *St. Pierre*, and *Port Royal*, were the two principal places of force and trade in the island, through the middle of which a ridge of high mountains ran, the sides of which were frequently intersected with deep gullies, so that the whole presented a most uninvi- ting, discouraging prospect for the assailants. Add to this, the island then contained a body of regular troops, and could arm some thousands of excellent militia, and a large number of slaves likewise disciplined. The first attempt upon *Port Royal*, by the *English*, proved ineffectual, through the back- wardness of *Hopson*, and some jealousies that seem to have arisen between the sea and the land officers; and the troops were reembarked just at the time (as appeared afterwards) when the principal post of the island *Morne Tortueson*, might have been carried by one spirited attack. The *English* fleet then moved towards *St. Pierre*, but after some debate it was resolved, on the 19th of *January*, to bear away towards the island of *Guadaloupe*.

Guadaloupe

Guadaloupe

conquered
by the
English.

Guadaloupe, till its conquest by the *English*, might have been looked upon as a jewel, the beauties of which were industriously concealed by its owners. It was a less splendid, but a more desirable, object of acquisition than *Martinico*, which was the port where the commodities of *Guadaloupe* were entered. The whole of it is about ninety leagues in circuit; but it is divided into two parts by a small arm of the sea. The eastern half, called *Grand Terre*, is destitute of fresh water, and therefore not near so well cultivated as the other part, which is called *Bas Terre*, and is one of the most delightful spots in *America*. The *English* attacked the town, citadel and batteries of *Bas Terre*, all at the same time, on the 23d day of *January*, so vigorously, that the citadel and the batteries were silenced by night, and the town, with the rich warehouses and magazines it contained, was reduced to ashes. The loss of the *English* was but inconsiderable, so that next day, viz. *January* the 24th, the troops landed without opposition, and took possession both of the town and citadel. This was far from completing the conquest of the island. The country was strong by nature, and the inhabitants retiring into it with their armed slaves, seemed disposed to dispute every inch of ground. General *Hopson* died on the 27th of *February*, and was succeeded in his command by general *Barrington*, a far more active and able officer. To him was owing the reduction of *Grand Terre*, and the forts which commanded it; but the inhabitants had now fortified themselves in a strong pass, called *Dos d'Asne*, or the *Ass's Back*, which gave the *English* great trouble. The latter, however, with great difficulty, forced their way into *Cape Terre*, which is by far the most fruitful and valuable part of the island; upon which, the inhabitants capitulated on condition of retaining their rights religious and civil; so that by the 9th of *May*, not only *Guadaloupe*, but three other small islands near it, *Desade*, *Sanlos* and *Petite Terre* were reduced to the power of the *British* crown. The ink of the capitulation was scarcely dried, when a strong *French* squadron under Mons. *Bompars*, landed upon *Grand Terre* with six hundred regulars, two thousand buccaneers, besides a vast quantity of arms and ammunition; but understanding what had been done, *Bompars* returned without making any attempt. On the 20th of *May*, the small, but important, island of *Marigalante* surrendered upon the same terms that had been granted to *Guadaloupe*.

Grand

plan of the
English in
America.

France, to her cost, found that *Great Britain* had now changed her former system of making war, and that her ministry was resolved to attack her subjects in every quarter of *America*, so as to oblige them to dissipate their strength, which when united, had proved but too equal a match for that of *England*, in all but the expedition against *Louisbourg*. A plan was laid down for attacking all at once *Crown Point*, *Niagara*, the forts to the south of *Lake Erie*, and even *Quebec* itself, the capital

capital of *French America*. The propriety of this plan was acknowledged, and, though it failed in the execution, it succeeded in the event. General *Amberst*, who was then commander in chief of the *British* troops in *North America*, took upon himself, with about twelve thousand regulars and provincials, the reduction of *Ticonderoga* and *Crown Point*, from whence he was to cross the lake *Champlain*, and by the river *Sorel* or *Richelieu*, to march to the great river *St. Lawrence*, and join general *Wolfe*, to whom the expedition against *Quebec*, the most important of all the three, was committed; and brigadier-general *Prideaux*, assisted by sir *William Johnson*, was to undertake the conquest of *Niagara*, a post of such importance, that it commanded that vast continent, and overawed all the *British* allies among the *Indians*. The same division, after the reduction of *Niagara*, was to besiege *Montreal*, and then to join the main body under general *Amberst*; while colonel *Stanwix* with a small detachment, was sent against the small *French* forts upon *Lake Ontario*. Nothing could be a worse concerted plan than this was, for reasons which we have not room to enumerate, and yet it succeeded through the irresistible spirit and perseverance of the *British* troops.

The *French* government at home, notwithstanding its dis- Success of
tress, was in a condition to have sent both men and money to the gene-
the relief of their colonies, but their marine was in such a rals *Am-*
condition that they knew not how to convey them to *America*, *herst*, and
unless they should abandon the grand expedition, on which
was now their main dependence, a descent upon *England*.
Their governor general of *Canada*, was *Monf. de Vaudreuil*,
who commanded a flying camp in the neighbourhood of *Mon-*
tréal; but their chief security lay in ten thousand men, who
had been disciplined, and were commanded by *Moncalm*; while
Monf. de Levi, another of their generals, with another flying
army, scoured the country about *Niagara*. The army under
Amberst was first in motion, and on the 7th of *July*, the *French*
abandoned *Ticonderoga*, and retired to *Crown Point*, which
they likewise abandoned. The *French* general, *Monf. de*
Burlemaque, retired to the bottom of *Lake Champlain*, where
he took post at the *Isle du Noix*, with about three thousand
five hundred men, and a very considerable number of armed
vessels and boats, under the command of *Monf. Le Bras*, and
Monf. de Rigal, and other sea officers. General *Amberst* was
resolved to maintain a superiority on the lake, and made several
attempts for that purpose; but through the storminess of
the weather he did not perfectly succeed, though he did in a great
measure. *Amberst* returned to *Crown Point*, where he found
sufficient employment for some months in repairing that for-
tress and *Ticonderoga*. But we are now to attend the expedi-
tion under general *Prideaux* and sir *William Johnson*.

Those two gentlemen without any opposition, led their *Prideaux*
detachment to the cataract of *Niagara*, which they were vigo-
rously besieging, when general *Prideaux* was killed by the
bursting

bursting of a cohorn. The siege was so warmly prosecuted by Sir *William Johnson*, that the *French*, alarmed at the danger of so capital a post, assembled from their neighbouring settlements to the number of twelve hundred men, besides a vast number of *Indian* auxiliaries under *Monf. d'Aubry*, either to reinforce or relieve the place. Sir *William* knew of their intention, and made such a disposition, that he gave them a total defeat in sight of the garrison, on the 24th of *June*. Sir *William* sent the *French* commandant in *Niagara* a full account of the action, and the names of the chief prisoners, upon which he capitulated. He himself and his garrison, to the number of six hundred men, were sent prisoners of war to *New York*; the women, at their own request, were sent to *Montreal*; and the *English* in all their conquests behaved with as much politeness and humanity as the *French* did in theirs with barbarity and cruelty. General *Gage* was appointed by general *Amherst* to succeed general *Prideaux* in his command. We are only now to observe, that the reduction of *Niagara* by the *English*, entirely disjointed the grand scheme of the *French*, of keeping up a communication between *Louisiana* and *Canada*.

Siege of
Quebec.

The above conquests made by the *British* arms, were but secondary to the grand object, that of *Quebec*. When Mr. *Wolfe's* partition of troops was allotted to him, it was presumed that he would have been assisted time enough, in his expedition against *Quebec*, by general *Amherst*. In fact, Mr. *Wolfe*, who was appointed to this command (for he was a young man) merely for his military genius, had not under him above seven thousand men regulars and provincial, but he was happy in co-operating with so vigilant and gallant an officer as admiral *Saunders*, who commanded the *English* fleet. It was the 26th of *June*, before the sea and land forces arrived at the isle of *Orleans*, which forms one of the sides of the basin of *Quebec*. The *English* made themselves masters of all the posts on that island, from whence *Quebec* appeared to be almost impregnable, especially as the banks of the river were not only high, but fortified and inaccessible. Both the general and the admiral made every disposition, and used every stratagem to bring the enemy to an action, but all was in vain, for *Moncalm* knew his own strength too well to leave any thing to chance. It was even with the greatest difficulty that the admiral could save the *English* shipping from the burning rafts and vessels, which the enemy launched into the river to destroy them. Mr. *Wolfe*, on the 30th of *July*, vexed even into an indisposition by the difficulties and disappointments he encountered, made an excellent attack upon the enemy at the mouth of the river *Montmorenci*, but it was defeated by the impetuosity of the *English* grenadiers, who rushed upon the *French* entrenchments without waiting for the troops who were to support them. This check was severely felt by Mr. *Wolfe*, whose last hopes were that he should be soon joined by
general

general *Amherst*. In the mean while, notwithstanding the low estate of his health, he continued his unremitting attempts to draw the enemy to an engagement, but all to no purpose, though some stratagem was practised every hour by the fleet for that end. He succeeded when he had the greatest reason to despair, and in a dark night, through the excellent operations of the shipping, he landed a party at the bottom of a steep ascent, containing a path where two persons only could march abreast; and even that was fortified by a captain's command, and *Monf. de Bougainville*, who had been detached by *Moncalm*, to observe the motions of the *English* fleet, was in the neighbourhood; but nothing was now unsurmountable to the *English*. Colonel *Howe*'s light infantry and the *Highlanders* were the first to mount the precipice, which they did by the help of stumps and boughs of trees, and dislodged the captain's guard, and in a few hours all the *English* army had gained the plain, which was called the heights of *Abraham*. *Moncalm* no sooner heard of this, than he collected all his force to give battle to the *English*, which was the only resource he now had, as his enemies were in a condition to batter the upper, as well as the lower, town of *Quebec*. His dispositions were very judicious; he filled the bushes in his front with fifteen hundred of his *Indians*, and best marksmen. His left consisted of regulars, and his right of provincials, supported by two battalions of regulars, the whole formed so as to flank the left of the *English*. Brigadier *Monkton* commanded the right wing of the *English*, and brigadier *Townshend* was sent to the left with the regiment of *Amherst*, which he formed *en potence* to prevent its being out-flanked. About nine in the morning, the *French* advanced to the attack in an impetuous, but disordered, manner, and were received by the *English* within forty yards of their line, with a fire so steady, that a number of them were killed, and the rest began to stagger. It was at this critical moment, that the brave *English* general, who was at the head of the right, and was distinguished by his activity and the expositure of his person, received two wounds from *Wolfe* the enemy's marksmen, who had singled him out; the first killed. was upon his wrist, which he endeavoured to conceal by wrapping round it his handkerchief; but the other proved fatal, and he expired just at the instant that the enemy began to give way to the united efforts of the *British* troops.

After the death of *Wolfe*, the chief command devolved upon general *Monkton*, but he being dangerously wounded, as he was bravely doing his duty at the head of *Lascelle*'s regiment, his place was supplied by brigadier *Townshend*, who flew to the center, where he found the *English* somewhat in confusion in pursuing the enemy; but he soon formed them with great judgment and expedition, and then the enemy was every where routed by the bayonets of the soldiers, and the broadswords of the *Highlanders*; while colonel *Howe* with his light infantry, prevented any impressions to be made by the *Canadians*

Battle of
Quebec.

dians or their *Indians* on the left flank of the army. When the victory seemed to be complete; the *English* were alarmed by the appearance of *Monf. Bougainville* with two thousand men, in their rear. Had he come an hour sooner, it is hard to say what the consequence might have been; but the main body of the *French* was now so thoroughly defeated, that he thought proper to retire without making any, but a very faint, attempt, and general *Townshend* very wisely would not, by pursuing them, risk the advantage and glory that had been gained. It is thought that in this action, about fifteen hundred *French* and *Canadians* were killed, among whom was *Monf. Moncalm*, who died next day in *Quebec*, and his second in command, who died on board a *British* ship. The number of *British* killed and wounded, are said to have amounted to about five hundred. *Moncalm* died with the reputation of his having sustained the glory of the *French* better and longer than any other officer could have done in that country; but he did it at the expence of good faith and humanity. The wreck of his army, after throwing some reinforcements into *Quebec*, retired up the river towards *Trois Rivières* and *Montreal*.

Quebec

surrendered to the *English*,

Upon the retreat of the *French* army, the garrison and inhabitants of *Quebec* capitulated, and were secured in their religious and civil rights, till a general peace should decide their fate. General *Murray*, with about five thousand men, was made governor of the place. The fleet returned to *England*, and all possible precautions were taken for the security of the new conquest, which indeed was very precarious, and when every thing is considered, wonderful. *Bougainville* had been joined by *Monf. de Levi*, from *Montreal*, and was in the neighbourhood of the *British* army when it entered *Quebec*. Had the garrison defended itself for a few days, the *British* troops could not have subsisted in the field, and consequently the upper town could not have been reduced; but the truth is, all the hopes of the *Canadians* vanished with the death of *Moncalm*. All imaginable precautions were taken to force the two *French* generals to abandon the field; but we shall here, though not in the strict order of events, put the *English* in quiet possession of their conquest.

but is besieged by the *French*,

General *Townshend* returned to *England* with the fleet; general *Monckton* was carried to *New York*, where he was cured of his wound; and it must be acknowledged that the condition of *Mr. Murray* was uncomfortable and discouraging. It is true, he commanded seven thousand men, regulars and irregulars, but he was shut up in a place where the fortifications were damaged; nor had he a single ship in the river to assist him. *Levi* and *Bougainville* still kept the field, and could muster near twelve thousand men, of whom, five were regulars, and six thousand excellent militia. He had some thoughts of attempting to carry the town by a coup de main, but being disappointed in that, he took up winter quarters, and did not appear

appear in the field till the 17th of *April*, 1760, when he took possession of the river with six frigates, and of the heights of *Abraham* with his army. It happened unfortunately for the *English* garrison, that it was now vastly reduced by the scurvy, and other diseases; so that general *Murray*, who was resolved not to be besieged, could not venture to take the field with above three thousand men. With this handful, and favoured by a good train of artillery, he attacked the enemy, and put them into disorder; but they supported their center so well, and made such an advantage of their vast superiority of numbers, that he was in danger of being hemmed in, and his retreat to *Quebec* cut off. After seeing one third of his army killed or wounded, he ordered a retreat, which he performed with great regularity, but with the loss of some of his artillery through the vast wreaths of snow then lying on the ground, which prevented their being carried off. It is said, on good authority, that the *French*, in this action, lost, at least, two thousand men. Mr. *Murray* was now obliged to shut himself up in the walls of *Quebec*, which the *French*, whose success depended entirely on the celerity of their motions, invested on the very night of the late battle. It was, however, the 11th of *May*, before they could bring two batteries, and those very ill supplied, to play on the fortifications; but by this time, an *English* frigate arrived in the basin, with an account that lord *Colville*, with a *British* squadron, was in the river *St. Laurence*. On the 15th, a ship of the line, and another frigate arrived, and *Monf. de Levi* saw from the eminence of *Abraham*, the two *English* frigates destroy all his fleet; so that not doubting that a large reinforcement was about to debark, he precipitately abandoned the siege and retired, leaving in the hands of the *English* his artillery and baggage.

The conquerors of *Quebec* had heard but few, and those faint, accounts, of general *Amherst's* operations on the side of *Lake Champlain*. *Monf. Burlemaque* continued still at the *Isle du Noix*, and *Amherst* was obliged to go into winter quarters till the spring of 1760. *De Levi*, after raising the siege of *Quebec*, had fixed his head quarters at *Montreal*, where he called in all his parties, to make his last stand. It is incredible what pitiful shifts and gross falsehoods *Vandreuil* had recourse to, that he might keep up the spirits of the *Canadians*. He trusted greatly in the situation of the country, which he imagined must necessarily prevent the progress of *Amherst*, especially with an army; but *Amherst's* communication with *Murray* was now open, and by a well disposed plan of operations, which, though slow, were successful, he arrived before *Montreal*, where general *Murray* arrived the very same day, according to the plan that had been concerted between them. *Montreal* was the staple of the *French Indian* trade on the river *St. Laurence*, and *Vandreuil* finding himself at a loss for farther shifts or falsehoods, consented that the garrison should surrender and be sent to *France*, on condition not to serve during the

war. This happened on the 8th of *September*, 1760. The conquest of *Canada* was completed by the taking of *Montreal*, which general *Amherst* immediately entered; and never, perhaps, was a general better served than he was on this occasion by the generals *Murray*, *Gage*, Sir *William Johnson*, colonel *Haviland*, and many other of his officers. The humanity of the *English* manifested itself through every step of those long expeditions. No violence, no robbing, no plundering was offered to any who remained quiet in their habitations, notwithstanding the gross provocations the *English* had received; and they even relieved their enemies, who were in the most deplorable condition for want of subsistence, with their own bread and victuals. The *French* court, in the summer, made a faint attempt to prevent this catastrophe, so disgraceful to themselves, from taking place. Captain *Byron* had intelligence that three *French* frigates, and about twenty sail of vessels with troops and military stores for the garrison of *Montreal*, had taken refuge in the bay of *Chaleurs*, where he took and destroyed them all.

The
Cherokees
reduced
by the
English.

While *Canada* was conquering, the *French* found means to render the *Cherokees*, a powerful *Indian* nation, who had made great professions of friendship to the *English*, their enemies. As they lay in the neighbourhood of the *Creeks*, another powerful nation, there was the greater danger in their revolt, which was attended by the most shocking scalpings and barbarities upon the *English*. Mr. *Lyttelton* was then governor of *Carolina*, and finding all his endeavours to reduce them in vain, he marched into their country with eleven hundred men; but with such a shew of resolution, that the barbarians thought their entire destruction was at hand, and on the 26th of *December*, they agreed to a peace upon the governor's own terms. No sooner was he returned to *Carolina*, than the inhabitants renewed all their barbarities, and blocked up the forts *Edward* and *Loudon*. Mr. *Amherst* hearing of their faithless proceedings, immediately sent colonel *Montgomery* with twelve hundred men under his command, and by forced marches he arrived in the neighbourhood of *Little Keowee*, one of the *Cherokee* towns. Apprehending that the savages were not apprized of his arrival, he sent a detachment of his light infantry against that village, who put to death all the men they found there, with their bayonets; when he himself with the main body proceeded against *Estatoe*, which they found abandoned, but they put to death all the *Indians* who fell into their hands. It was surprizing to see the plenty with which this town was stored; all which the *English* took possession of, and laid the town itself in ashes. The trunk of an *Englishman's* body who had been tortured and put to death that morning, encreased the fury of the *British* detachment to such a degree, that they gave no quarter to the barbarians they met with, but the greatest part of them escaped into their woods. This expedition suggested the first idea of the arts with
which

which the *French* had spirited up those savages against the *English*. They seemed to possess industry and order in their habitations; they were far from being destitute of the conveniencies of life, and the soldiers made some booty in money, watches, cloaths and peltry. After it was thought they had been sufficiently chastised, they were invited to a treaty, and to be admitted to terms; but they still continued obstinate, and colonel *Montgomery* was forced to make a second irruption into their middle settlements on the 24th of *June*. This proved an expedition of more difficulty than had been foreseen. His men were obliged to march through a continued train of ambushes, some of his officers and horses were killed, and about the beginning of *July*, he saw a necessity of returning to *Fort Prince George*, which he accordingly did after losing in the whole of his expedition about seventy men. The *Cherokees*, instigated undoubtedly by the *French*, some of whom wore their habits and spoke their language, besieged *Fort Loudon* belonging to the *English*, and commanded by captain *Demere*, and, notwithstanding their rudeness in such operations, reduced it to such difficulties, that the garrison was obliged to capitulate on condition of their being allowed to march to the *English* settlements; but they scarcely had been gone sixteen miles, when they were surrounded by a body of the savages, who massacred all the officers, excepting one captain *Stuart*, who had served as interpreter, killed twenty-five soldiers, and carried the rest into a slavery that was worse than death.

We shall omit, in this place, any detail of the negotiations Prosperous for peace, which were now upon the anvil, as they are most state of the intelligible when they are not intermixed with warlike ope- *French* in rations, and proceed to the war in *Germany*. In the be- *Germany*, ginning of the year 1761, the *French* were in possession of all 1761. the country of *Hesse*, the county of *Hanau*, and the city of *Gottingen*, by which they had a ready entrance into the electorate of *Hanover*. These were alarming considerations, as it appeared, that notwithstanding the glorious victories the allies had achieved, the *French* were in fact their superiors in *Germany*. Prince *Ferdinand*, in this uncomfortable, and indeed desperate, situation, unknown to his enemies, divided his army into three parts, and putting himself in the center, he advanced towards *Cassel*, then in possession of the *French*. The hereditary prince commanded the right wing, and leaving the country of *Hesse* to the eastward, he carried his arms into the very heart of the *French* quarters; and the left wing, which was commanded by general *Sporken*, penetrated into *Thuringia*. This expedition was executed with vast lustre by the confederates, who drove the *French* every where before them, and it is but they are dis- thought that had their whole army been encamped upon a lodged by plain, it must have been defeated by the ardour of the allies. the allies, The reasons given for the attempt, were to cut off the communication between the *French* and the army of the empire; to open a communication with the *Prussians*, and to prevent

Gottingen from being relieved. All those schemes were more specious than solid, for though the *French* retired with incredible precipitation, yet the allies were guilty of irreparable errors by following them so inconsiderately as they did, while they had behind them *Cassel*, *Gottingen*, and a vast number of other fortified places and posts. The hereditary prince attempted to surprize *Fritzlar*, and was repulsed; but upon bringing up cannon, the place capitulated upon honourable terms. The marquis of *Granby*, who commanded the *English*, reduced several forts and castles in the neighbourhood, but the *Hanoverians* were repulsed in attacking *Marpurg*, where one of their best generals, *Briendenbach*, was killed. The *French* continued to retire towards *Franckfort* on the *Mayne*, and five of their capital stores, containing most amazing quantities of grain and flour, fell into the hands of the allies.

who are
worsted in
their turn.

After the *French* had been driven out of the open country of *Hesse*, prince *Ferdinand* gave orders for blockading *Ziegenhayn* and *Marpurg*, and made dispositions for the siege of *Cassel*, which was now the great object of the campaign, if not of the war; as upon that depended the fate of *Gottingen*, and consequently of *Hanover*. When preparations were making for this siege, general *Sporken* had proceeded so far on the side of *Saxony*, that he was joined by a body of *Prussians*, and on the 14th of *February*, he defeated the *French* and *Saxons* at *Langensaltze* upon the *Unstrut*. After this, the *French* and the army of the empire fell back upon *Bamberg*, and *Sporken* had nothing to oppose him on that side; but those successes were as unfortunate as they were specious, for while *Sporken* was pushing his advantages on the *Werra* and the *Unstrut*, *De Vaux*, the *French* governor of *Gottingen*, routed a large *Hanoverian* convoy, took *Dunderstadt*, and a number of places in the neighbourhood, and at last disabled Mr. *Sporken* either from co-operating with the main army, or from returning by the way he had advanced.

Cassel was by this time invested, and marshal *Broglie*, who, upon the whole, behaved with incomparable abilities, recalled all his out detachments, and united them in one body, for raising the siege of *Cassel*, while the force of the allies was dissipated in too many services. The garrison of *Cassel* consisted of seventeen battalions, under the count *de Broglie*, besides other corps. Prince *Ferdinand* had, in his rear, three strong posts of the enemy, and their main army in his front. Marshal *Broglie* soon availed himself of his compacted situation, and the disjointed state of his enemies. He attacked and defeated the hereditary prince near *Strangerode*, where two thousand prisoners were made, and the *Hessian*, *Hanoverian* and *Brunswick* foot were broken. This action discouraged the allies more, perhaps, than it ought to have done, for the siege of *Cassel* and *Ziegenhayn* were immediately raised, and they fell back upon the *Dymel*, after once more abandoning the whole country of *Hesse* to the enemy. All the advantage that ac-

crued

crued to the allies from the first glaring success, consisted in retarding the farther operations of the *French*, who otherwise might have perhaps driven their enemies out of *Germany*. On the other hand, the allies lost a great number of men by the severity of the campaign. Towards the latter end of *June*, the two capital bodies of the *French*, that under marshal *Broglie*, and that under *Soubise*, made motions for a junction. They were opposed on the 29th by general *Sporken*, who lay in the front of the allies, but he was beat, and this obliged the *German* general of the allies to fall back in his turn upon the *Lippe*, by which the *French* became masters of *Warburg*, *Dringleburg*, and *Paderbern*. A partizan kind of a war then followed under general *Luckner* and others, mostly to the advantage of the allies, and many marches and counter-marches were made with great appearance of art and generalship; but the latter seems to have lain on the side of the *French*, for *Broglie* effected his junction with *Soubise* at *Soest*, between *Lipstadt* and *Ham*, almost within sight of the allies.

This brought on the battle of *Kirch Denkern*, in which the *British* troops performed wonders, and the *French* were defeated with the loss, as is said, of five thousand men. The allies, as usual, even by this victory, obtained nothing but glory, excepting a fresh misunderstanding between *Broglie* and *Soubise*, each endeavouring to clear himself of the blame of the defeat. The court of *France* was filled with memorials and invectives on both sides. *Broglie* blamed *Soubise* for having deferred his attack too long. *Soubise* accused *Broglie* of having begun his too early. The impartial part of the public was on the side of *Broglie*. Be that as it will, it is certain that the allies were losers by the victory they gained, and the *French* were in a better condition after the defeat than before. The army under *Soubise* passed the *Lippe*, and prepared to besiege *Munster*; that under *Broglie*, passed the *Weser*, and pointed its march towards *Hanover*. The hereditary prince observed the former, and prince *Ferdinand* the latter. The partizan war was again renewed, to the disgrace indeed of both sides, though the allies had generally the advantage in the skirmishes. The hereditary prince, by taking *Dorsten*, obliged *Soubise* to abandon the siege of *Munster*, and in proportion as *Broglie* advanced towards *Hanover*, prince *Ferdinand* threatened *Hesse*; from whence he drew all his subsistence. In the main, however, the great outlines of the *French* operations were more judicious and regular than those of the allies, and *Broglie*, at last, took up a camp, from which he was equally enabled to advance against *Hanover* or towards *Hesse*, besides taking several places in the forest of *Hartz*, and laying vast tracts of that country under contribution; while prince *Xavier* of *Saxony*, bombarded and took *Wolfenbuttel*, and advanced to besiege *Brunswick*.

This sudden turn of war in favour of *France*, justifies the observation we have so often made, that the *French* prospered by

prosper by
their de-
feats.

by their defeats. The reason is, that the whole of their plan was better laid, and they had more regard than the allies had, to their resources. When prince *Xavier* was marching towards *Brunswick*, that duke retired to *Hamburg*, where he met with the elector of *Hesse*, who had been in like manner driven from his capital; but the city and dutchy of *Brunswick* was delivered by the hereditary prince, who obliged the enemy likewise to abandon *Wolfenbittel*. Prince *Ferdinand's* attention having thus for some time been diverted to his native country; *Soubise* had nothing in the field to withstand him, and his troops laid waste *Westphalia* in a manner infamously barbarous. They took *Osnaburg*, which they plundered, and treated the inhabitants with the utmost inhumanity. They took *Emden*, where their rapaciousness was so intolerable, that they were driven out of it by the boors of the neighbouring country; and on the 3d of *October*, they made the garrison of *Meppen* on the *Ems*, consisting of five thousand men, prisoners of war. The *French*, after that, attempted to surprize *Bremen*, which must have given them possession of the *Weser*, and have cut off the *English* from their subsistence. The enterprize might have succeeded, had it not been that their oppressions and rapaciousness inspiring the inhabitants with horror, they joined the garrison, and drove the *French* from their city with loss and shame. All this time, prince *Ferdinand* remained in a state next to inactivity, with his head quarters at *Bubne*, and his lines extending from thence towards *Hammelen*.

A national
bankrupt-
cy in
France.

The losses which *France* suffered in *America* and *Germany*, were but slightly felt in that kingdom, in comparison to the total bankruptcy to which her court had been reduced during the course of the war. This bankruptcy was publicly owned, and perhaps aggravated by the *French* ministerial papers, and it had an effect very little foreseen by those who were unacquainted with the true character of the *French*. They could not bear to see their king coining even his table plate into money for the payment of his armies, and abridging himself and his family in the common decencies due to their rank. Cities, communities and private persons ran to supply him with all they had, and as his defeats had rendered his arms prosperous, so his bankruptcy rendered his treasury rich. The narrow escape he had met with from the knife of *Damien*, a hair brained Euthusiast, who was put to death under the most exquisite tortures, had endeared his person to his people, and the campaign of the year 1762, promised great matters in his favour. In the dispute between *Broglie* and *Soubise*, the mistress took part with the latter, and the former was disgraced. It was thought with some reason, that notwithstanding his great qualities, that he was of a disposition that would rather suffer disgrace from an enemy, than see the advancement of a fellow officer whom he hated. *Soubise* succeeded *Broglie* in his command, and with him was joined marshal *D'Etrees*. That
general

1762.

general had been sent from court, to restore to the army that discipline which the differences between the two generals had entirely abolished, and he generously agreed to serve under them, though he was senior to both. Their army was posted on the *Wefer*, and another was given to the prince of *Condé* on the *Lower Rhine*. Prince *Ferdinand* lay encamped behind the *The Dymel*, to observe the motions of *Soubise*, as the hereditary *French* prince did those of *Condé*, in the bishopric of *Munster*. *Soubise* beaten at *bise's* army was encamped to great advantage at *Graebenstein*, *Graeben-* on the frontiers of *Hesse*, where prince *Ferdinand*, who began *stein*. to apprehend that the councils of *England* were preponderating towards peace, resolved to attack them. He ordered general *Luckner* to pass the *Wefer* in the night time, and take post in the rear of the enemy, as general *Sporken* did on their flank. He himself attacked the center, and the left of the *French* was charged by lord *Granby*, on *June* the 24th. The attack was so sudden, that the *French* were instantly thrown into disorder, and must have been totally routed, had not their retreat been favoured by *Monf. de Stainville*, an excellent officer, who threw himself into a neighbouring wood at the head of his detachment, the far greatest part of which was cut off or made prisoners; while the remainder sheltered themselves under the cannon of *Cassel*, or fled across the *Fulda*.

In the battle of *Graebenstein*, the *French* troops amounted to The here a hundred battalions, while those of the allies did not exceed ditary sixty. Of the former, two thousand seven hundred and fifty prince common men, and one hundred and sixty-two officers were beaten at made prisoners; but their greatest loss, was that of their re- *Johannis-* putation, and their being driven from their strong encamp- *berg*. ment. Lord *Granby*, and lord *Frederic Cavendish*, pushed forward a body of *English*, who defeated *Monf. de Rochambeau* at *Hombourg*; and the communication between the *French* army and *Franckfort* and *Gottingen* was for some time interrupted. In the middle of *August*, the garrison of *Gottingen* abandoned the place, and about this time, a number of brave actions were performed by the allied generals. Prince *Xavier* of *Saxony* was forced to abandon his advantageous post upon the *Lahn*, and to join the main army on the eastward of the *Fulda*, near *Munden*. A detachment of the allies passed the *Fulda* in sight of the *French* army, and defeated prince *Xavier's* corps. *Stainville*, who lay in the neighbourhood, made a motion with ten thousand men to support the prince, and prince *Frederic* of *Brunswick* took that opportunity of entering the encampment *Stainville* had possessed, where he levelled all the works and made eleven hundred prisoners. *Soubise* now found himself in a situation next to desperate, and the prince of *Condé* was advancing by forced marches, from the *Lower Rhine*, to his relief, when *Soubise* decamped, and took an impregnable post upon the heights of *Mulsingen*, waiting till they could effect their junction with the prince of *Condé*. The latter was narrowly watched by the hereditary prince, who attacked a detach-

a detachment from the main army at *Johannisberg*, near the *Weser*. The hereditary prince, at first, carried all before him, but the detachment receiving supplies from the main body, he was defeated, and wounded on the hip-bone, with the loss of three thousand men killed, wounded, and taken prisoners. His defeat did not operate much to the disadvantage of the allies, whose main object now, was the siege of *Cassel*.

Desperate
action at
Bucker
Muhl.

No sooner was it formed by prince *Ferdinand*, than the *French* repassed the *Labne*, and advanced towards *Marpurg*; but on the 26th of *September*, they were again driven beyond the *Labne*. It was now known in both camps, that a peace was as good as concluded between *France* and *England*; and this seemed to inspire the combatants with double fury. Every hour was marked by some bloody skirmish, that at *Bucker Muhl*, near *Amonebourg*, exceeding all belief. The dispute was about a bridge over the *Ohme*, which commanded a post advantageous for the *French* reducing *Amonebourg*. The *French* possessed a mill on the one end of the bridge, and the allies a small redoubt on the other. The artillery, from two pieces, by degrees arose to twenty-five heavy cannon on each side; and the men, from an hundred, were augmented to seventeen complete battalions. The firing continued without intermission for fifteen hours, till at last, the best rampart that each side had, was formed by the dead bodies of their companions. Night put an end to the dispute, and the allies kept possession of their redoubt, as the *French* did of their mill, but the latter took the castle of *Amonebourg*. Even that acquisition did not interrupt the siege of *Cassel*, which was surrendered on the 1st of *November*; and that of *Ziegenhayn* was formed when authentic intelligence arrived in both camps, that preliminaries of peace were signed between *France* and *Great Britain*.

Prelimina-
ries signed.

Conquest
of *Marti-*
nico by the
English.

The death of *George II.* and the accession of his grandson to the crown of *Great Britain*, occasioned an alteration in the ministry, but none in the measures that had been taken either for making peace or war. The *French* were still in possession of *Martinico*, which gave them a tone of importance in the negotiations that were going forward for peace. We are here just to mention, that the late ministry had at a vast expence reduced the little island of *Belleisle*, and its fortifications, to prove to all *Europe*, how unable *France* was even to defend her own coasts, when vigorously attacked. The progress made by the *English* in the war, and the evident imbecillity of *France* grew alarming to *Spain*, and the famous family compact was formed, by which the interests of the two branches of the house of *Bourbon* became the same. It was easy for *Great Britain* to foresee, that she must soon be at war with the *Spaniards*, and that they would derive great advantages from their allies being in possession of *Martinico*. A greater armament than ever had been seen in the *West Indies*, was equipped under rear admiral *Rodney*, who commanded the sea, as general

Monkton

Monkton did the land, forces; the latter amounting to about twelve thousand men. On the 7th of *January*, 1762, the *English* fleet came before *Martinico*, and landed their troops at *Cas Navire*, though proper dispositions had been made there to oppose them. The whole island, at this time, might be looked upon as one continued fortification; but its chief strength lay in two strong posts, the one called *Mont Tortueson*, and the other *Mont Garnier*, which at once commanded and protected the town and citadel of *Port Royal*, against which the *English* intended to begin their operations. *Martinico* had been long the dread of the *English* marine in the *West Indies*, and such was the ardour of the sailors to reduce it, that they dragged the cannon by the strength of their hands three miles over land, to the siege. The grenadiers and light troops were equally ardent and impetuous, so that the enemy in a short time, notwithstanding the amazing strength of their situation, was driven first from *Mont Tortueson*, and then from *Mont Garnier*, into *Port Royal*, which capitulated on the 4th of *February*. *St. Pierre*, the capital of the island, remained still to be reduced, and it was thought that it would be well defended by *La Touche*, the governor of the island, who had retired to it. They were agreeably disappointed. The islanders were unwilling to see their properties exposed to the ravages of war, and just as general *Monkton* was about to embark for the reduction of *St. Pierre*, a deputation came from the inhabitants to propose a capitulation, which was readily granted and agreed to. It is hard to say, whether the conquest of *Martinico* or *Quebec*, was of the greatest importance to *England*; but the juncture seemed to give it for *Martinico*, because the attack of the *Havannah* had been resolved upon in *Great Britain*. *Grenada*, *St. Lucia*, and *St. Vincent*, and the other *Caribbees* dependent on *Martinico*, followed its fate; and thus the *French* at once saw themselves deprived of that vast trade which had so long furnished their country with the means of making war. The reduction of *Martinico* and the *French Caribbees*, facilitated the still more important conquest of the *Havannah*. But we are now to attend the operations of peace, with which we shall close the history of *France*.

Nothing but repeated calamities, and the inability under which *France* found herself to maintain the war against *Great Britain*, could have disposed her councils to peace; but the pacific sentiments of the *English* were influenced by their having obtained during the war, its original object, that is, security for their *American* possessions, to which their war in *Germany* was no more than secondary. Early in the year 1761, the enemies of *Great Britain* and his *Prussian* majesty agreed to renew certain negotiations, which had been abruptly broken off in the end of the year 1759; and *Ausbourg* in *Germany* was appointed for the place of conference; the count *de Choiseul* being appointed the *French* plenipotentiary. It soon appeared that the negotiation, through the complication of interests

A negotia-
tion set
on foot.

interests concerned in it, must be inextricable, unless matters were previously adjusted between the two principal powers at war, *Great Britain* and *France*. It was therefore agreed that the *British* and *French* ministers should enter upon a treaty by agency, and accordingly *Monf. Bussy* was sent to *London*, as *Mr. Stanley* was to *Paris*, for that purpose. The *French* court could scarcely have employed a more disagreeable agent than *Bussy* was. He had been bred to mean office business; though low in his manners, he was full of self importance; he mistook cunning for wisdom, and grimace for address; he was hated by king *George*, and despised by his minister.

Its progress.

It was plain, that by appointing such a man to confer with *Mr. Pitt*, who was then reckoned the ablest, as well as the most successful statesman in *Europe*, the *French* still retained the ideas of their superiority in the cabinet, and they flattered themselves that the family compact, which was then just concluded, would have wonderful effects in their favour. Upon the first opening the conferences, their affairs in *Germany* were in the most prosperous situation they had known during the war. The first point laid down between the negotiators, was “that the two crowns should remain in possession of what they have conquered one from the other.” The second, that “the situation in which they shall stand at certain periods, shall be the position to serve as a basis for the treaty which may be negotiated between the two powers.” Those points were supposed to be settled only during the negotiation, the main question being what each party was willing to relinquish to the other, of what it then possessed. It was necessary, however, on account of the fluctuations of war, to fix the two preliminary points to certain epochas. The *French* proposed “that the situation in which they should stand on the 1st of *September*, 1761, in the *East Indies*; on the 1st of *July*, in the same year, in the *West Indies*, and in *Africa*; and on the 1st of *May* following, in *Europe*, should be the position, which should serve as a basis to the treaty, which may be negotiated between the two powers.” The *English* minister rejected those epochas, and at first refused to admit of any, but what referred to the day of signing the peace. This difference had almost broken off the negotiation. During the debate, various were the events of war, and, according to them, the value of the *uti possidetis* rose or sunk; so that in effect, *Broglie*, who about that time had beaten the hereditary prince, and had forced the allies to raise the siege of *Cassel*, was the real *French* negotiator; but those events were in some part compensated by the entire reduction of *Belleisle*, which happened about the same time.

The *English* minister, to reduce the negotiation to precision, agreed to determinated epochas for the *uti possidetis*, “the 1st of *July*, for *Europe*; the 1st of *September*, for *Africa* and *America*; and the 1st of *November*, for the *East Indies*.” But this was on two conditions, “First, that every thing,

“ which

“ which should be happily adjusted between the two crowns
 “ in relation to their particular war, shall be made obligatory,
 “ final, and conclusive, independant of the fate of the nego-
 “ tiation at *Augsbourg*. Secondly, that the definitive treaty
 “ of peace between *Great Britain* and *France*, or preliminary
 “ articles to that end, shall be signed and ratified between the
 “ date of that memorial and the 1st of the following *August*.”

The *French* objected to those conditions as stinting them too much in time, and as departing from the former plan. The court of *Vienna* was to be satisfied in any peace made for *Germany*; and there was little more than a month for obtaining its consent. The good correspondence between the courts of *Vienna* and *Versailles* was then such, that the empress queen agreed to every thing that should be done by *France*, if it was not to the prejudice of the house of *Austria*; and thus the knotty points of the epochas were at last got over.

Nothing now remained, but to suit the negotiation to the interests of *France* and *Great Britain*, independent of all other considerations. Six capital points occurred. The first related to the limits of the two crowns in *North America*. The second, to the neutral islands, and the conquests *Great Britain* had made in the *West Indies*. The third related to the conquests the *English* had made in *Africa* and the *East Indies*, objects of vast importance. The fourth turned upon the mutual interests of *France* and *Great Britain*. The fifth, upon the conduct they were to observe towards their respective allies there; and the sixth, related to the restitution of the captures made by the *English* before the war was declared.

With regard to the first, the *French* offered to cede *Canada* Concessi-
 to *England*, on condition of the inhabitants enjoying their ons on
 religion under the *English* government, and the *French* being both sides.
 permitted the privilege of fishing on the coast of *Newfound-land*, according to the treaty of *Utrecht*, with the restitution of the isle of *Cape Breton*. As to the second consideration, the *French* offered to restore *Minorca* as an equivalent for the restitution of *Guadaloupe* and *Martinico*. The *French* offered on the third head, to evacuate *Göttingen*, (which was then in their hands) *Hesse* and *Hanau*, and likewise to draw off their army to the *Mayne* and the *Rhine*, provided the *English* gave them back either their settlement at *Senegal*, or the isle of *Gerac* in *Africa*, and to adhere to the treaty settled in the *East Indies* between Messieurs *Godcheau* and *Saunders*; but the last mentioned offer was next to nothing. With regard to the fourth article; their giving up their conquests in *Hanover*, and other parts of *Germany*, were to compensate for the restitutions which the *English* were to make in all other parts of the globe. The fifth article, created great difficulties. The *English* minister had declared with an air of firmness, that his master would not abandon the interest of the king of *Prussia*, which occasioned a counter declaration from *France* of the same kind, in favour of the court of *Vienna*. After much debate, it was
 agreed

agreed that the *French* should keep no troops in *Germany*, but in proportion to those of *Great Britain* there, and that the *French* king, from the time his *Britannic* majesty recalled the *English* forces from *Germany*, would cause double the number of *French* forces from the armies of the *Upper* and *Lower Rhine* to return into *France*. The restitution of the captures taken before the war, which formed the sixth and last article, was resolutely demanded by the *French*, and refused by the *English*; but indeed the *French* never sincerely believed that the *English* would give up that point.

A plausible plan of a treaty, after many canvassings, came over to *England*; but here the duplicity of the *French*, and the shallow cunning of *Buffy*, proved their greatest foe, and blew up all that had been done. That minister, together with the plan of the treaty, presented the *English* minister with a private memorial, importing, that the disputes subsisting between *Spain* and *England*, gave his most *Christian* majesty cause to apprehend a new war in *Europe* and *America*, unless they could be now adjusted: that the *Spanish* monarch had communicated to him the three points of discussion, namely, the restitution of some ships taken in the course of the present war, under *Spanish* colours; the liberty claimed by the *Spanish* nation to fish on the banks of *Newfoundland*; and the destruction of the settlements made by the *English* on the *Spanish* territories in the bay of *Honduras*. Besides these points, the court of *Madrid* had lately given the *French* king to understand, that he had pretensions to the neutral islands, which he would not fail to explain upon a proper occasion. His most *Christian* majesty, therefore, passionately desired that these differences might be amicably terminated; and that the king of *Spain* should be invited to guarantee the treaty between the two crowns; because, should they kindle up a new war, he should be obliged to perform his engagements to his allies.

The nego- The *British* minister took fire at this insolent memorial, tiation which entirely altered the complexion of the negotiation, nor broken off. does it yet clearly appear how far the duke *de Choiseul*, or the wiser part of the *French* ministry, were concerned in its contents, or whether the whole had not been cooked up by *Buffy* himself, who had persuaded the court of *Madrid*, that it would give his catholic majesty an air of importance in *Europe*. Mr. *Pitt* threw back the paper to *Buffy* as being inadmissible, declaring that he would look upon it as an affront to his master, if any farther mention was made of a *Spanish* mediation, and he called upon the *Spanish* ambassador to disavow all knowledge of the transaction. In answer to the memorial from *France*, which was accompanied by that from *Spain*, Mr. *Pitt* agreed to the restitution of *Guadaloupe*, *Marigalante*, and *Belleisle*, on the terms proposed by *France*. He consented to receive *Canada*, but with all its appurtenances, and without any new limits or exceptions whatever. The proposal made by *France*, for the partition of the neutral islands, was ad-
mitted

mitted of. The *French* demand of *Cape Breton*, or any other island in the gulph of *St. Laurence* was rejected, and the liberty of fishing on the banks of *Newfoundland* was ceded to *France* only in consideration of her demolishing *Dunkirk*. The restitution of *Senegal* and *Goree* was rejected, as was the *German* neutrality, and his *Britannic* majesty again declared his unalterable resolution to support the king of *Prussia*. A general evacuation of *Hesse* and *Westphalia*, by the *French* was insisted upon, with the restitution of all the *French* conquests in *Westphalia*, as likewise those of the king of *Prussia* upon the *Rhine*, though held by *France* for the empress queen, and in her name; the treaty between *Saunders* and *Godchau* was disallowed of, and the two *East India* companies were left at liberty to compromise their differences; but the demand of the restitution of captures made before the war, was rejected, in a manner that left no room to hope for any compliance on the part of his *Britannic* majesty on that head.

It was a new thing for *France* to hear terms of peace prescribed to her in the same tone which her haughty court so often made use of to other nations; but far from resenting this, she renewed the negotiation, made fresh concessions, and even seemed to disapprove the attempt made by *Bussy* to admit his catholic majesty as a party in the dispute. An apology of the same kind was made by the *Spanish* ambassador at *London*, but mixed with some *Spanish* unavailing haughtiness, which no way corresponded to the other parts of the memorial. But neither this nor the new concessions which Mr. *Bussy* was empowered to make could restore cordiality to the negotiations, though many papers, in the nature of expedients and ultimatums, were daily passing between the two courts. At last it was agreed, that *Canada*, in its proper limits, comprehending on one side all the islands and countries adjoining to the gulph of *St. Laurence*, and on the other, all the great lakes, and the whole course of the *Ohio*, till it loses itself in the *Mississippi*, should be ceded to the *English*. Some disputes happened concerning the boundaries of *Louisiana*, and the state of the intermediate *Indians*, who are dispersed over the vast tract that lies on the back of the *British* colonies, from *Pennsylvania* to *Georgia*; but had other points been fully adjusted, the negotiation would not have stuck there. The *French* offered to give up *Senegal* and *Goree*, upon their being guaranteed in their other conquests upon the coast of *Africa*. The settlement of the *Newfoundland* fishery was an object of greater consideration, as the *French* roundly declared, that whatever might be the consequences, they could not desist from their claim of fishing there. They were however contented to accept of the little island of *St. Pierre*, for drying their nets and curing their fish; but they were to erect no fortification, nor to keep up any military establishment on the same, and an *English* commissary was to reside on the island; but the *French* were to have the same privileges on the coast of *Newfoundland*,
checked

checked with the same restrictions, which before the war they had enjoyed under the 15th article of the treaty of *Utrecht*. They were, however, in consideration of this privilege, to demolish *Dunkirk*. *Martinico* was not then known to be conquered; but it was originally agreed, in the negotiation, that *Guadeloupe*, *Marigalante*, and *Belleisle* should be restored to the *French*, and *Minorca* to the *English*. The affairs of the *East Indies* met with few difficulties on either side; but it was not so easy to settle the concerns of the allies of both powers.

The *English* continued firmly to reject all appearances of deserting the king of *Prussia*, by accepting of a neutrality in *Germany*; and no method could be proposed, for estimating and regulating the assistance which each treating power was to give to its allies. The *French* still objected to the restitution of *Wesel* and *Gueldres* to his *Prussian* majesty, because they were held for the empress queen, and the *English* peremptorily claimed the captures made before the war, as part of the *uti possidetis* which had formed the basis of the negotiation. The *French* opposed to this claim the law and practice of nations, together with the positive words of treaties, and upon those two points, the *German* alliance and restitution of the captures made before the war, the whole negotiation stuck. The truth is, the *English* minister had been over persuaded to some of the concessions he had made, and from being disgusted with the growing connections between *France* and *Spain*, he had received certain intelligence that a family compact was concluded, by which the interests of those two crowns were consolidated to the prejudice of *Great Britain*. After many altercations, the court of *England* sent orders for Mr. *Stanley* to return home, and intimated a desire that the *French* court would likewise recall Mr. *Buffy*. It is certain that the conduct of the courts of *Spain* and *France*, was, on this occasion, both unaccountable and childish; and it soon appeared, from an authentic memorial published by the *Spanish* ambassador, that his master was determined, at all events, to take part with *France* in the war. The *British* minister was so much convinced of this, that he insisted upon his court giving orders to intercept the *Spanish* plate fleet and galleons. His opinion was debated in full council, but his brother-in-law alone backed him, and then he resigned the seals of secretary of state.

An account of the family compact.

But though it is possible his *Britannic* majesty had difficulties in his own mind, with regard to what Mr. *Pitt* proposed, and was glad that the question was carried against him by so great a majority, yet the council, to a man, declared that they would watch the motions of *Spain*, and carry on the war against *France*; and, if needful, against *Spain* with more vigour than ever. The court of *France* thought the work of peace now more than half completed by Mr. *Pitt's* resignation, for he was undoubtedly the most successful enemy the *French* had ever known of a *British* subject. We are to reserve to the history of *Spain*, the disputes between the earl of *Bristol*,

Bristol, the *English* minister at *Madrid*, and Mr. *Wall*, who acted as first minister to his catholic majesty. It is sufficient here to say that they ended in a rupture between the two courts, and at last, the family compact was openly avowed. The king of *Prussia*, in the beginning of the year 1762, was in a most wretched situation, and his ruin, to all appearance, must have been attended, with that of all the *English* army in *Germany*; and excepting himself, *Great Britain* had not among all the sovereign princes in *Europe*, an ally upon whom she could depend; for even *Holland* looked upon her with an eye of jealousy and aversion. By the 23d and 24th articles of the family compact, the subjects of the different branches of the house of *Bourbon*, were to be admitted to a mutual naturalization, and to enjoy all privileges and immunities, as if they were natives of the countries into which they were adopted. The direct trade to *America* is an exception to those articles; and by the 25th article it is provided, that notice shall be given to the powers, with whom the three contracting monarchs have already concluded, or shall hereafter conclude treaties of commerce, that the treatment of the *French* in *Spain* and the *Two Sicilies*, and of the *Sicilians* in *France* and *Spain*, shall not be cited nor serve as a precedent; it being the intention of their most christian, catholic, and *Sicilian* majesties, that no nation shall participate in the advantage of their respective subjects. The other parts of this treaty are of an equally dangerous tendency to *Great Britain*; for by the 1st and 16th articles, the two monarchs of *France* and *Spain* agree to look upon every power as their enemy, which becomes an enemy of the other; that a war declared against either, shall be regarded as personal by the other; and that, when they happen to be both engaged in a war against the same enemy or enemies, they will wage it jointly with their whole forces; and that their military operations shall proceed by common consent, and with a perfect agreement. By the 17th and 18th articles, they are not to make, or even to listen to any proposal of peace from their common enemies, but by mutual consent; being resolved, in time of peace as well as in time of war, *each mutually to consider the interests of the allied crown as its own; to compensate their several losses and advantages, and to act as if the two monarchies formed only one and the same power.* By the 8th article, *Spain* is not obliged to assist *France* in any quarrel she may have in consequence of the treaty of *Westphalia*, *unless some maritime power takes part in those wars, or France be attacked by land in her own country*; a condition which sufficiently indicates that the exception was to be void, if *England* took part against *France* with any power on the continent.

The first effect of this dangerous family compact broke out on the side of *Portugal*, the favourite ally of *England*, who had often defended her against the power of *Spain*. The security of this protection had thrown the *Portuguese* into a kind

Portugal
defended
by *Great*
Britain.

kind of lethargy; so that they were totally unprepared to resist a hostile invasion, were it ever so feeble. The *French* and *Spanish* ministers had complained of Mr. *Boscawen* having attacked part of a *French* squadron under Mons. *de la Clue*, in a *Portuguese* harbour, and presented a joint memorial, which deprived the court of *Lisbon* of all free agency, by not leaving her at liberty to be neutral, and demanding that the principal ports of *Portugal* should be garrisoned by *French* and *Spanish* troops, and that a categorical answer should be returned in four days.

It has been suggested, with great colour of reason, that his *Portuguese* majesty was by no means averse to a peace between *England* and the house of *Bourbon*, upon advantageous terms to the latter, which had no thoughts of putting its threats into actual execution. In his answer to the joint memorial, he said, with a decent firmness, that he saw no reason why he should break with the *English*, his antient and natural allies; but the two embassadors replied, with an air of insolence, that the situation of his dominions did not permit him to be neutral. In short, the king of *Portugal* behaved with a real or pretended dignity, stuck by his friendship with *Great Britain*; and, towards the beginning of *May*, the two crowns declared war against him, and sent their armies to his frontiers. The slowness of their operations, though they met with no resistance, gave room for unfavourable conjectures of a collusion, especially as it appeared that the court of *Lisbon* took no manner of concern about its own safety; so that it is next to certain, had the *French* and *Spaniards* been in earnest, they might have been in possession of *Lisbon* before count *de la Lippe* arrived with a body of *British* troops, who checked the progress of the *French* and *Spaniards*, and remained there after the *Havannah* was conquered, and till the preliminaries of peace were signed. The taking of the ship *Hermione* by the *English*, with the treasure on board, which fell little short of a million sterling, the whole of it destined for the use of the family compact, was a dreadful blow to *France*, and forwarded the negotiations for peace, which were now resumed.

The negotiation resumed, and a treaty concluded.

The alteration of the *British* ministry occasioned this resumption, which was said to have been introduced under the mediation of his *Sardinian* majesty. It was now resolved to deal not by agents, but by principals, and the duke of *Bedford*, who scarcely had a second in *England* for high quality and fortune, was sent to *France*; from whence the duke *de Nivernois*, a nobleman of signal accomplishments, arrived with the same character in *England*. In the mean while, a *French* squadron surprized *Newfoundland*, where they destroyed some of the *English* fishing stages; but the *French* in *Europe*, had scarcely time to vent their joy for so promising an event, when undoubted intelligence came, that *Hausonville*, the *French* commander of the land troops in *Newfoundland*, had, on the 18th of *September*, been obliged to surrender him-

self

self and his garrison prisoners of war; and that *Ternay*, their commodore, had narrowly escaped with his squadron, which sailed to *Europe*. By this time, the sincere dispositions towards peace, which were entertained equally by the *British* and *French* ministers, had made a great progress in that desirable work. The death of the empress of *Russia* had proved so favourable to his *Prussian* majesty, that most of the princes of the empire observed a neutrality, and left him to oppose the house of *Austria* singly. He did not, it is true, meet with that warm encouragement he had received in the reign of *George* the 1st; but the *British* ministry offered him another year of his subsidy, though they refused being tied down to ask his consent in making a peace. In consequence of this maxim, both *France* and *England* consented to withdraw their troops out of *Germany*. The *French* agreed to evacuate *Wesel*, *Cleves*, and *Gueldres*, and a like stipulation was made for the evacuation of *Portugal*; but the great difficulty now arose from the equivalent that *Great Britain* was to have for her vast acquisitions since the treaty had been broken off.

The first object of attention in the negotiation, was the settlement of limits in *America*, a point upon which the *French* court never had been precise, nor, indeed, candid; but now, after a short discussion, it was agreed, that a line drawn along the middle of the river *Mississippi*, from its source to the river *Iberville* (a small, but navigable branch of the *Mississippi*) and thence along the middle of this river, and the lakes of *Maurepas* and *Pontchartrain* (which lakes communicate with both rivers) to the sea, should be the bounds of the two nations in *North America*. By this boundary, that part of *New France*, which the *French* call *Louisiana*, was ceded to the *English* in the most clear and determinated manner, and the acquisition became the more valuable, by the *Spaniards* ceding to the *English*, at the same time, all *Florida*; but the navigation of the *Mississippi* was to be in common to the *French* and *English*. The arrangements concerning the *Newfoundland* fishery, were matters of far greater difficulty, especially as the *French* declared that they would renew the war, rather than be entirely secluded from a commerce, without which they could not subsist. To compromise matters, that article of the treaty of *Utrecht* was renewed, by which the *French* were admitted to fish and dry their fish, on the north-east and north-west parts of *Newfoundland*, from *Cape Bonavista* to *Point Riche*, and excluded from the rest of this island. They might fish within the gulph of *St. Laurence*, but they were not to approach within three leagues of any coast belonging to *England*: and the small islands of *St. Pierre* and *Miquelon*, lying to the south of *Newfoundland*, were granted them for drying their nets and carrying on their fishery; but they were to erect no fortifications upon those islands, nor to keep upon them more than fifty soldiers, who were to be employed

Its terms.

merely

merely in preserving peace among the traders. Thus, though the *French* are not deprived of their *Newfoundland* fishery, yet it undoubtedly lies at the mercy of *Great Britain*, who, upon any contravention of the treaty, may farther abridge them, or totally exclude them from it.

The affairs of the *West Indies* came next under discussion. It had been long a dispute among the people of *England*, whether it would be most for the interest of this country to retain the *French* sugar islands or *Canada*. The *British West India* merchants were not themselves very fond of the *French* sugar islands coming into the possession of *Great Britain*, as they must have diminished the value of their own estates. On the other hand, the whole *British* interest in *North America* were for retaining *Canada*, as the only security they could have for their settlements. Their voice prevailed, and the islands of *Martinico*, *Guadaloupe*, *Marigalante*, *Desiderade*, and *St. Lucia* (the property of which had been always claimed by *Great Britain*) were returned to *France*; but the islands of *Tobago*, *Dominica*, *St. Vincent*, and the *Grenades*, remained with *England*, who likewise gave up the *Havannah* to the *Spaniards*. Those, undoubtedly, were most valuable acquisitions to *France*. She thereby preserved the great sources of her commerce; and by parting with *Canada*, she did no more than give security to the *British* settlements, and sacrificed an immense country, by which *Old France* had always been a loser. All those, and many other arguments, were answered, by observing that the security of the *British* settlements in *North America*, was the primary object of the war; that therefore all other considerations ought to give way to it, and that the *British* planters, when safe in their possessions, would soon prosper, so as to indemnify the mother country for all she had sacrificed, in the other scale. It would be too bold a conjecture, were we to insinuate that the *French* foresaw, that by ceding *Canada* the *English Americans* had nothing to fear, and were rid of that object of terror which rendered them dependent upon their mother country. This is the only consideration that takes, from the preference of the principles upon which the peace was concluded.

Goree, in *Africa*, was restored to *France*, and *Senegal* remained with the *English*. With regard to the *East Indies*, the *French* factories and settlements there were restored, but under very disadvantageous terms. They were no better than open places, all their fortifications having been destroyed; and they were bound to erect no kind of fortification in *Bengal*, (which includes *Orixa* likewise) or to keep up any number of soldiers whatsoever in those provinces. They likewise acknowledged the authority of the *English* subahs or nabobs (as they may be called) of *Bengal*, *Decan*, and the *Carnatic*. This was a great point gained, if not for *England*, yet for her *East India* company; the *French* trade in the *East Indies* being
now

now almost annihilated, as the subjects of those subahs trade with the *English* only, from whom alone they can find protection. In *Europe*, *Minorca* and *Bellicisle* were restored to their former possessors, and the *French* agreed to demolish *Dunkirk*, according to the faith of treaties.

During all the negotiation, the court and people of *France* expressed the most ardent and sincere desire for its success, and yielded every point, but those, which (as they alledged) immediately affected their existence as a people. Nothing could exceed their joy, when the peace was actually concluded, on the 10th of *February* 1763, and signed at *Fontainebleau*, by the different parties. Annexed to the peace are certain separate articles relating to *Portugal*, and a declaration of his most christian majesty's plenipotentiary, the duke *de Praslin*, regarding the *Canada* bills, and letters of exchange, which were to be punctually paid, "agreeably to a liquidation made in a convenient time, according to the distance of the places, and to what shall be possible; taking care, however, that the bills, and letters of exchange, which the *French* subjects may have at the time of this declaration, be not confounded with the bills and letters of exchange, which are in possession of the new subjects of the king of *Great Britain*." Another declaration was made by the duke of *Bedford*, his *Britannic* majesty's ambassador, with regard to the limits of *Bengal* in the *East Indies*. Thus ended a long and a devouring war, which, to all appearance, had reduced *France* to the brink of ruin.

1763.
Signed at
*Fontaine-
bleau*.

His most christian majesty's ministers, employed in the negotiation, adopted principles very different from those of their predecessors. They appeared to breathe nothing but peace, but no sooner was that obtained, than they applied themselves, with the utmost assiduity, to measures of œconomy; and above all, to the finding resources for restoring their marine, in which they are said to have been successful almost beyond belief. But even the desirable event of peace could not extinguish the differences which still prevailed between the court and the parliament; tho' they were not attended with any remarkable consequences. On the 31st of *May*, his most christian majesty held his bed of justice, in which he made several alterations with respect to the taxes; and, in order to lay taxes more equal for the future, his majesty ordered an account to be taken immediately of all the freeholds of the kingdom, not excepting those of the crown, or those of the princes of the blood, ecclesiastics, nobles, or other privileged persons, of what nature soever. And, by the second edict, his majesty ordered that all the crown debts, payable out of the revenue of the crown, should be redeemable, some at twenty years purchase, without regard to the original capital, and others in proportion to what the present possessors paid for the same. The declaration, which was registered the same day, laid a duty of one *per cent.* on all alienations of

Lewis re-
forms his
kingdom.

immoveables. A few days after those edicts were registered, the office of the *Chatelet* prevailed with the parliament of *Paris* to regulate the practice of inoculation, and to restrict it to persons living in houses separated from every other human habitation, and attended by persons who should have no communication with any other inhabitant of the place for six weeks from the time of the insertion of the variolous matter.

His disputes with his parliaments renewed.

The vigorous efforts made by his most christian majesty and his ministers, for repairing the waste of the late war, did not discontinue the disputes between the court and the parliaments. The duke *de Harcourt*, by virtue of an arret of council, violently altered the registers of the parliament of *Rouen*, and entered arbitrary edicts upon this occasion; upon which that parliament passed an arret annulling all those transcriptions and erasures, and forbidding any edicts or declarations that did not pass through their own body to be obeyed, under pain of peculation, and that repeated remonstrances be presented to the king. His majesty held a bed of justice, in which he ordered several edicts and declarations to be registered. These were opposed by all the parliaments of *France*; and the members of that of *Rouen*, rather than agree to register them, offered to resign their places; but the king refused to accept of their resignations, and promised to fall into some method of putting his finances in better order. This was the more necessary, as the province of *Normandy* proved incontestibly, that of above sixty millions of livres, which they pay annually in taxes, not above seventeen millions were received yearly by the king's treasury. Those, and many other abuses, were undoubtedly owing to the poverty and venality of the court, who sold places in the government to persons who made the most of them they could.

Delinquents punished.

The loss of *Canada* rendered it necessary for the *French* court, on many accounts, to enquire into the conduct of the officers employed there, and their judges found them guilty. The sieur *Bigot*, the intendant of that province, was condemned to perpetual, as others were to temporary, exiles. *Bigot* was sentenced to restore 4,500,000 livres; the sieur *Varin*, director of the marine at *Montreal*, 800,000 livres; M. *Bread*, comptroller of the marine, 300,000 livres; M. *Cadet*, purveyor general of the army, 6,000,000 livres; *Pennyfant*, *Maurin*, and *Corpion*, commissaries under *Cadet*, 600,000 livres each; *Estable* and *Martel*, keepers of magazines, the former 30,000 livres, and the latter 200,000 livres; the commandant, *Laudriere*, 5000 livres; *Dechainaux*, secretary to the intendant *Bigot*, 30,000 livres; in all 12,965,000 livres.

Firmness of the *French* parliaments.

Those examples of justice did not satisfy the parliaments. Though they confessed themselves to be void of any legislative authority, which they acknowledged to be in the king, yet they made such a use of their executive powers, as in fact set

aside

The court, on the other hand, resolved to appear determined to carry their point, and in consequence of that resolution the duke of *Harcourt* acted in the manner we have seen at *Rouen*, and the duke of *Fitz James* was sent with the like commission to *Tholouse*. That parliament ordered the magistrates of the city to pay the duke no honours as governor of the province, until they recognized his authority and commission. Notwithstanding this, in quality of a peer of *France*, he took his seat in their parliament, and by force registered the edicts he brought down with him. The parliament passed an arret declaring the register void, and *Fitz James* in his turn, erased that arret, and placed guards at the houses of the most eminent members in the opposition. This served but to exasperate the latter the more, and the parliament of *Provence*, which had been hitherto remarkably temperate, presented to the king remonstrances in behalf of their brethren of *Tholouse*, more flaming, if possible, than any that preceded them. No sooner did the parliament of *Tholouse* assemble in *December*, than the members ordered, “ that the said duke of *Fitz James* shall be bodily taken and seized, wheresoever he “ may be found in the kingdom, and brought to the prisons “ of the court; and, in case he cannot be apprehended, his “ estates and effects shall be seized, or put under the admi-
K 3 “ nistration

“nistration of a legal commissary, according to the ordinances.” We are not, at this time, authorized what the consequences of the ferment, occasioned by those and many other remonstrances, may be; but in all appearance the affair is now drawing near a decision, as his most christian majesty seems disposed to talk to his parliaments by his standing army.

Expulsion of the jesuits out of France. The history of *France* would be incomplete, without some account of the expulsion of the jesuits out of that kingdom, an event which will for ever do honour to its annals. Their perpetual disputes with the civil power, their dangerous doctrines, their dark practices, and their expulsion out of *Portugal*, on account of the concern they had in that prince's assassination, had rendered them extremely unpopular in *France*. They had carried on a very beneficial trade with *Martinico*; but meeting with some losses by the *English* privateers, they laid hold of that pretext to refuse satisfying their just creditors, and desired them to accept of prayers to God instead of payment of their money. The merchants refused the offer, and the affair was carried before the parliament of *Paris*, who were unanimously of opinion that the whole order of the jesuits, by their constitutions, were liable to the debts of any part of them, and most immense sums were given to the complainants by way of costs. It is said, with great appearance of truth, that some of the heads of the order had officiously intermeddled between the *French* king and a favourite lady, who thereupon withdrew from them her powerful protection, and gave them up to the justice of the parliament, which refused to be satisfied with any thing less than their utter extermination out of *France*. They took cognizance of their books, which they found to be filled with doctrines subversive of government and civil society, and therefore they condemned some of them to the flames. This sentence was followed by another, which expelled them out of *France*, and confiscated all their estates to the use of the public. They had, however, still so much credit remaining, as to procure the interposition of the king in their favour, and he published an arret suspending all farther proceedings against them for a twelvemonth. The parliament agreed to register this arret, provided it was to continue in force no longer than the 1st of *April*. The sentences of the parliament have been since carried into execution in the strictest manner. Their proceedings were disagreeable to many of the clergy, especially to the archbishop of *Paris*, who published a pastoral letter, containing many expressions in favour of the jesuits. The parliament complained to the king of this letter, as being a seditious writing, and his majesty ordered the archbishop to call it in, which the prelate refused, and continuing inflexible, his majesty banished him to his abbey of *Conflans*. Upon an estimate made in the year 1710, there were then in that kingdom

dom 612 jesuits colleges, 340 residaries, 59 noviciates, 200 missionaries, and 24 professors houses of that society, amounting in the whole to 20,000 jesuits; and it was thought, that within the fifty years since that time, their houses were very much enlarged, and their number greatly encreased. We have nothing more to add to this history of *France*, than that in *January* 1766, the dauphin died, and that his eldest son, the duke of *Berry*, who was born *August* the 23d, 1754, was recognized in the same quality by his most christian majesty.

1756.



T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
S P A I N.

Vol. V.

P. 385.

585.

History of
the *Visi-*
goths in
Spain, un-
der *Leu-*
wigild.

WE have already brought the history of this country down to the year 585, when an end was put to the kingdom of the *Suevi* by the *Visigoths*, about 174 years after the establishment of the former in *Spain*. But in order to connect that part with what follows, we must go a few years back. *Hermenigild*, the eldest son of *Leuwigild*, who was then the most powerful prince in *Spain*, had married *Ingonda*, the king of *Austrasia*'s daughter, who was most cruelly persecuted by her mother-in-law, the wife of *Leuwigild*, because she refused to turn *Arian*. *Hermenigild* was even prevailed upon by his wife to embrace the orthodox faith, as it was called, upon which his father drove him from his court, and he took refuge at that of *Miron*, king of the *Suevi*. This produced a war between the two princes, and *Leuwigild* would have been reconciled to his son, had he not been dissuaded from it by the insatiate malice of his queen. The war between him and *Miron* continued, or rather broke out afresh, but the latter was killed in battle, and the imperial lieutenant in *Spain* (or perhaps an officer who called himself so) betrayed the cause of *Herminigild*, and put his wife and young son under confinement, while he was obliged to throw himself into a sanctuary, from whence he was drawn, and beheaded by his father's order, because he refused to embrace *Arianism*. The reader, in this detail, has little to guide him but the rude histories of those times, which are far more imperfect with regard to the affairs of *Spain* than those of *France*. We are told that while the imperial general was conducting *Ingonda* a prisoner to his master's court at *Constantinople*, she died of grief.

Reccarede.

But *Ingonda* and *Hermenigild* were related to the kings who then reigned in *France*, particularly to *Chilperic*, king of *Neustria*, and *Gontran*, king of *Burgundy*. To avert the resentment of the former, *Leuwigild* proposed a match between *Reccarede*, his surviving son, and *Rigonte*, *Chilperic*'s daughter, which

which seems to have taken place, for we find that the *Neu-*
frians and *Austrasians*, after this, maintained so cruel a war
 against each other, that *Chilperic's* wife employed assassins to
 murder her own sister, the queen of *Austrasia*. In the mean
 while, the king of *Burgundy*, who was uncle to *Ingonda*, de-
 clared himself the inveterate enemy of *Leuwigild*, who wanting
 to transmit his crown in peace to his son *Recarede*, sent him
 the most flattering proposals of accommodation, but in vain ;
 so that at the time of his death, which happened in 586, he
 left *Recarede* engaged in a war with *Gontran*. *Recarede*, at the
 time of his accession to the throne, found himself by far the
 most powerful prince in *Spain* ; but we know little more of
 his history, than that upon the death of his first wife *Bada*, he
 married an *Austrasian* princess, and abjured *Arianism*, and that
 after a glorious reign of fifteen years, he died in the year of
 our Lord 601. His son *Leuva II.* was dethroned and murdered
 by one *Witteric*, who usurped the crown, and obtained some
 advantages over the imperialists in *Spain*, but was himself
 murdered by the people in 610, for attempting to re-establish
Arianism. *Gundemar* then mounted the throne of *Spain* by
 election, and he took two places from the *Gauls* or *Franks*,
 that had been ceded to them by *Recarede* ; but he reigned no
 more than two years, and the people elected *Sigebut* for his
 successor. He proved to be a brave and a politic prince. He
 defeated both the *Asturians* and imperialists, and after clearing
 his dominions from the *Jews*, he died in 621.

586.

601.

610.

Gundemar.

621.

It appears to be more than probable, that though the *Visi-*
goths, and the other northern nations did not make hereditary
 right a constant rule of succession to their sovereignty, yet
 they were not disinclined to that mode, when the descendents
 of any of their former princes who were dear to them could
 be found ; but then it must spring from the people alone.
Recarede II. succeeded his father, *Sigebut*, but dying a few
 months after his election, the people threw their eyes upon
Suintila, the son of *Recarede I.* a prince of great accomplish-
 ments. He abolished the imperial power in *Spain*, and sub-
 dued the seditious *Gascons* in *Navarre*. Those great services
 to the state, encouraged him to hope to render the crown
 hereditary in his family ; and to succeed the more easily, he
 associated his son *Rechimiz* with him in the government. The
 people, who had not been consulted, resented this strain of
 prerogative, and raised *Sisenand* to the throne in 630. Being
 backed by *Dagobert*, king of *France*, *Suintila* was abandoned
 by his troops, and *Sisenand* was crowned king.

Recarede
the 2d.

630.

He appears to have been of a character entirely adapted to
 be the object of a popular election. He courted the clergy,
 threw himself at their feet with tears in his eyes, to obtain
 their prayers that he might govern well, and he assembled a
 council at *Toledo*, for settling the constitution of the kingdom.
 In this council, it was agreed that no man should presume to
 take upon him the office of king, unless he was appointed to
 it

Sisenand.

it by the free election of the nobility and clergy; that every man should preserve his oath of allegiance inviolate, that no king should abuse his power, which was conferred upon him only for the good of his people; and lastly, that *Suinthila* and his family should be anathematized for the abuses of their regal power. In all those wise resolutions, it is easy to discern the spirit of the northern nations, as described by *Tacitus* and other ancient authors. *Sisenand* died in 635, and *Chintila* was raised to the throne by the nobility and clergy. The proceedings of those two great bodies on this occasion, gives us some room to suspect that the decrees of the council of *Toledo*, were not entirely approved of by the body of the nation, for we perceive that their election of *Chintila* was confirmed in two general assemblies of the people, before it was deemed valid. *Chintila's* death happened in 639, and he was succeeded by *Tulga*, an excellent prince, who was carried off in the third year of his reign. It seems as if the people had so far departed from their antient *Gothic* or northern constitutions, as to give the command of their troops to a general instead of their king. *Flavius Chindasuint* had been general under *Tulga*, and he made use of his power with the army to get possession of the throne. Notwithstanding this, he proved so excellent a prince, that he succeeded in the very measure which had ruined *Suinthila*, for he associated his son *Fabius Recesnint* with himself in the government. He was, however, obliged to act with so much caution, that, in fact, he resigned the reins of government into his son's hands, whose reign is supposed to have begun in the year 648.

635.
Chintila.

639.
Tulga.

Chinda-
suint.

762.
Wamba.

Flavius may in some degree be considered as the legislator of the *Visigoths* in *Spain*; he subdued the turbulence of the *Gascons*, who had renewed their disturbances in *Navarre*, and after being the author of many excellent institutions for the benefit of his people, he died without issue in 672. He was succeeded by *Wamba*, a nobleman of great virtue and experience, who with tears declined the honour of royalty, on account of his advanced age, but he was elected in a free and numerous assembly of the states convened at *Toledo*. Though excellently well disposed, the discontented thought that he had not the youth and vigour that was requisite for his high station; for under him, the provinces of *Navarre* and *Biscay* again broke out in rebellion. They were deceived, for he marched against the rebels in person, and subdued them. While he was employed in quelling that rebellion, another broke out under *Hilperic*, his governor of *Nismes*, then belonging to *Spain*. The rebels were more powerful than *Wamba* suspected. He employed his best general, one *Paul*, to suppress them; but he was in the interest of the rebels, and associated himself with *Ranofinde*, duke of *Terragona*, and one *Hildigise*, a person of vast weight and interest, and they prevailed with the cities of *Barcelona*, *Gironne*, and several others, to rebel against *Wamba*. The rebels declared *Hilperic* king, but

but *Wamba*, without being daunted, marched against the usurper, and took him prisoner at *Nismes*, before *Paul*, who had been dispatched to raise troops in *France* and *Germany*, could march to his relief. *Wamba* made a very moderate use of his success; for he sent into their own countries all the foreigners that were found in the rebel army, but carried his own rebellious subjects in chains to *Toledo*, where he made a triumphal entry, *Paul* being distinguished by a crown of black leather; after which, they were doomed to perpetual imprisonment.

We are now arrived at a very interesting part of the *Spanish* Vol. VI. history, in which we have the *Arab* historians to assist us, and p. 250. they are in general much better guides than those of *Spain*, *ibid.* at this time. We have already mentioned the vast conquests p. 191. made by the califs of *Baghdad* in the east, and that they ex- *Ervige.* tended their empire even to the very heart of *Africa*, where they penetrated as far as *Karwan*, near the antient *Carthage*. They began to cast a wishing eye over to *Spain*, and being then a very considerable marine power, they were possessed of the greatest part of the *Mediterranean* coasts. *Wamba* had intelligence that they were meditating a design upon him, and that they were privately encouraged by *Ervige*, nephew to *Reresuint*, who was then at *Wamba's* court, and in high favour. *Wamba* made preparations to resist the invasion, and according to the *European* historians (for we find nothing of it in the *Moslem* authors) he destroyed a fleet of two hundred and seventy sail belonging to the infidels. In the mean while, *Ervige* found means to administer a poisonous draught to *Wamba*, who imagining that he felt the approaches of death, professed himself a monk, and appointed *Ervige* for his successor. *Wamba* recovered, and would gladly have re-assumed his crown, but the clergy, who were then all powerful in *Spain*, interposed a decree of the sixth council of *Toledo* in favour of *Ervige*, and importing that *Wamba* having professed himself a monk, must continue so to the end of his life. *Ervige* being thus left in quiet possession of the crown, heaped his favours upon the clergy, by which he partly counterbalanced the vast odium into which he fell with the people, when they discovered his having poisoned *Wamba*. It was the interest of the clergy that their benefactor should reign with justice and moderation, which *Ervige* did, and towards the latter part of his reign, he gave in marriage his daughter *Cixilona* to *Egica*, one of *Wamba's* nearest relations.

Upon the death of *Ervige*, *Egica* divorced *Cixilona*, and *Egica* gave a loose to all his resentments against those who had any hand in the deposition of *Wamba*, who was still alive, but incapable of remounting the throne. After performing those acts of justice, he died with the character of having been one of the best of princes, and left for his successor his eldest son *Witiza*, who had been for some time associated with him in the government. His second son, *Oppas*, was archbishop of *Seville*,

Witiza. *Seville*, and he had a daughter *Fandina*, mother to the famous *Florinda*, whose violation occasioned the *Moorish* invasion. When *Witiza* became sole king, he degenerated so greatly from his father's virtues, that fearing to be dethroned, he caused the eyes of *Theodofred*, duke of *Cordova*, to be put out, and *Favila*, duke of *Cantabria*, to be assassinated, because they were the sons of *Chindasuint*. *Roderic*, the son of *Theodofred*, and *Pelagius*, the son of *Favila*, saved their lives by flight. The tyrant's security, after that, lay in disarming his subjects and dismantling their towns, and he died after a detestable reign of ten years, leaving behind him two sons, *Iba* and *Sisebut*, who were both set aside from the succession.

Roderic. The crown of the *Spanish Visigoths* then devolved by election upon *Roderic*, the son of *Theodofred*, duke of *Cordova*, and grandson to *Chindasuint*. Though he inherited by nature all the abilities of a great prince, yet he became a more execrable tyrant than even *Witiza* himself had been. His vices soon raised a strong party against him, at the head of which were *Iba* and *Sisebut*, and their uncle *Oppas*, archbishop of *Seville*. The two princes fled to *Africa*, part of which seems then to have been in possession of the *Visigoth Spaniards*, and was under the government of count *Julian*, who had married their father's sister. Though this is perhaps one of the most important æras in the *Spanish* history, yet it is very dark; but we have already given the most authentic account that can be formed of the invasion of *Spain* by the *Arabs*, or (as the *European* historians call them) the *Moors*. It seems to be certain that *Walid*, who was then calif, cautioned *Musa*, his general in *Africa*, against making any attempts on *Spain*, even after he had been applied to by the two sons of *Witiza*, and privately by count *Julian* himself, whose daughter had been ravished by *Roderic*. As *Walid's* injunction did not absolutely tie up *Musa's* hands, the latter sent to the calif a favourable report of the applications made to him; but all he could obtain, was leave to make an experiment of *Julian's* sincerity, by sending him over to *Spain* with four hundred foot and a hundred horse, and those commanded by *Tarik*, or *Tarif*, who was accompanied by *Julian*. The latter gave the *Arab* the most convincing proofs of his interest and sincerity by the great numbers who joined him, and *Tarif* soon made himself master of great part of *Spain*, and an immense plunder, the chief of which was sent to the calif, who seems to have allowed *Musa* to proceed to more important conquests. He put twelve thousand men on board a number of transports which had been prepared by count *Julian*, and sailing over to *Spain*, he found *Tarif* encamped on the famous *Calpe*, which from his name, was called *Gibel Tarif*, and now *Gibraltar*. The first considerable conquest they made, was that of *Seville*, which had been dismantled in the late reign. *Roderic* remained all this time plunged in sensuality, but sent his cousin-german, *Saacho* (by some called *Inico*) at the head of an army, to fight *Musa*.

Musa. As the *Spanish Visigoths* were then entirely undisciplined, *Sancho* was defeated, and *Roderic* awakening from his lethargy, and putting himself at the head of a fresh army, he attacked the *Arabs* at *Affidona*, with so much fury, that the battle continued for eight days without victory declaring on either side. He was distinguished in the *Gothic* manner by his golden crown, his chariot of ivory, his magnificent equipages, and above all, by his valorous acts. The *Moslem* historians, against probability, say that he was betrayed by *Iba* and *Sisebut*, to whom he had entrusted a chief command in his army; but it is more likely that the treachery, if there was any, was owing to their kinsmen, whom they and their uncle the archbishop had secretly influenced. Be that as it will, victory at last remained with the *Arabs*, and it is most probable that *Roderic* fell in the battle, for he never was afterwards heard of.

Battle of
Affidona
won by
the *Moors*.

Roderic
defeated
and killed.

According to the *Moslem* historians, no fewer than sixteen thousand *Arabs* were killed in the battle of *Affidona*, called by the *Spaniards*, that of *Xeres Oppars*. If that report is true, they must have had an immense army in *Spain*. It is probable, however, that the *Visigoths* of their party, are included in that number. If we were to hazard a conjecture, we must be of opinion that neither the sons of *Witiza*, nor count *Julian*, intended that the *Arabs* should make so great a progress as they did in *Spain*, and that the first party under *Tarif*, was, in fact, no other than a body of mercenaries, hired by *Julian* and his friends; but finding the sweets of conquest, *Spain* being then the richest country in *Europe*, they were supported by *Musa*; and the *Arabs*, from being auxiliaries and mercenaries, became soon principals; upon which, *Julian* and the two sons of *Witiza*, returned to their allegiance under *Roderic*, and were present at the battle of *Xeres*, where *Julian* was taken prisoner. This conjecture is fortified by the *Moslem* historians, who relate that after the battle, the *Arabs* stoned *Julian's* wife to death, threw his son from the top of the tower of *Ceuta*, and he himself expired in irons. The battle of *Xeres* proved decisive of the fate of the *Visigoths* in *Spain*, for having no fortified towns to fly to, they were every where put to the sword by the *Arabs*, who in twelve months time reduced all *Spain*, excepting those parts which were possessed by the *Asturians* and *Cantabrians*. *Pelagius*, called by the *Spaniards* *Pelayo*, according to the *Moslem* as well as christian authors, bore a considerable command in *Roderic's* army at the battle of *Xeres*, but escaped with the shattered remains of the wing he commanded, to the mountains of *Asturia*, together with *Ximenes*, who was likewise descended from the *Visigoth* kings of *Spain*. Happily for those princes, *Musa* and *Tarif* agreed in nothing but their thirst of plunder, and in order to keep up their communication with *Africa*, they were cautious of extending their conquests too far north. They however made themselves masters of *Toledo* and *Saragossa*; but the inhabitants whom they did not

not put to the sword fled towards *Asturia*, of which *Pelayo* was declared king, being at the head of a considerable army, and having fortified all the passes into his country; but that prince, in fact, possessed no more of *Asturia* than its mountains, for the principal parts of the province were governed by *Munuza*, a *Spaniard*, who was in the interest of the *Arabs*, and who found means to force *Pelayo's* sister to marry him. *Pelayo* made an unsuccessful attempt to revenge this insult, but was obliged to retire once more to the mountains, where the infidels sent archbishop *Oppas* to summon him to surrender.

Settlement
of the
Moors in
Spain.

Before we proceed, we ought to observe, that the *Spanish Christians* seem to have entertained no very violent aversion either to the religion or the manners of the *Arabs*; and the latter, after their settlement in *Spain* was formed, behaved with wonderful moderation. They suffered the *Christians* to exercise their religion, and to retain their properties; but subjected them to a slight tax to be paid the calif, as an acknowledgment of his sovereignty. This moderation was entirely owing to the calif himself, who recalled his two rapacious generals, *Musa* and *Tarif*, to give an account of their conduct, or rather to refund part of the immense spoils they had made. *Musa's* government of *Spain* was continued to him, and he left it to his son *Abdalaziz*, who married *Egilona*, *Roderic's* widow, and kept his court at *Seville*. Perhaps some injustice is done by bigotted writers to the character of *Oppas*, archbishop of *Seville*, for it was certainly owing to him that the *Christian* religion, at this time, subsisted in *Spain*. *Abdalaziz* was a wise tractable prince, and by the advice of *Egilona* and the archbishop, he did all in his power to prevent the *Visigoth Spaniards* from feeling that they were in a state of subjection. He encouraged them to intermarry with the *Arabs*, who in a short time became so well reconciled to the *Christians*, that they formed, in a manner, but one people, and went under the name of *Mozarabes*. Their language was a compound of those of the two nations, and *Isadore* and *Leander*, who were afterwards canonized, drew up the *Mozarabic* missal, which was made use of in *Spain* for many years. Those particulars serve, in part, to explain the conduct of archbishop *Oppas*, who still remained a *Christian*, but submitted to the government of the *Arabs*. But, we are now to attend *Pelayo*.

Brave
actions of
Pelayo,
who is de-
clared
king of
Asturia.

Tarif, before he returned to the calif's court, had appointed *Kaman*, an experienced *Arab* general, to the command of the troops that were to act against *Pelayo*: That prince had rejected all the solicitations of *Oppas*, who waited upon him in a fortified cave where he resided in the mountains, to swear allegiance to the calif, and *Kaman* prepared to reduce him by force. The mountain where the cave stood, was called *Ausena*, and was fortified to such advantage, that *Kaman* lost a whole season in waiting for reinforcements, before he would attack it. Having got together a very powerful army of *Spaniards*, *Arabs* and *Africans*, he attempted the passes of the mountain,

but

but he was repulsed; upon which the *Christians* left their posts, and descending to the plain, gave them a total defeat with the loss of twenty thousand men, besides those killed in the pursuit, and thrown down the precipices by *Pelayo's* men. *Kaman* was killed in the engagement, and *Oppas* being taken prisoner, was, as is thought, privately put to death. After the battle, *Pelayo* possessed himself of *Leon*, *Astorga*, and many other places. It must be confessed, that though *Pelayo* was a prince of great courage and abilities, yet he was highly favoured by the dissensions which prevailed among the *Moslem* generals, and the defeats which about this time they received from *Charles Martel* in *France*. As to *Abdalaziz*, he seems to have taken very little concern in the war against *Pelayo*, and he conformed himself so much to the *Visigothic* fashions, that the *Arabs* are said to have put him to death, for wearing his diadem in the *Gothic* manner. His successor *Ayub*, transferred the seat of his government from *Seville* to *Cordova*, but being related to *Musa*, whom the calif had punished for his peculation, he was recalled, and *Alabor*, a *Moslem* general, appointed in his room, with a set of instructions very different from the maxims by which *Abdalaziz* governed. *Omar* was then calif of *Baghdad*, and an enthusiast for the *Mohammedan* religion. *Alabor*, Severity or as the *Spaniards* call him *Alabor*, found that most of the of the *Arabs* in *Spain*, were either *Christians*, or professed a religion *Moslem* very much resembling *Christianity*, and that the others were govern- indifferent about all religion. He was therefore ordered by ment. the calif to proceed with the utmost severity against all the *Moslems* who turned *Christians*, and accordingly he put to Vol. VI. death all who fell into his hands and refused to recant, especi- p. 259. ally the inhabitants of *Cordova*. But the severity of the original *Mahometanism* had been long degenerating among the *Arabs*, and *Alabor*, under pretence of religion, gave a full scope to his avarice, by torturing many to oblige them to discover their riches. While *Christianity* was thus in a desperate condition in the southernmost parts of *Spain*, *Pelayo* in the northern was acquiring immortal honour by his wisdom and courage. He had given a fresh overthrow to the *Arabs*, and managed the affairs of his government with the utmost piety and prudence. He rebuilt the ruined places of his kingdom, repaired the churches, but according to the *Gothic* maxims, he built no forts, that he might teach his people that they were to oppose only their bodies to their enemies.

Zamar, who succeeded *Alabor* as the *Moslem* governor of *Spain*, found himself so independent of the calif, that he relaxed in his severity to the *Christians*, whom he found to be very well affected to his government, while they were indulged in the exercise of their religion. He thought it in vain to provoke *Pelayo*, and he led his army into *France*, where it was defeated by the famous count *Eudes*. *Yezid*, the calif, hearing of his defeat, sent fresh reinforcements to *Spain*; but in fact, the calif's authority at this time was next to nothing in

Vol. VI. in that country, which received the *Moslem* governors from
 p. 263. *Africa*, till they became so independent, that they took the
 title of kings of *Cordova*, and many provinces erected themselves
 into separate governments. We do not, however, perceive
 that even those kings formally disclaimed the calif's authority;
 but their passion for independency was undoubtedly very fa-
 vourable for the *Christians*. Those who did not chuse to be
 under the *Moslem* government, repaired to *Pelayo*; and they
 who did, were carested and preferred by the *Moors* (for so the
Arabs were now generally called). As to *Pelayo*, he died in a
 good old age, after a long and glorious reign of nineteen years,
 and is deservedly looked upon as the father and restorer of his
 country, and was buried in the church of *Santa Olalla de Ve-*
lana, in *Cangas*. He had by his queen *Gaudiaso*, a prince
Favila, and a princess *Ormifinda*. *Favila* succeeded him in his
 kingdom, and *Ormifinda* was married to don *Alonso*, son to the
 duke of *Cantabria*.

Favila
 king of
Spain.

ibid.
 p. 267.
 742.

Alonso an
 excellent
 prince.

757.
Froila.

Favila had been for some time associated with his father in the
 government, and had performed some noble military exploits.
 He was however far inferior to his father in every worthy re-
 spect, and being killed at a bear hunting, he died without leaving
 issue. We have, in the history of the califs, given a full detail
 of the *Moslem* government in *Spain* at this time, and we shall
 therefore attach ourselves to the history of the *Christians* there.
Alonso proved himself worthy to be the successor of *Pelayo*.
 He recovered from the infidels the greatest part of *Galicia* and
Portugal, with many places in *Leon* and *Castile*. His maxim
 was to oblige all the *Christians* who were settled in any part of
 his conquests to retire to his dominions, and to waste all the
 plain country that he could not keep; so that at the time of
 his death in 757, he left his kingdom greatly improved in power,
 wealth and population. He was succeeded by his son *Froila*,
 who subdued the rebellious *Gascons* in *Navarre*, part of his
 father's dominions, and married a beautiful captive, called
Monina, who was the mother of his son *Alonso*. *Abderr. hman*,
 called corruptly by the *Spaniards*, *Miramamolin*, was then the
Moslem king of *Spain*, and being a powerful prince, he assem-
 bled a large army, with which he at once overawed all the
Christians of his own dominions, and invaded those of *Froila*.
 A decisive battle ensued at *Pontumo* in *Galicia*, in which the
Moslem prince was entirely defeated, and left fifty-four thou-
 sand men dead upon the spot. The infidel general being taken
 prisoner, was put to death, and *Froila* employed the vast
 plunder he made, in building the city of *Oviedo*, and making
 a farther progress in peopling the flat country. *Abderrahman*
 having recovered his strength again, invaded *Froila's* domi-
 nions, and was again defeated. The *Galicians*, from some
 disgust they had conceived at *Froila's* government, refused to
 attend him in the field; but he soon reduced them to obedience,
 and punished them with so much severity, that he lost the
 hearts of his subjects. By his obliging all the officiating part
 of

of his clergy to profess celibacy; it sufficiently appears that till his reign the *Spanish* ecclesiastics were generally married. Every innovation in religion is dangerous to a prince, and *Froila* at last became so much hated by his people, that he stabbed his brother *Bimarino* to the heart with his own hand; from an apprehension he had, that, by his amiable qualities, he would supplant him in the government, but he himself soon after experienced the same fate from his incensed nobility.

Aurelio, who was nearly related to *Froila*, succeeded in the throne, and inclined to live in peace with *Abderrahman*. The policy of the late reigns had introduced vast numbers of *Moorish* slaves into the *Christian* parts of *Spain*, and these all at once rebelled. They were with great difficulty subdued, and deprived of their privileges, for many such they enjoyed through the lenity of the government. *Aurelio* before his death, associated with himself in the government, *Silo*, a noble and powerful *Goth*, and gave him his kinswoman *Adosinda* in marriage. Upon *Aurelio*'s death in 774, *Silo* reigned alone, but was opposed by an insurrection of the *Galicians*, whom he chastised and reduced to obedience. He died in 779, without issue. Young *Alonso*, the son of *Froila*, was then at the court of *Spain*, and by the care of queen *Adosinda*, he had received an education answerable to his high birth. The people, however, retained their hatred of his father, and were unwilling to receive his son as their king. *Froila*, by a *Moorish* woman, had a natural son *Mauregato*, who took advantage of the people's aversion to *Alonso*, and *Alonso*'s own magnanimity in declaring that he disdained to reign over an unwilling people, and mounted the throne. He courted a friendship with the *Moslem* kings of *Cordova*, and encouraged intermarriages between their subjects and his own; so that he died in peace, in 788, after a reign of six years. He was succeeded by *Bermudo*, *Aurelio*'s brother, who had been bred an ecclesiastic, and was married. He accepted the reins of government only that he might resign them to young *Alonso*, whom he made the general of his army, and who defeated the *Moslem* king of *Cordova* in a most bloody battle, which was fought in the neighbourhood of *Burgos*. *Alonso*'s noble behaviour on this occasion conquered all opposition to his person and title, and upon *Bermudo* abdicating the throne in his favour, he was declared king; but he never would suffer *Bermudo*, with whom he lived in the most endeared affection, to leave his court.

Alonso the II^d, surnamed the *Chaste*, mounted the throne in the year 791, and applied himself to correct the errors that had crept into his government, and render his people happy. In 794, the infidels invaded his dominions, but he defeated them, and killed sixty thousand of them in one battle. The succession of the crown of *Cordova*, being then in dispute, *Alonso* II. took that opportunity to repopulate *Braga*, and to retake dethroned *Lisbon* from the infidels by storm. *Charles* the Great at that time reigned.

time had gained great victories over the *Moors*, and being possessed of many parts of *Spain*, *Alonso* sent him a splendid embassy, with noble presents, by which he gained that great prince's friendship. *Lewis*, king of *Aquitain*, *Charles's* son, being at war with the *Moors*, took *Barcelona*, and the *Moors* having in revenge invaded *Alonso's* dominions, were again completely defeated by him. But the vast intercourse between the *Moors* and the *Christians*, rendered *Alonso*, notwithstanding his glorious successes, disagreeable to both, and so powerful a faction was formed against him, that he was surprized, and shut up in a monastery at *Abalia*. He was soon freed from his confinement, by the loyalty of one *Theudis*, and the affections of his people. Though restored to his throne, he proceeded with the greatest lenity against the rebels, and thereby extinguished the faction against him. He was again attacked by the infidels, and though far inferior to them in numbers, he gave them another total defeat, upon which a peace ensued, which he wisely improved, by cultivating and peopling his kingdom. This tranquillity was treacherously interrupted by the *Moors* in the year 816, but being again checked, they remained quiet till the year 821, when they invaded *Galicia* anew with two armies. *Alonso* marched in person against the one, and he sent his kinsman, *Ramiro*, to fight the other. Both of them proved victorious, and *Alonso* gained two glorious victories in one day.

816.
821.

Betrayed
by a Mos-
lem com-
mander.

About this time, the *Moslems* in *Spain* rebelled against their sovereign, *Aberrahman* the 11d, and *Alonso* received into his service *Mohammed*, the governor of *Merida*, one of the heads of the rebellion. He was an officer of so great courage and experience, that though he and his troops were *Moslems*, *Alonso* entrusted him with the command of his army on the frontiers of *Portugal*.—He behaved well in this post for seven years, but he was then privately reconciled to *Abderrahman*, whom he undertook to put in possession of the province of *Galicia*, which he had almost effected, when *Alonso* and *Ramiro* gave them battle, defeated and killed fifty thousand of them, among whom was *Mohammed* himself. These exploits were so much to the glory of the *Visigoth Spaniards*, that their historians have not been proof against embellishing them with fiction. We are told of *Alonso's* sister, *Ximena*, who privately married *Sancho*, count of *Saldagnes*, and was mother to *Bernardo del Carpio*, a famous hero of romances, but the father was thrown into prison, where his eyes were put out. As *Bernardo* grew up, he performed the greatest services to *Alonso*, and in requital, he demanded the liberty of his father, which *Alonso* obstinately refused to grant, so that the count died miserably in prison, and *Bernardo* retired in disgust from the court. *Alonso*, in 829, found himself old and infirm, and recommended to the states his cousin *Ramiro*, the son of his friend and benefactor *Bermudo*, for his successor. His request being complied with,

829.

Alonso

Afonso resigned the government to *Ramiro*, and retiring from the world, he ended his life and glorious reign in the year 842.

A nobleman of great distinction, who is called count *Nepotian*, opposed the accession of *Ramiro*, and his party declared him king. *Ramiro* was then at a distance from *Oviedo*, his capital, and assembling a body of troops, he advanced against *Nepotian*, who readily met him at the head of a great army, which abandoned him and joined *Ramiro*. Two of the chief conspirators, to make their peace with the king, carried *Nepotian* to him in chains, and his eyes being put out, he was condemned to spend the remainder of his days in a monastery.

Ramiro, being now in peaceable possession of the throne, applied himself to clear his kingdom of robbers and forcerers, with whom it was overrun. The latter were the fruits of the mixt religion that prevailed in *Spain*, and when convicted of exercising their pretended art, they were consigned to the flames. About the year 844, the *Normans*, who were then powerful at sea, and lived as freebooters on land, invaded *Ramiro's* dominions near *Corunna*, but were so completely defeated; that they never repeated their visit. Next year a dangerous conspiracy against *Ramiro* was discovered, and the king left the punishment of the delinquents to the judgment of the states, who sentenced the chief conspirator, and seven of his sons, to death.

The *Spanish*, and other authors, mention an improbable tax of a hundred virgins, which had been paid by *Mauregato* to *Abderrahman*, and pretend that this demand was renewed by *Abderrahman* the II^d. Be that as it will, it is certain that *Abderrahman* invaded *Ramiro's* dominions with a powerful army, but was defeated by *Ramiro*, and his son *Ordogno*, who behaved so nobly, that the estates elected him coadjutor and successor to his father. The year 849 is celebrated for a still more glorious victory, after a battle which lasted two days, in which the infidels lost sixty thousand men, and which, as usual, is embellished with some miraculous circumstances. *Ramiro* died in 850, and left his dominions perfectly tranquil and prosperous; so that *Ordogno* mounted the throne without opposition. His tranquillity was interrupted by the *Gascons* of *Alava*, who called in to their assistance the *Moors*, but they were defeated, and reduced by *Ordogno*. That prince fomented the troubles among his *Moorish* neighbours of *Cordova*, and sent auxiliaries to assist the *Toletans*, but they were defeated by the *Moorish* king, and twelve thousand of them cut in pieces. Notwithstanding this loss, *Ordogno* continued to foment the rebellion of the *Toletans*, by which he acquired leisure for fortifying *Astorga* and *Leon*. About the year 858, he declared war against *Musa*, who, though descended from the *Visgoths*, was a *Moslem*, and having seized *Saragossa*, had erected himself into an independent sovereign. A pitched battle was fought, in which *Musa* was defeated, and lost ten thousand

thousand of his men, and escaping to *Saragossa*, he there died of his wounds.

Exploits
of Ordog-
no.

862.

866.

Reign of
Alonso.

868.

By the vast numbers which fell in every battle, two circumstances occur not very reconcilable to the experience of later times. The first is, that *Spain* must have then been the most populous country in the world, and their warlike weapons the most destructive. The second is, that the *Moors* were as prolific as the *Visgoths*, if not more so; for we find them perpetually repairing their defeats by bringing fresh armies into the field. This vast population is not to be accounted for by the supplies they received from *Africa*, for those had been stopt up ever since the *Moorish* kingdoms were erected in *Spain*. But whatever may be in this, it must be acknowledged that *Ordogno* failed in his politics, by destroying *Musa* and his party, for he thereby strengthened his more formidable enemy, *Mohammed*, king of *Cordova*, who reduced *Toledo*. The affairs of *Ordogno* are represented as being at this time on the decline, and this encouraged the *Normans* again to invade his dominions, but they were defeated, and part of their fleet burnt. *Ordogno's* war with *Mohammed* still continued, but with such success on the part of the *Christians*, that the *Toletans* again resumed their arms, and revolting from *Mohammed*, they were supported by *Ordogno*. In 862, he made a glorious expedition against *Salamanca* and *Coria*, and upon his return to *Oviedo*, the nobility declared his son, *Alonzo*, a prince of great hopes, his successor. *Mohammed* found means to equip a fleet, and once more to invade *Ordogno's* dominions, but he was defeated both by sea and land, so that *Ordogno* died in the arms of glory and prosperity in the year 866. His history, and that of his immediate predecessors, receive great authenticity from the chronicle written by his son, *Alonso* the Great, which is finished by *Ordogno's* reign.

Alonso was no more than eighteen years of age when he mounted the throne, but he met with a competitor in the person of *Froila*, count of *Galicia*, who obliged him for some time to retire to *Castile*. Upon his retreat, *Froila* gave a loose to his natural inclinations for tyranny, and was assassinated in his palace. Upon his death, *Alonso* recovered his throne without opposition, but had great trouble in reducing the province of *Alava* to obedience, in which he succeeded about the year 868. While he was intent upon the affairs of his government, and upon fortifying his frontiers, two *Moorish* armies raised by *Mohammed*, entered his dominions, one on the side of *Leon*, and the other through *Galicia*. *Alonso* was then at the head of a small but brave army, with which he completely defeated both the *Moorish* armies, and carried all the *Moslems* who fell in his hands, into slavery.

Charles the Great had conquered the provinces of *Navarre* and *Arragon*, but his successes not being able to protect them against the *Moors*, the people erected themselves into the kingdom of *Navarre*, and chose for their king *Inigo*, the Bold, count

count of *Bigorre*. From him descended the famous *Ximene*, whom *Alonso* married about this time. The marriage produced a treaty of offence and defence against the *Moors*, who, by the vast success of *Alonso's* arms, were obliged to sue for a truce, which he granted to the ambassadors of the king of *Cordova* in 871. The truce being expired, the war was renewed by both parties, but with more advantage than ever to *Alonso*, whose life was spent in a continued series of victories, till the year 882. He supported the revolt of *Abdallah*, the son of *Musa*, a faithless prince, who had recovered *Saragossa*; but *Alonso* granted *Mohammed* a new truce for six years. This respite from war was wisely employed by *Alonso*, in all the duties of a good king and a provident father of his people. It appears, however, as if he had met with great opposition from his noblemen, whose power he endeavoured to abridge, but they were all of them subdued and punished. That under *Froila* and his brethren *Nugnez*, *Veremond*, and *Odoair*, was the most formidable, because it was supported by *Abdallah*, the king of *Cordova*. The rebels received a total defeat from *Alonso*, upon which *Veremond*, the head of the rebellion, who had escaped from justice with the loss of his eyes, fled to the *Cordovan* court, and *Alonso*, who was now grown old and infirm, consented to a renewal of the truce with that prince. When *Alonso* was preparing to spend the remainder of his days in civil and religious duties, in fortifying his frontiers, and repeopling his dominions, he gave umbrage to *Abdallah*, who, receiving reinforcements from *Africa*, marched against *Zamorra*, which *Alonso* was fortifying, but was again defeated; and *Alonso*, aged as he was, in his turn, invaded and ravaged the *Moorish* territories. He was, towards the close of his reign, endangered by a fresh conspiracy, headed by one *Alapin*, who was put to death. This was but a prelude to one of a more dangerous nature, headed by his son *Garcia*, who aspired to the kingdom, but was defeated, and shut up in prison by his father. It appears as if the young prince had been the darling both of the nobility and people, as well as of his mother *Ximene*. All joined their importunities, but in vain, to free him from his confinement, till *Alonso* perceiving that a civil war was unavoidable, called an assembly of his states. His army was faithful to him, and he convinced his noblemen, in a speech he made, that what he was about to do was the effect of free will, and not of compulsion. He then ordered his two sons to appear, and placed his own crown upon *Garcia's* head, while he gave the province of *Galicia* to his second son, *Ordogno*. The princes were amazed at this extraordinary step, and fell upon their knees with tears of acknowledgment.

871.

882.

His glorious successes.

He resigns his crown.

Such was the political end of the life of *Alonso*, deservedly called the Great. There appears to have been a mixture of *Moorish*, *Gothic*, old *Iberian*, *French* and *Italian* blood among his subjects, which never permitted them to be at rest when

His character.

they were free from *Moorish* and foreign wars. We are, however, to make great allowances for the ignorance we are under as to *Alonso's* true history. It seems as if the real cause of the rebellions against him, had arisen from his own family, particularly from his queen, *Ximene*; and that his great nobility, (with whom some authors say, he was involved in a war for two years before his death) had taken the field against him, because he had abridged them of their privileges, which he, possibly, thought too great for any subjects to enjoy. The constant practice of his predecessors of associating, during their own lifetime, their sons with them in the government, had been discontinued by *Alonso*, and this probably exasperated both *Garcia* and his mother; but whether the last act of *Alonso's* government was or was not the result of free will, it is certain that he behaved like a good man, in preventing the further effusion of blood, and like a great king, in establishing the crown in his family. About the time of this resignation, *Abdallah*, king of *Cordova*, died likewise, which might be a further inducement for that step in *Alonso*. *Abdallah* is celebrated in *Moslem* authors for his endeavours to raise a marine in his dominions, but they pretend that it was destroyed by winds and tempests, and not by the *Christians*. Though *Abdallah* took upon himself the superb title of calif of *Spain*, yet he is, by the *Moslem* authors, stiled no other than the emir of *Andalusia*. He was succeeded by *al Mondaz*, one of the thirty-three sons he left behind him, but he died after a reign of two years, as he was marching to quell a rebellion of the *Cordovans*. His army elected *Abdallah* his brother, to succeed him, in prejudice of his eldest son, and, according to *Moslem* authors, he reigned twenty-five years.

908.
He is succeeded by
his son
Garcia,

After the abdication of *Alonso*, he laid before his son and successor the plan of his government, and gave him such directions for his conduct, as entirely won the affections of *Garcia*. This happened about the year 908. *Garcia* begun his reign with the most popular acts, such as founding monasteries, peopling or fortifying cities, and raising troops to act against the *Moors*, whose territories he invaded. The king of *Cordova* gave the command of his army to one *Ayola*, who was defeated and taken prisoner, but made his escape. Next year *Garcia* gave to his father, old as he was, the command of his army, which was numerous, and rich by the spoils acquired in the preceding campaign. *Alonso* invaded and laid waste the *Moorish* dominions beyond the *Duero*, took measures for peopling the *Spanish* cities on that river, but died at *Zamora*, when he was returning from his glorious campaign. We can add little to the character of this great prince, as a king, a warrior and a politician; but it must be remembered, to his praise, that he was the author of the chronicle which begins at the death of *Recesuint* and ends at that of *Ordogno*, *Alonso's* own father. He composed this chronicle at the request of *Sebastian*, bishop of *Arensa*, from the best memorials then extant,

tant, the history of *Spain*, from the death of king *Wamba*, being in a manner lost, or buried in oblivion. Among the misfortunes of the great *Alonso's* reign, we may reckon that of his being obliged, through the vast designs he had of fortifying and repeopling his kingdom, to load his people with taxes.

After the death of *Alonso* the Great, *Garcia* endeavoured to take from his brother *Ordogno*, the province of *Galicia*, but their differences were compromised, by the interposition of their mother and friends, and they made a successful joint campaign against the *Moors*. About this time *Ximene* died, as, soon after, did *Garcia* himself, as he was endeavouring to regain the love of his subjects, whom he had disgusted by the sternness of his disposition, and the attempts he made against his brother, who inherited the virtues and affability of the father. *Ordogno* was raised to his brother's throne by the clergy and nobility, and after defeating the *Moors* in a bloody battle at *Talavera*, he took that city, and put all its inhabitants to the sword. His next campaign was still more glorious, by his gaining the battle of *Albanges*, which obliged the *Moorish* king to apply to his countrymen in *Africa* once more for reinforcements. These were sent in such numbers, that he brought eighty thousand men into the field against *Ordogno*, but they were defeated, and their two chief generals killed. Those vast successes enriched *Ordogno* so greatly, that he was enabled to make the city of *Leon* a bishop's see, and to erect it into the capital of his dominions, instead of *Oviedo*, which of late years had given the title of royalty to his family, and we are now to consider him and his successors as kings of *Leon* and *Oviedo*. The constant recruits sent over from *Africa* to *Abdallah*, enabled him to continue the war, which he carried into the kingdom of *Navarre*, where *Sarcho*, *Ximene's* brother, and uncle to *Ordogno*, reigned. He demanded succours from his nephew, and they were sent him, but their joint army was defeated by the infidels, and it was with difficulty that *Ordogno* escaped back to *Leon*. Happily for him, the infidels, instead of pursuing their blow, made an irruption into *France*, while *Ordogno* did the same into their *Spanish* dominions, which he laid waste. *Ordogno's* reign, after this, was very disagreeable, both to himself and his subjects. Upon the death of his first wife, he married a *Galician* lady, whom he repudiated without cause. The counts of *Castile* then formed a powerful body, and had for some time been contented to live as feudatories under *Ordogno* and his predecessors. *Ordogno* having some suspicion of their fidelity, summoned them to appear at his court; but he no sooner had them in his power, than he perfidiously ordered them to be strangled. The justice of this action is variously represented. We know little more about this prince, than that he again assisted the king of *Navarre* with troops, and married *Santiva*, daughter to *Garcia* prince of *Navarre*. He died in the eighteenth year of his reign, and

though he left by his first wife, two sons, *Alonso* and *Ramiro*, yet his brother, *Froila*, was elected his successor.

He is succeeded by *Froila*, a tyrant,

and he by *Alonso*.

931.
Ramiro
king.

It does not appear that the nobles of *Castile* had been originally feudatories to the kings of *Oviedo*. It is probable, though they lived under their protection, they were in fact an aristocracy, though it is possible that one of their own body, either by the kings nomination or their own election, might have presided over the rest in their public assemblies. *Froila* the II^d. proved a tyrant, and reigned only thirteen months; and it is said, that during his short reign, the *Castilians* revolted, and chose two of their own number for their leaders, the one in civil, the other in military matters. The nobility and people of *Leon* and *Oviedo*, saw their punishment in their crime of rebelling against *Alonso* the Great, and they placed their crown on the head of his grandson *Alonso*, the son of *Ordogno* the II^d. The bishop of *Leon*, who had been banished on his account, in the foregoing reign, was his faithful friend and counsellor. The name of his queen was *Uracca*, by whom he had a son, but upon her death, he resigned his crown, in favour of his brother *Ramiro*, who was accordingly raised to the throne. Scarcely was he seated there, and had raised an army against the *Moors*, than he repented of his abdication, and attempted to resume his dignity. He made himself master of *Leon*, but was obliged to throw himself upon *Ramiro's* mercy, to whom he was reconciled, and *Ramiro* generously pardoned all who had been concerned in the revolt. In the mean while, *Alonso* and his two brothers, the sons of the late king, *Froila* the II^d. were in arms, and *Alonso* had taken the title of king in *Asturia*. *Ramiro* having now nothing to apprehend from his elder brother, marched against the rebels with his victorious army, and forced them to deliver into his hands the three princes, who had lost their eyes, and were shut up in a monastery. By his wife, *Uracca*, *Ramiro* had a son, *Ordogno*, and she died in the year 931. *Ramiro* now reigned unrivaled, and carried his arms into the very heart of the *Moorish* dominions in *Spain*, where he took *Madrid* by storm, insulted their capital of *Toledo*, and brought back his troops laden with incredible plunder, and numbers of slaves to *Leon*. His visit was repaid by the *Moors*; but *Ramiro*, by the assistance of *Ferdinand Gonzales* (who is called, by way of eminence, count of *Castile*, and who was the founder of a most illustrious royal family) gave them a total defeat at *Osma*, upon which *Ramiro* confirmed all the privileges granted by his predecessors to the church of St. *James* at *Compostella*. Next year *Ramiro* reduced *Aben Abaya*, the count of *Arragon*, and a tributary to the king of *Cordova*, and obliged him to give him the same tribute that he had paid to that prince. While he was upon this expedition he married *Teresa*, the daughter of *Garcia*, king of *Navarre*, whose father had been some time before defeated and killed by the count of *Castile*.

Aben

Aben Abaya soon reconciled himself to the king of *Cordova*, Ravages and their joint troops for some time laid waste the territories of the of *Ramiro*, who had probably suffered a severe check, which *Moors*. disabled him from resisting their incursions. The *Moors*, encouraged by their successes in the territory of *Leon*, assembled a hundred and fifty thousand men to conquer that kingdom and *Oviedo*, and it was the beginning of *August* (by which time they had made a vast progress) before *Ramiro* could take the field. A general battle was fought on the sixth of that month, in which the infidels were defeated, with the loss, as is said, of fourscore thousand men. The account of those immense victories and bloody defeats, are to be read with caution, as the *Moslem* historians of *Spain* are silent at this period. We do not perceive that the loss of the king of *Cordova*, great as it was, interrupted his operations; for we perceive the king of *Cordova*, who now reigned by the name of *Al Mansur*, (an appellation of the highest distinction) was in the field before the end of the campaign, and suffered a defeat as bloody as the former, notwithstanding which, the progress of *Ramiro* against the *Moors* was very slow, and he continued to act upon the defensive. The success of the *Moor* had, in fact, been so great, that he dismantled the frontiers of *Castile*, which *Ramiro* ordered to be repaired, and the chief places to be put into his possession. The *Castilian* lord objected to this, upon which *Ramiro* made use of his paramount right to employ against them the army he had raised against the *Moors*, and he brought their two chiefs, *Ferdinand Gonzales* and *Diego Nunes*, prisoners to *Leon*. *Ramiro* can be justified for this conduct only by supposing that he had a right to the obedience of the *Castilians*, and that the measures he enjoined, were calculated equally for their safety as his own. The *Castilians* thought that their privileges were more dear to them than their safety, and their firmness endangered *Ramiro's* throne, because no dependence was to be placed in a truce, which he had concluded with the *Moors*.

It is reasonable to think that *Ramiro* was alarmed at his situation, for he soon compromised matters with the two *Affairs of Castile* counts, and restored them to a higher degree of his favour than ever. They, on the other hand, knew the necessity of uniting against the common enemy, and *Ferdinand Gonzales*, who at this time governed the *Castilians* as if he had been their sovereign, gave his daughter *Urracca*, by *Sancha*, infanta of *Navarre*, in marriage to *Ordogno*, *Ramiro's* eldest son. This consolidation of interests, produced a seven years truce with the *Moors*; but it no sooner was expired, than he invaded their dominions, and, as usual, defeated their armies with vast slaughter; but upon his return to *Leon*, he died, in 950, and the 20th year of his reign, with the character of having been a wise, brave and successful prince. He left behind him, by his first wife, *Ordogno*, and the princess *Elviza*, who was a nun.

950.

Ordogno

and Leon.

Ordogno III. succeeded his father with universal applause. His great talents, joined to the flourishing estate in which his father left his dominions, gave umbrage to his neighbours, and even his father-in-law *Gonçales*, encouraged *Sanchez* to claim a partition of his dominions, which *Ordogno* refused to consent to. *Sanchez* was likewise supported by the king of *Navarre*, and pleaded former family settlements, by which he was entitled to the province of *Galicia*. *Gonçales* would appear a much greater man to posterity than he does, were not his history interlarded by the *Spaniards* with gross fictions. He certainly, however, was one of the greatest personages of that age and country; but, though he and the king of *Navarre* jointly took the field in favour of *Sanchez*, yet *Ordogno*'s prudent and resolute conduct obliged them to retire. *Ordogno*, provoked at their attempt, repudiated and sent back to *Gonçales* his daughter *Urracca*, and married *Elvira*, a *Galician* lady, by whom he had a son, *Bermudo*. This marriage, through the insolence of the new queen's relations, occasioned a rebellion; but it was quickly suppressed by the prudence and vigour of *Ordogno*, and the rebels joining his standards, he led them against *Lisbon*, then in possession of the infidels. The conduct of *Gonçales* on this occasion, was that of a great politician. He not only grew cold in the cause of *Sanchez*, but dissembled all resentment of the affront that had been offered him in the person of his daughter, and during *Ordogno*'s absence in *Portugal*, he made a seasonable diversion in his favour, by invading *Al Mansur*'s dominions, and taking and demolishing the important fortress of *Corazo*. Upon the return of *Ramiro* from *Portugal*, with his victorious army, though there had been no formal reconciliation between him and *Gonçales*, the latter boldly presented himself before him, and so effectually pleaded his services against the *Moors*, (but at the same time, apologizing for what had passed) that he not only disarmed *Ordogno* of all resentment, but he sent him a body of troops, by whose assistance he gained one of the most glorious victories at *St. Stephen de Gomez* that had ever been obtained over the infidels.

955.
Death of
Ordogno.

Ordogno died in the year 955, and the 6th of his reign, which, like that of his father, was a series of great and wise actions. The queen *Elvira*, upon her husband's death, despaired of making any party in favour of her son's right to succeed his father, and retired to *Galicia*, upon which *Sanchez*, the late king's brother, was raised to the throne.

Revolutions of
Castile.

The incapacity of *Sanchez* for government, contributed to the ambitious views of *Gonçales*, who by fomenting the discontents of the nobility, forced *Sanchez* again to take refuge in *Navarre*. The reader may remember that *Alonso*, the son of *Freila* II. who called himself *Alonso* IV. had lost his eyes, and was shut up in a monastery, where he died. He left behind him a son, *Ordogno*, and *Gonçales* gave his daughter *Urracca*, the divorced widow of *Ordogno* III. to this young prince in marriage. Others say, with more reason, that *Alonso* IV. was brother

brother to *Ramiro* II. Be that as it will, *Ordogno* IV. who acquired the epithet of the wicked, by his father-in-law's interest mounted the throne of *Leon*, but his cruelties soon lost him the affections of his subjects. In the mean while the exiled *Sanchez* had repaired to the court of *Cordova*, where he was cured by the *Arab* physicians, the best then in the world, of a dropy, and most generously entertained by *Al Montasen*, who offered him his assistance in restoring him to his throne, provided the king of *Navarre* would assist him likewise, which the latter readily undertook to do, and defeated *Gonçales*, whom he carried prisoner to *Navarre*. By this time, *Ordogno* the Wicked, unable to withstand *Sanchez* at the head of his *Moorish* confederates, and execrated by his subjects, fled to *Asturia*; where finding himself detested, and in danger of being delivered up, he threw himself into the hands of the *Arragonian Moors*, among whom he died, in a short time, equally hated and contemptible. It must be confessed, that the most authentic histories of *Spain* at this period, relate an event which seems to give some countenance to their fictions. *Gonçales*, though a prisoner, found means by the intercession of his wife, who was the king of *Navarre's* sister, not only to recover his liberty, but to obtain that independency upon the crown of *Leon*, which had been so long his favourite and sole object. *Sanchez* being cured of his distemper which had formerly rendered him inactive, proved a brave and a stirring prince.

Upon recovering his throne, he married *Teresa*, daughter to one of his chief noblemen. The *Normans* having made a descent upon his dominions, he permitted *Sisenand*, the bishop of *Compostella*, to fortify that city; but the prelate made use of this permission to oppress the people, and to heap up wealth, for which being reprimanded by the king, he prepared for a rebellion. *Sanchez* marched at the head of an army to reduce him, and the people confined their bishop, whom the king deposed, and raised one *Rosinindo* to the see of *Compostella*. The *Normans* soon after renewing their descent, *Rosinindo* put himself at the head of his people, defeated them, and forced them to retire with great loss to their ships. It soon appeared that *Gonçales* was connected with *Sisenand* in his practices, for having been raised by the partiality of *Sanchez* to the government of *Portugal*, he renewed his rebellion, and almost at the same time his submissions, being terrified at the approach of *Sanchez*, who again pardoned him; but he was ungratefully requited by *Gonçales* presenting him with some poisoned fruit, which in three days time put an end to his life. Other writers give a much more favourable character of *Gonçales*, (or as they call him *Gonsalvo*) whom they make the mirror of all virtues, civil and military; and they impute his imprisonment to the treachery of *Teresa* of *Navarre*, as they do his deliverance to his own magnanimity and the affection of her sister *Blanch*, wife to *Gonçales*. In short, this *Teresa* is loaded with all the misfortunes that befell *Gonçales*, whom we cannot believe to be
so

so wicked a man as some historians have represented. It is certain that he left *Castile*, which he defended nobly against the *Moors*, in a state of independency upon the crown of *León*, without himself assuming the title of king, or invading the privileges either of the people or the nobility.

Succeeded by *Ramiro* III. The late king *Sanchez* had endeared himself to his subjects so much, that upon his death they gave his crown to his infant son, *Ramiro* III. who was but five years old, and his mother with his aunt *Elvira*, were appointed his guardians. In the beginning of their regency, they sent their general *Gonsalvo*, to act against the *Normans*, who had made a fresh descent near *Compostella*, but were entirely routed by *Gonsalvo*, who likewise burnt their fleet. The regents seem to have governed with great prudence and moderation till they resigned their power into the hands of *Ramiro*, who was now seventeen years of age, and married a lady, whose relations alienated him from the wise councils of his mother and aunt, and exasperated his nobility so much, that they declared *Bermudo*, son to *Ordogno* III. their king. This produced a most cruel civil war, which was attended by a waste of blood greater than that of their disputes with the *Moors*, and yet no decisive action happened. The sudden death of *Ramiro* in 982, when he was no more than twenty years of age, finished the dispute by *Bermudo* II. being acknowledged his successor. While he was intent upon reforming his people, the *Moors*, who thought themselves absolved from all their engagements with the *Christians* by the death of *Ramiro*, invaded *Bermudo's* territories, and the late civil war having greatly weakened *Bermudo*, they made themselves masters of *Simencas*, and carried great numbers of *Christians* into captivity, with a prodigious booty. By this time, according to the *Moslem* writers, *Hesham* succeeded his father *Al Montaser*, as calif of *Spain*, but being no more than ten years of age, his affairs were managed by his chamberlain *Abu Amer*, who pretended that he was entitled to the name of *Al Mansur*. He acted with an arbitrary sway, and to him were owing the late successes obtained by the *Moors* over the *Christians*. He was frequently offered the crown of *Cordova*; but he thought it safest to govern under the title of *Hesham*, who was no more than a cypher. The ambition of the *Moors* now pointed itself against the *Navarrese* and the *Franks*, which gave *Bermudo* an opportunity of looking into the internal state of his kingdom, which was in a deplorable condition. He deposed *Pelayo*, the tyrannical successor of *Sisenand*, bishop of *Compostella*; and who, by revolting to the *Moors*, had enabled them to take the important city of *Zamora*, where they carried the inhabitants into captivity. The virtues and moderation of *Al Mansur*, seem to have been the worst foes of the *Spaniards*, who living happy and quietly under his government, neglected to assist their king, who was thereby under inexpressible discouragements. He at last raised an army, and gave battle to *Al Mansur* on the banks of the *Ezla*. Victory at

at first declared for *Bermudo*; but *Al Mansur* seeing his troops who is de-
give way, with the spirit of a true *Arab*, first threw his turban, feated by
and then himself, upon the ground, where he declared he the *Moors*.
would wait for death, as he had been deserted by his army.
The *Moors*, stung with this reproach of their brave leader,
returned to the charge, and recovered the victory; but it cost
them so dear, that *Al Mansur* was in no condition to improve
it that year.

Bermudo employed that short respite in removing all that
was valuable in *Leon* to *Asturia*, to which he himself and his
court retired, after leaving a numerous garrison at *Leon*, which,
in the spring, *Al Mansur* made himself master of, as he did
of *Astorga*. Next year he conquered the greatest part of (if
not all) *Portugal*, and carried the *Christians*, whom he made
prisoners, into slavery. He took *Compostella* by means of the
prelate *Pelayo*. He ravaged *Galicia*, and in all probability
would have made an entire conquest of *Spain*, had not his
army been attacked by a most dreadful flux, which *Christian*
writers construe into a mark of Divine vengeance, and which
obliged him to return to *Cordova*. This happened in the year
997, and *Bermudo* harrassed him so dreadfully in his retreat, 997.
that he did not carry back a third of his army. While he was
endeavouring to recruit it, *Bermudo* visited *Galicia*, to revive
the drooping spirits of his subjects there, and formed a con-
federacy with the *Castilians*, who, as we have seen, were now
independent of the king of *Navarre*. According to the *Moslem*
historians, (the *Christian* writers being confused on that head)
Al Mansur died at this time, and was succeeded by his son
Abdalmaler, who took his father's title, which has occasioned
some intricacy among *Christian* authors. The confederates
brought a numerous army to the field, and defeated the *Moors*
under the new *Al Mansur*, in the neighbourhood of *Osma*.
The battle lasted the whole day, and at night *Al Mansur*
found his loss of men to be so great, that he ordered the re-
mainder to disperse, while he himself retired to *Medina Celi*,
where he obstinately refused all sustenance, and starved himself
to death. It is said, but, perhaps, with some exaggeration,
that a hundred thousand infidels were killed in the late battle.
The *Christians* finding the infidels had fled, could scarcely be-
lieve their own good fortune, and the booty they made was
incredible; but by this time, *Bermudo* was labouring under His death.
the gout so severely, that he could not taste the tranquillity
which his arms had purchased, for he died in the year 999.

999.
He was succeeded, through the election of the nobility, by his Succeeded
son *Alonso*, or *Alphonso V.* whose mother *Elvira*, was appoint- by *Alonso*
ed regent during his nonage, and *Melendo Gonzales* his go- V.
vernor. The *Moors* under the brother of the late *Al Mansur*,
a dissolute but ambitious minister, renewing their incursions,
the queen regent sent a body of troops to the assistance of
Garcia, count of *Castile*, who had been chiefly instrumental in
gaining the glorious battle of *Osma*, and he gave them a fresh
defeat,

His wife
and suc-
cessful go-
vernment.

1027.

defeat, upon which the *Moorish* general was disgracefully put to death upon his return to *Cordova*. The family of *La Vela*, a noble *Castilian* race, having been spoiled of their inheritance of *Alava*, had lived for some years under the protection of the *Moors*, and out of revenge, were highly instrumental in their successes against the *Christians*; but their estate being now restored to them, they returned to their duty. This was effected by the wisdom of the *Leon* administration, under whom the people lived happily and securely; and when *Alphonso V.* came of age, out of gratitude for the excellent education he had received from his tutor, he raised his daughter *Elvira* to be the partner of his throne. He then applied himself to repair the ravages of the *Moors*, who were at war among themselves. While he was in this prosperous state of government, about the year 1027, he besieged *Viseo*, a *Moorish* fort, but was killed by an arrow from the walls, in the 34th year of his life, and the 28th of his reign. During his reign, the affairs of *Castile* had been very prosperously administered under its count *Garcia*; till he was killed in an engagement with the *Moors* in 1005. He was succeeded by his son *Sanchez Garcia*, a wise and a fortunate prince, who, by fomenting the civil dissensions of the *Moors*, carried destruction through their territories, and placed one *Zuleiman* upon the throne of *Cordova*; but he was soon after dethroned, and don *Sanchez* continued his assistance to the next pretender, *Hissem*. Thus by supporting one usurper against another, he enlarged and secured his own dominions, and introduced several excellent political institutions among the inferior nobility; so that about the year 1016, *Castile* was in a most flourishing state. He reduced *Sepulveda*, then one of the strongest places in *Spain*, and he died in 1022. But we are now to pursue the history of *Leon*.

Succeeded
by *Bermu-
do III.*

Sanchez
the Great,
king of
Navarre.

Bermudo III. by the suffrages of the nobility, succeeded his father *Alonso V.* in that throne, under a regency, (he being a minor) composed of the queen dowager, and the chief nobility. *Garcia Sanchez*, son of the late count *Sanchez*, was now count of *Castile*, and being a minor likewise, his government was administered by his mother *Elvira*, and his brother-in-law *Sanchez*, king of *Navarre*. Upon the death of *Elvira*, *Sanchez* obtained the sole tuition of the young count, and when he grew up, he proposed a match between him and *Sancha*, sister to *Bermudo III.* king of *Leon*. The day for the marriage was accordingly fixed, but before it was consummated, *Garcia* was assassinated at *Leon*, where he was to pay a visit to his bride, by the sons of the count *De la Vela*, who for some fresh dissatisfaction, had once more revolted to the *Moors*. *Garcia* was the last count of *Castile*, and *Sanchez*, king of *Navarre*, after ordering the three assassins, who fell into his hands, to be burnt alive, took possession in his wife's right, of the then great and flourishing province of *Castile*. He was now deservedly called the Great, and he gave to *Bermudo*, *Teresa* the daughter

daughter of *Sanchez* of *Castile*, in marriage. *Bermudo* proved a brave and active prince, and had the spirit to depose and imprison a bishop of *Compostella* without the pope's leave. Notwithstanding the power of the king of *Navarre*, he resented his encroachments upon his dominions so much, that a war broke out between them; but it was compromised by a match between *Sancha*, who had been destined for the late count of *Castile*, and *Ferdinand* the king of *Navarre*'s second son, who was to inherit that province with the title of king. The security of the *Spanish Christians* seemed to be established by this alliance; but the king of *Navarre*, though a great and a wise prince, had a family failing in desiring to leave his four sons all kings, and accordingly at the time of his death, in 1035, he bequeathed to *Garcia*, his eldest son, *Navarre*, *Biscay*, and the province of *Rioja*; *Ferdinand* was confirmed king of *Castile*; his third son, *Gonçales*, was made king of *Soprarba* and *Ripagorza*; and *Ramiro*, who was his fourth, but natural son, was made king of *Arragon*. 1035. He leaves four sons and natural kings.

As *Bermudo* had been forced by *Sanchez* the Great, to resign a considerable part of his territory to *Ferdinand* king of *Castile*, as his sister's marriage portion; he took the opportunity, now and end of that the force of the family of *Navarre* was divided, to retake his line. the ceded estates, which he did, before *Ferdinand* could oppose him. There is some reason for believing that *Bermudo* intended to have reannexed all *Castile* to his crown, and *Ferdinand* was joined by his brother the king of *Navarre*. A battle ensued, in which *Bermudo*, engaging too far, was killed, and the male line of *Recarede* I. being extinct in him, *Ferdinand*, without opposition, was acknowledged king of *Leon*, *Oviedo*, and *Galicia*, and crowned as such in the cathedral of *Leon*. Some of the *Galicians*, out of the hatred they bore the *Castilians*, chose to put themselves under the *Moorish* prince of *Seville*. In the person of *Bermudo* ended the kingdom, which had been so nobly founded by *Pelayo* two hundred and twenty years before, and was possessed by a series (a very few excepted) of as brave and as worthy princes as ever sat on any throne. They opposed and conquered the *Moors*, then the richest and the most warlike people in the world, and possessed of by far the finest provinces in *Spain*, and would have exterminated them out of the country, had it not been for the vast supplies they received from *Africa*. Their form of government, which constitutionally was elective, carried with it great advantages. The kings themselves had no other method of recommending their sons to be their successors, than by maintaining their people in their liberties, by providing for their security against the *Moors*, and by their conquests over those infidels. We may, perhaps, add another inestimable blessing which those princes and people enjoyed, which was, that though their clergy had a great sway in public affairs, yet the power of the pope was then very little known in *Christian Spain*, and the prelates being possessed of great temporal fiefs in

Recapitulation.

in the same manner as under the *Anglo-Saxon* and *Gothic* governments, they were considered as part of the community, and under equal obligations as the nobility themselves, to maintain the constitution and the liberties of the public.

SECTION II.

The History of Leon and Castile.

Ferdinand
king of
Castile,
Leon,
Oviedo,
and *Gali-*
cia.

THE easy accession of *Ferdinand* to the crown of *Leon* in right of his queen, gave a mortal blow to the elective constitution of that crown; but his success seems to have been owing to the veneration which the people had for the family of their late kings, and to the moderation of the nobility, who were apprehensive of a civil war. Add to those considerations, that it was necessary to have a prince of *Ferdinand's* power to oppose the *Moors*, who though then divided, might soon reunite; nor have we any reason to doubt that *Ferdinand* upon his election to the crown, submitted to, at least, the form of an election. *Galicia* was, at this time, the richest province of the *Christian Spain*, and the revolted part of it, which had put itself under the protection of the *Moors*, was headed by one count *Sisenand*. As the extent of their sea coast gave them vast advantages in point of commerce, and of admitting foreign assistance; *Ferdinand* wisely applied the first cares of his government to reclaim *Sisenand* to his duty, and to confirm the unrevolted part of his countrymen in theirs, both which he effected by his prudence and address. The first seven years of his reign were spent in the internal regulations of his kingdom, and he was contented with opposing to the *Moors* strong garrisons in his frontier towns. About the year 1044, he undertook the conquest of the *Moorish* part of *Portugal*, which he happily completed by carrying his army across the river *Malna*, and thereby strengthening and enlarging his frontier. This campaign he reduced the important city and territory of *Coimbra*, of which he made count *Sisenand* governor, and by the end of the year 1046, he cleared all his kingdom of *Castile* of the *Moors*. He then undertook a war against the king of *Toledo*, the most powerful of the *Moorish* princes in *Spain*; and made such a progress against him, that *Al Mamon*, the king of *Toledo*, repaired to his camp, spread his treasures before *Ferdinand*, and offered to buy his peace, by becoming his tributary. *Ferdinand*, against the advice of his officers, generously raising him from the ground, accepted of his terms, which induced the *Moorish* king of *Saragossa* to follow the example of the *Toletan*. In the year 1050, while *Ferdinand's* dominions were in perfect tranquillity, he

he paid a visit to his brother *Garcia*, king of *Navarre*, who was reported to be dangerously ill. While he was at that court he received, or pretended he received information that his brother intended by treachery to deprive him of his liberty; upon which he retired hastily to his own dominions, and his visit being returned by *Garcia* soon after upon the like occasion, *Ferdinand* ordered him to be arrested and imprisoned. *Garcia*, by the assistance of his faithful subjects, notwithstanding all the precautions taken by *Ferdinand*, escaped from his confinement. *Ferdinand* began to reflect on his own conduct, and employed his clergy to make the most humble submissions to his brother for what had passed, in order to prevent a war between them. *Garcia* remained inflexible, pursued his revenge by invading *Castile*; but was killed in a battle with his brother, who, upon gaining the victory, ordered the slaughter of the *Navarrese* to cease, but cut in pieces a body of their *Moslem* auxiliaries. It is uncertain by what means the differences between the two brothers become irreconcilable. It is most probable that *Garcia* thought his brother little better than an usurper of his birthright, and wanted to wrest from him his kingdom of *Castile*. Be that as it will, it is allowed on all hands, that *Ferdinand* discovered great moderation amidst his successes, and that he manifested a sincere grief for his brother's death; but there is reason to believe, that he took advantage of his victory to secure to himself certain places belonging to *Navarre*, that lay convenient for his situation.

He defeats
and kills
his brother
Garcia,

Councils were then occasionally held in *Spain* by the royal authority alone, without any intervention of the papal, tho' it was very high all over the rest of *Christendom*. One of the competitors for the popedom, *Alexander II.* sent a legate into *Spain*, but the people refused to acknowledge his authority, and the legate upon his return to *Italy*, reported that the *Spaniards* made use of the *Gothic* liturgy and usages entirely unknown to the church of *Rome*, and that she never could have any authority in *Spain* till they were abolished. Notwithstanding this, *Ferdinand* was far from being free of religious enthusiasm, and he invaded the dominions of *Mohammed* king of *Seville*, that he might obtain the relics of two virgins, said to have been buried there, in order to translate them to a church built by his queen *Sancha*. *Mohammed* offered to submit himself and his kingdom to *Ferdinand*, that he might prevent a war to which he was not equal; but neither he nor his *Christian* subjects knew where the bodies of the virgins were, and *Ferdinand* was forced to accept in their stead the body of *St. Isidore*, who appeared to the bishop of *Leon* in a dream.

Intrusion
of the
popes.

Ferdinand's brother took advantage of this war with *Seville*, to attack the *Moorish* prince of *Saragossa*, who being tributary to *Ferdinand*, applied to him for defence. *Ferdinand* had committed the government of his kingdoms in his absence, to his son *Sancho*, who promised to march to the assistance of the *Moor*, which he accordingly did, and *Ramiro* was killed in the engagement.

1063.

engagement which followed. The victory obtained by *Sancho*, was chiefly owing to his lieutenant *Roderigo*, who is so much celebrated in the *Spanish* history under the name of the *Cid*, and it was remarked that *Ramiro* was the second of *Ferdinand's* brothers who fell by his arms.

Ferdi-

nand's last
will.

1065.

Ferdinand made use of the tranquillity which his conquests procured him, in calling together an assembly of the states of *Leon*, where in compliance with the pernicious practice of his family and times, he declared that he intended to give his eldest son *Sancho*, the kingdom of *Castile*; and the *Moorish* king of *Saragossa*, as his tributary; to his second son, *Alonso*, the crowns of *Leon* and *Oviedo*; and to the youngest, *Garcia*, the kingdom of *Galicia*, with that part of *Portugal* he had conquered. *Sancho* and *Garcia* were immediately put in possession of their kingdoms, and soon after, in the year 1065, old *Ferdinand* himself died in a glorious expedition, which he made against the kings of *Toledo* and *Saragossa*, who had rebelled upon his dividing his kingdoms. *Ferdinand*, excepting in that last act of his government, yielded to none of his predecessors in civil and military virtues. Besides the three sons we have already mentioned, he left two daughters, to whom he gave large appenages independent of their brethren.

Sancho
king of
Castile,
quarrels
with his
brother
Alonso,

1067.

As queen *Sancho*, the heiress of *Leon*, *Oviedo* and *Galicia*, was still alive, and consenting to the partition of her dominions, her son *Sancho* could not with any decency object to his father's destination, and having finished some disputes he had with the young king of *Arragon*, and *Sancho* the king of *Navarre*, he lived quietly at *Burgos* till her death, when he began to manifest his uneasiness at the injustice he thought had been done him by his father. *Alonso*, the king of *Leon*, was a wise and a moderate prince, and was contracted to a daughter of the *English* monarch, *William* the Conqueror, who died in her passage to *Spain* by sea. In 1067, his dominions were invaded by the king of *Castile*, who defeated him, and obliged him to fly to *Leon*; but an accommodation was effected by the interposition of their sisters, who were princesses of great wisdom and merit. *Garcia*, who was in possession of the kingdom of *Galicia*, governed by a favourite, whom his nobles cut in pieces before his face, and in the year 1070, *Garcia* sent a body of troops to the assistance of his brother *Alonso*, who was again attacked by the king of *Castile*. *Alonso* was at first victorious, but the *Cid*, who still continued to be *Sancho's* general, gave him a total defeat in the middle of his successes, and *Alonso* was sent prisoner to *Burgos*, where at the request of his sisters, *Sancho* spared his life, but obliged him to resign his dominions, and to take the monkish habit.

1070.

whom he
dethrones.

Sancho was acknowledged king by the states of *Leon*, who probably had a regard to his primogeniture, and he led his army into *Galicia*, then torn with civil dissensions. He made an easy conquest of that kingdom, and *Garcia* put himself under the protection of the king of *Seville*, then the most powerful of

of the *Moorish* princes in *Spain*. In the mean while, *Alonso*, by the assistance of his sisters, escaped out of his monastery, and escapes, put himself under the protection of *Al Mamon*, the *Moorish* king of *Toledo*, by whom he was generously received and entertained. *Sancho*, who was naturally impatient, resented his escape, by attempting to deprive them of their appenages, which consisted of the cities of *Toro* and *Zamora*, and their territories. *Sancho* reduced *Toro*, which belonged to *Elvira*; but *Zamora*, which was the appenage of the princess *Urracca*, made so noble a defence under her general *Gonzales*, that *Sancho*, after suffering several repulses, was forced to turn the siege into a blockade, in hopes of reducing the place by famine. This had such an effect, that the citizens were thinking of giving it up, when one of their number pretending to desert to *Sancho*, engaged his confidence so much, that he found means to kill him with a javelin, upon which the *Castilians* abandoned the blockade. The history of this campaign, and the death of *Sancho*, are embellished with many circumstances of duels, warlike encounters, and feats of arms, several of which probably are fictitious; but we dare not reject the whole, on account of the great credit due to the authors who record them, and who were most of them contemporaries; not to mention that the romantic cast of the nation, at this time, gives them at least an air of probability; but we think they are not material to general history, the only objects of which, ought to be great events, and their springs.

Upon the death of *Sancho*, *Alonso* took leave of his generous and successful protector, the king of *Toledo*, and repaired to *Zamora*, upon his sister *Urracca*'s invitation. He was immediately recognized by the nobility of *Leon* and *Galicia*; but those of *Castile*, who were called the *Cortes*, and were more free than either, demanded previous to their acknowledging him as their king, that he should purge himself, by oath, from all fore-knowledge of his brother's death, and the *Cid* insisted upon his taking the usual oaths; all which he readily did. According to the *Spanish* historians, *Alonso*'s disposition was by this time greatly altered. Upon his accession to *Sancho*'s throne, his brother *Garcia* left the *Moorish* court, where he had taken refuge, and resumed the government of *Galicia*; but being decoyed into a confederacy by *Alonso*, he was, by *Urracca*'s advice, shut up in prison, and *Alonso* became master of his throne. It was about this time, that *Gregory VII.* claimed all the conquests that had been made upon the *Moors* by the crown of *Spain*, which he pretended to be a fief of the holy see. The vast increase of the papal power at that period, and the panics of *Christian* princes, prevented *Alonso* from resenting this insolent claim in a proper manner. All he did, was, to maintain his independency upon his holiness, and to leave his clergy at liberty to use the *Gothic* or the *Roman* rituals as they thought proper. About the year 1074, *Alonso* was married to the countess of *Guienne*, and generously assisted his protector, the king

Vol. X.
p. 51.

1074

king of *Toledo*, against the *Moorish* princes who attacked him. Next year *Sancho*, king of *Navarre*, being murdered by one of his brothers, *Alonso* by means of *Ramiro*, another of those brothers, possessed himself of *Biscay*, as did *Sancho*, king of *Arragon*, of the remainder. It is presumable, that this acquisition was owing to his compliance with the court of *Rome*, who now persuaded him to abolish the *Gothic*, and to force the papal, ritual upon his subjects, and which readily granted him a divorce from his new wife on account of consanguinity, which he could not obtain from his *Gothic* clergy.

He conquers *Toledo*.

1085.

The people of *Toledo*, having lost their old king, *Alonso's* friend, applied to him for protection against *Hyaya* their new king, whom *Alonso* drove into *Valentia*, and took possession of *Toledo*, about the year 1085. This was one of the greatest conquests that ever had been made by the *Christian* kings of *Spain* over the infidels. *Alonso* made *Toledo* the capital of his government, and indulged his new subjects, whether *Moslems*, *Mosarabians* or *Christians*, in the exercise of their respective religions. The loss of *Toledo* struck the other *Moslems* in *Spain* and *Africa*, with astonishment; and they raised troops to prevent, as they alledged, their being extirpated. The *Moorish* kings of *Seville* and *Badajoz*, were at the head of this confederacy, and they gained a battle against

1086.

Alonso, in 1086. *Alonso*, afraid of the progress of the *Moors*, called in to his assistance *Philip I.* of *France*, and the count of *Burgundy*, which obliged the *Moorish* princes to agree to a compromise, by which, according to some historians, they became his tributaries. It is said, that *Alonso* soon after disapproved of the conduct of his metropolitan of *Toledo*, who during his absence in the field, had deprived the *Moors* of that cathedral, which by the capitulation of the city, was to remain a mosque. The metropolitan, however, through the moderation of the *Moors*, carried his point. In the year 1091, died *Garcia*, late king of *Galicia*, under his confinement, where, as a proof of the barbarous manners of that age, he was loaded with irons, which at his own request were laid in the same grave with himself. *Alonso*, about the same time, turned his arms against *Portugal*, as it is now called, and covered the injustice of his invasion by the pretext of its being advantageous to the *Christian* interest. After his making a considerable progress in that expedition, the *Moorish* king of *Huesca*, who was his tributary, claimed his assistance against the king of *Arragon*, who had besieged his capital. *Sancho*, king of *Navarre*, was killed at the siege of *Huesca*, and the year following, *Alonso* gave to *Henry de Besançon*, who married his natural daughter, all his *Portuguese* conquests, with the reservation of fealty; but that reservation is denied by the *Portuguese* writers.

1091.
Death of
Garcia,
king of
Galicia.

1096.

In the year 1096, the king of *Arragon* took the field, and *Alonso* sided with his tributary, the king of *Huesca*; but his troops were defeated by *Pedro* king of *Arragon*, by which

victory

victory the kingdom, or rather principality of *Huesca* was secured to *Pedro*.

The confusion and altercations on account of consanguinity The king and other matters introduced about this time by the court of of *Fez* in-*Rome*, were such as rendered all marriages precarious; and vited to *Alonso* having been several times married, but without male *Spain*. issue, espoused the beautiful princess *Zaide*, the *Moorish* king of *Seville*'s daughter, who, with her father's consent, turned *Christian*. The prodigious ravages, that, by this time, had been made among the *Moorish* princes of *Spain*, through their civil dissensions, had abolished all considerations of religion, customs and manners, and *Alonso* readily agreed to a proposal made by his father-in-law, to call in *Joseph* the king of *Fez* and *Morocco*, to assist them in conquering all the petty *Moslem* kingdoms of *Spain*, and to make a partition of their territories. *Joseph* accordingly landed with a very considerable army at *Malaga*, where he received deputations from the *Moslem* states, representing that *Mohammed Aben Habet*, the king of *Seville*, was a *Christian* in his heart, and offering to put themselves under *Joseph*'s protection. *Joseph*, who had more than probably taken his measures before hand, accepted their offer, and made himself master of *Seville*, and of *Mohammed*'s person, without resistance. He then took possession of the greatest part of *Andalusia*. His subjects are by the *See Vol.* *Spanish* historians called *Almoravides*, but were, in fact, no *VI.* and other than a sect of those *Moslem* puritans whom we have *VII.* often mentioned under the denomination of *Morabites*. *Alonso* sent two of his generals with an army to oppose them, but they were defeated; and *Alonso*, whose name was very terrible to the infidels, put himself in person at the head of another army.

Joseph, by the renegades who deserted to him, some of *Progress of* whom were principal officers, was apprised of *Alonso*'s strength the war, and method of making war, and by their advice he remained and death for the first campaign upon the defensive. Being obliged to of the *Cid*. return to *Morocco*, to which country he transported all the *Mosarabics* who fell into his hands; he left behind him a general, *Hyaya*, who besieged *Toledo*; but *Alonso*, at the head of his army, compelled him to desist. In the mean while died the famous *Cid*, who had wrested *Valentia* from the infidels, and had erected for himself a principality in the territory of *Tervel*. Upon his death, the *Moors* endeavoured to retake *Valentia*, and defeated *Alonso*'s troops there, but received a very seasonable check from the gallant *Ximena*, the *Cid*'s widow. *Alonso*, however, was soon after obliged to withdraw his troops, and to leave the province of *Valentia* in possession of the infidels.

Alonso, at this time, had a daughter *Donna Urracca*, whom he gave in marriage to count *Raymond* of *Galicia*; but in the year 1103, we perceive that by a subsequent wife he had a son, 1103. and his fifth wife *Isabella* dying that year, he married a princess

The *Christians* of the house of *Este*. The spirit of crusading, which was then depopulating *Europe*, had now reached *Spain*, and many of defeated *Alonso's* subjects were inclined to have joined in the expeditions to the *Holy Land*, had they not been restrained by the pope, who told them that they ought to employ their arms against their infidel enemies at home. In 1106, the *Moors* obtained fresh victories over *Alonso*, and *Donna Urracca* bore a son, *Alonso*, to *Raymond*. *Alonso* was now far advanced in years, and his son-in-law, count *Raymond*, died just after he had nominated him to command an army that was to oppose *Joseph*, who was now returned to *Spain* with armaments which he thought more than sufficient for conquering all that kingdom from the *Christians*. *Joseph* was advancing to *Toledo*, when *Alonso* sent his son, the infant *Sancho*, though no more than eleven years of age, to oppose him, under the tutelage of the brave *Garcia de Cabra*. A desperate battle was fought at *Ucles*, where the *Christians* were entirely defeated, and the prince with his governor lost their lives on the 29th of *May*, 1108; but the *Moors* were disabled from making any considerable progress after their victory, and the *Christians*, headed by the infanta *Urracca*, forced them to retire into their own territories.

Death of *Alonso*. *Alonso*, tho' now old and infirm, made incredible efforts to prevent the farther progress of the infidels, and obliged his nobility to acknowledge for his successor, *Alonso* son to his daughter *Urracca*, whom he gave a second time in marriage to *Alphonso*, king of *Arragon* and *Navarre*. After a long illness, *Alonso* died very aged, in the 44th year of his reign, *June* the 30th, 1109.

Disputes about his succession between his daughter and her husband. Upon the death of *Alonso*, *Alphonso* king of *Arragon* and *Navarre*, claimed the kingdom of *Castile*, in right of his wife, the daughter of the late king; but *Urracca*, whose right was acknowledged by the states of *Castile*, soon gave *Alphonso* to understand, that in *Castile* he was no more than her first subject. It was in vain for *Alphonso* to endeavour to soften her, by every method of persuasion that could be applied; for she continued so obstinate, that he was obliged to shut her up prisoner in the fortress of *Castellar*, from whence, being delivered by her *Castilian* subjects, she sued for a divorce, on pretence of consanguinity. The kingdom of *Galicia*, which had quietly submitted to the title of young *Alonso*, was at this time distracted by civil dissensions amongst the great men, who quarrelled about the custody of the young prince's person. *Joseph*, king of *Morocco*, was now dead, and succeeded by his son *Ali*, who besieged *Toledo*, but was defeated by the brave *Alvaro Fanez*, its governor. *Ali* made several other attempts against the *Christians* in *Spain*, but was successful in none, excepting that of ravaging the open country, and carrying off vast numbers into captivity to *Morocco*. His miscarriages were not properly improved by the *Christians*, on account of the dissensions amongst themselves. *Alphonso* again quarrelled with

with his queen *Urracca*, and defeated her troops in the battle of *Campo de Espina*. The defeat, in its consequences, seemed to promise the utter ruin of the queen's affairs; but the cruel use which *Alphonso* made of his victories, and the incomparable loyalty of her subjects, together with the assistance afforded her by the bishop of *Compostella*, who had lately crowned her son king of *Galicia*, turned the scale in her favour. Her partiality for one *Pedro de Lara*, cooled the affections of her people, but she succeeded in having her marriage declared void, in a council held by the pope's legate at *Pallentia*. In 1115, *Roderigo Munex*, the governor of *Toledo*, defeated the *Moors*, and killed their general in the neighbourhood of that city; but the queen's capricious, unsteady, and jealous disposition, embroiled her with her son, and her best friend the bishop of *Compostella*, and left the *Moors* at liberty to renew their ravages, in which however they were generally defeated. She was afterwards reconciled to her son and the bishop, but the reconciliation was of no long continuance, and the inhabitants of *Toledo* gave the possession of their city to the king of *Galicia*. The queen was obliged to dissemble her resentment at this event; but her nobility laying hands on her favourite, *Pedro de Lara*, she retired to *Leon*, while her son, by virtue of their late reconciliation, reduced all those parts of her dominions that were yet in the hands of her late husband. Notwithstanding this, she went to war with her sister *Teresa*, queen of *Portugal*, and would have destroyed the archbishop of *Compostella*, had not her son interposed and delivered him. Towards the latter end of her life, she pretended that *Galicia* was no other than a fief of her crown of *Castile*, and some writers say that her son was obliged to confine her, but it is certain that she died in 1126.

Their marriage declared void. 1115.

Her death. 1126.

By the death of queen *Urracca*, her son *Alonso* added the kingdoms of *Castile*, *Leon* and *Asturia*, to those of *Galicia* and *Toledo*, which he held before. At first, he met with some opposition from his turbulent nobility, and from his once father-in-law, the king of *Arragon* and *Navarre*; but in 1127, a reconciliation took place. This was a great disappointment to *Teresa*, queen of *Portugal*, who had fomented the rebellion of *Alonso's* subjects, and had invaded *Alonso's* territories, but the archbishop of *Compostella* persuaded *Alonso* to a peace with her. Her irregular conduct, soon after induced her subjects to transfer their allegiance to her son *Henriquez*, who is said to have put her under confinement, and most unnaturally ordered her legs to be fettered.

She is succeeded by her son, *Alonso* the VIIIth. 1127.

The *Christian* princes of *Spain* being now in a state of tranquillity, *Alonso*, king of *Leon*, who is, by way of distinction, called *Alonso Remond*, married the daughter of the count of *Barcelona*, an independent *Spanish* prince. Soon after, he was embroiled with the king of *Arragon*, and some of his own factious subjects, particularly *Roderie Gonzales*, whom he subdued, but generously pardoned. He had no reason to repent

His exploits.

- of his clemency, for *Gonzales*, immediately, by his own interest, raised an army and defeated the king of *Morocco*, who was on the point of subduing *Toledo*. This happened in the year 1131; and the following year *Alonso* was attacked by his rebellious subjects, the *Portuguese* and *Moors* at the same time; but proved victorious over them all, and after carrying his ravages to the gates of *Seville*, he returned triumphantly to his own dominions. This was not the case with *Alphonso*, king of *Arragon* and *Navarre*, whom the infidels defeated and killed. As he died without issue, the *Arragonefe* chose for his successor his brother *Ramiro*, who was a monk, but the *Navarrese* gave their crown to *Ramirez*, a descendent of their antient kings. *Arragon*, being at this time threatened by the infidels, *Alonso* generously marched to *Ramiro's* assistance, and put a garrison into *Saragossa*. *Alonso* was then at the height of his glory, and the king of *Navarre* both implored his protection and did him homage, as did all the princes of his family. Upon his return to *Leon*, he was most solemnly crowned emperor. Soon after he was engaged in a war with his new vassal the king of *Navarre*, and *Alonso Henriquez*, king of *Portugal*. The war was carried on with various fortune till the year 1137, when *Alonso* was reconciled to the emperor, whose brother-in-law, *Raymond*, became king of *Arragon*, by his marrying the daughter of *Ramiro*, who retired to a convent. It was probably at this time that the emperor restored to *Arragon Saragossa*, and all he held in that kingdom. The remaining part of the year was spent, by the emperor, in fighting against the *Moors*, which he did not very successfully, and this induced him to make a peace with all his *Christian* neighbours, that he might be at leisure to bend the whole of his force against those infidels. Next year he besieged *Oreja*, one of the most important places the *Moors* had in *Spain*, and defended by their best general, who, after making a long and brave defence, was obliged to surrender it.
- Alonso's* great successes gave umbrage to *Garcia*, king of *Navarre*, who united himself with the king of *Portugal*, against the emperor and *Raymond*, who was then called prince of *Arragon*; but after all parties had taken the field for several campaigns, without any thing decisive happening, a general peace followed. In 1140, the *Moorish* princes of *Cordova* and *Seville* surprized the fortress of *Mora*, a post of the greatest consequence to the emperor. Next year they received such reinforcements, as enabled them to obtain several advantages, but those did not prevent the emperor from becoming master of *Coria*, while his general, *Muna*, defeated the *Moorish* princes of *Cordova* and *Seville* in the field. *Muna*, however, was soon after killed in an engagement with the infidels, but the emperor retook *Mora*, and gave his natural daughter *Urracca*, in marriage to the king of *Navarre*. This happened in 1144, when *Ali*, king of *Morocco*, was unable to give any farther assistance to the *Spanish Moors*, who then resolved to throw off their dependence

dependence upon him. The emperor gladly encouraged their dissensions, and they received from his hand, *Zafadola*, one of his *Moorish* vassals, for their king; but he soon quarrelled with his superior, and was killed in a scuffle, after he was made prisoner by the imperialists, who rendered themselves masters of *Calatrava*.

The *Moors* of *Almeria*, then the strongest place in *Spain*, and a sea-port of vast trade, proved troublesome to the *Christian* navigation, upon which the emperor invited the maritime powers in the south of *Europe* to assist him in reducing it, which they did on the 17th of *October* 1147, and he considered it as the most important conquest he had ever made over the infidels. *Aben Gama*, who was now the chief *Moorish* prince in *Spain*, conceived a design worthy of an infidel, which was that of putting the emperor to death by surprize; but he himself was the victim of his own treachery, and the emperor escaped. In 1148, the emperor, in an assembly of his states at *Leon*, declared his son, *Sancho*, king of *Castile*, and his younger son, *Ferdinand*, of *Leon*, *Asturia* and *Galicia*. Next year the emperor collected all his forces to have attacked *Cordova*, when he understood that the *Moors* were in full march to besiege *Toledo*. The emperor fought and defeated the *Moors*, but being disappointed by the *French*, who promised to send a fleet to his assistance, he failed in his attempt upon *Cordova*. Matters remained quiet in *Spain* till the year 1152, when the war with the *Moors* broke out, but without any remarkable success on either side. *Tortosa*, *Lerida*, and *Braga*, were reduced by *Raymond*; *Lisbon* was taken from the *Moors* by the king of *Portugal*; and the emperor married *Richilda*, a *Polish* princess; while *Sancho* of *Navarre*, married *Sancha*, daughter to the emperor. *Alonso's* second daughter was married in 1153, to *Lewis* the VIIth, king of *France*, who had repudiated his queen, who was afterwards the wife of *Henry* the II, king of *England*. Those festivities being over, *Alonso* renewed his war with the *Moors*, and took *Andujar*. *Blancha*, mother to his son *Sancho*, king of *Castile*, died, after bearing him a son, *Alonso*; and in the 1156, the *Moors* invaded *Castile*, just as the emperor, for some fresh provocations, was preparing to attack *Navarre*. The *Moors* were defeated, with great slaughter, but the emperor contracted an illness, of which he died in *August* 1157. His having received the homages of two crowned heads, besides many other powerful princes, seems to have suggested the idea of crowning him emperor, and he must be acknowledged to have been a wise, brave and fortunate prince. Before his death, the *Moorish* king of *Murcia* rendered himself his tributary.

The partition of territory made by the late emperor took place, after his death, without any difficulty, for *Sancho* mounted the throne of *Castile*, and *Ferdinand* became sovereign of *Leon*, *Asturia* and *Galicia*. The division of the empire inspired the *Moors* with fresh hopes, and the king of *Morocco* sent them

1147.

1148.

1152.

1153.

1156.

1157.

His death.

His empire divided between his sons, *Sancho* and *Ferdinand*.

- them over such succours as enabled them to wrest *Calatrava* from the knights templars. As to *Ferdinand*, he banished his father's favourites, but he was persuaded by his brother *Sancho*, to take them again into his service. *Sancho*, who was a wise and a worthy young prince, finding that a war was inevitable with the *Moors*, compromised all differences between himself and the kings of *Arragon* and *Navarre*, reserving the homage of the former for *Saragossa*, and a few other places. It is to this period that we are to refer the rise of the military order of the knights of *Calatrava*. It was owing to two Monks, *Raymond* and *Velasquez*, to whom *Sancho* gave that town, upon its being abandoned by the knights templars, and whose zeal soon put them at the head of twenty thousand fighting men. In the year 1158, the *Moors* were completely defeated by *Sancho's* forces, but he himself died on the last of *August* that year, after a reign of no more than one year and ten days. Though *Sancho*, on his death-bed, had appointed *Guitterez de Castro* to be governor to his son, yet his destination was strongly disputed by the powerful house of *Lara*, when *Ferdinand*, king of *Leon*, uncle to the young prince, entered *Castile* with an army, and declared himself his guardian. The *Lara* family, however, carried off the person of the young king, so that *Ferdinand* was disappointed in his views; and no sooner was he returned to *Leon*, than the *Castilians* openly attacked his dominions. He defeated them in a pitched battle, and the king of *Navarre* recovered the country of *Riaja*, which had been taken from his predecessors. It was about this time that *Pedro Fernandes* instituted the order of *St. James of Compostella*, for the protection of pilgrims, who resorted to that shrine, which still subsists and holds, in the kingdoms of *Castile* and *Leon*, an annual revenue of two hundred and seventy thousand ducats. The dissensions among the *Moors* kept them at this time from a foreign war, but those among the *Christians* encreased.
- Original of the order of *Calatrava*. 1158.
- Greatness of the *Lara* family. 1165.
- 1167.
- The family of *Lara* had been so successful against the king of *Leon*, that the latter was obliged to give them their own terms; and soon after he married *Urraca*, daughter to *Alonso*, king of *Portugal*. Perceiving that his nephew, young as he was, discovered symptoms of courage, he made alliance with the king of *Navarre*, and took from the *Moors* *Alcantara*, *Albuquerque* and *Elvas*. In the year 1165, a civil war broke out in *Castile*, between the families of *Lara* and *Castro*, in which the former was defeated, and its head was killed. The person of the young king being, however, in the hands of the *Laras*, *Toledo* opened her gates to its sovereign, and the head of the *Castro* family was obliged to put himself under the protection of the *Moors*, and *Muncz de Laro* remained absolute master of the king's person and government. This happened in the year 1167, when a war broke out between the kings of *Leon* and *Portugal*, in which the latter, who was near eighty years of age, was taken prisoner by *Ferdinand*, who was his son-in-law,

law, after having his leg shattered to pieces, which some interpreted as a divine judgment upon him, for his having fettered the legs of his mother. *Ferdinand* used his victory with the greatest moderation; and having regained what had been unjustly taken from him by the *Portuguese*, he sent his father-in-law home in peace, and returning to *Leon*, he then applied himself to all the duties of a good king.

The divisions among the *Moors* still continued; those of *Spain* refusing to submit to the king of *Morocco* as their head, especially the king of *Valentia*, who was tributary to the king of *Castile*, who supported him in the dispute. *Alonso* was at this time no more than fourteen years of age, but by the persuasion of the house of *Lara*, he married *Eleanora*, daughter to *Henry* the II^d, king of *England*. In the year 1170, *Omar*, the king of *Morocco*'s general, was defeated by the king of *Valentia*, and the *Portuguese* forced him to raise the siege of *Santaren*. This did not discourage *Joseph*, the *Morocco* monarch, from renewing his invasions, and upon the death of the king of *Valentia*, he made himself master of the kingdom of *Murcia*, being favoured by the kings of *Arragon* and *Castile* making war, but without success, upon the king of *Navarre*. *Joseph*, on his return to *Africa*, ordered his lieutenant, *Aben Jacob*, to invade *Portugal*, where he took *Torres Novas*; after which, he attacked the king of *Leon*'s dominions, being assisted by the *Castro* family, but the *Moors* were defeated, and the *Castros* returned to their duty. A quarrel, after this, broke out between the kings of *Arragon* and *Castile*, while they continued the war against the king of *Navarre*. The *Arragonese* refused to marry the *Castilian*'s aunt, the late emperor's daughter, and the king of *Leon*'s sister, and demanded the *Greek* emperor's daughter for his wife. His subjects of *Arragon* resented his breach of honour, especially as they saw the other two potentates preparing to invade their country, upon which the *Arragonese* made a virtue of necessity, by solemnly demanding, and marrying, the princess of *Castile*. The *English* histories and records, at this time, are full of a reference which the kings of *Castile*, *Arragon* and *Navarre*, made of all their differences to *Henry* the II^d of *England*, the most powerful prince in *Europe*. *Henry* summoned his great council in *Lent* 1177, the ambassadors of the three princes being present, and after hearing all that could be said on both sides, he awarded a mutual restitution between the kings of *Castile* and *Navarre*, but that the former should pay the expences of the war. Though this award was founded on the strictest rules of equity, and generally applauded, yet the parties were dissatisfied; but while they were preparing to renew the war, they found it their mutual interest to agree to the terms that had been prescribed by *Henry*.

The vast powers enjoyed by the great *Spanish* families, Civil improved often fatal to their inferiors, and perhaps their kings were not very unwilling to see them destroy one another.

The

Vol. X.
p. 71.

The two houses of *Castro* and *Lara* carried on war with each other as if they had been independent princes, and at length their differences were terminated by a pitched battle, in which the *Castro* family, under *Ferdinand*, was victorious, and the chiefs of the *Laras* were either killed or taken prisoners. Some writers, however, represent this war as a quarrel between the kings of *Castile* and *Leon*, and that the heads of the two houses only acted as their generals. Those civil dissensions were not the only plagues which now afflicted *Spain*, for the papal power was arrived there to so enormous a height, that his holiness obliged king *Ferdinand* of *Leon*, to divorce his wife, with whom he had long lived in harmony, on account of consanguinity. Some of the *Italian* historians relate this repudiation as happening to the king of *Castile*, but the mistake, probably, is owing to the king of *Leon* being commonly called *Ferdinand* of *Castile*. The *Spanish Christians* being at peace among themselves, the king of *Castile* turned his arms against the *Moors*, whom he defeated, and reduced *Cuenca*. In this war he was so well assisted by the king of *Aragon*, that he released that prince from the homage that was due to the crown of *Castile*, for *Saragossa* and other places on the *Ebro*. Historians speak of the campaign in which *Cuenca* was reduced, as being full of danger and bloodshed, not only from the power of the *Moors*, but from an invasion of *Castile* by the king of *Leon*. *Alonso* was so hard pressed for money, that he called an assembly of his states at *Burgos*, and his first minister proposed that his *Castilian* nobility should for once waive their privileges, by granting him a small supply. This was opposed by *Pedro de Lara*, as being prejudicial to the rights of the nobility, and he left the assembly, attended by the greatest part of its members.

1178.
Continu-
ance of
the Moor-
ish wars.
1184.

About the year 1178, all differences were once more compromised among the descendents of the emperor *Alonso*, but the war between the king of *Castile* and the *Moors* still continued, greatly to the advantage of the former. In fact, the *Christian Spaniards* of those days, courted peace chiefly that they might carry on the war with those infidels. In 1184, the king of *Leon*, after taking *Carceres* from them, joined the king of *Portugal* in a great expedition against the king of *Morocco*, who happened to be killed by a fall from his horse, just before a decisive battle was to have been fought. His subjects were so intimidated by his death, that they fled without fighting, and the *Christians* obtained a victory, that on their part was bloodless, the greatest part of the *Moors* being cut off without resistance. The king of *Castile*, however, next year had the misfortune to be beaten by the *Moors*, but being joined by the king of *Aragon*, he beat them in his turn, and in 1187, *Ferdinand* king of *Leon* died.

1187.
Distresses
of the
kingdom
of *Leon*.

The circumstances of that prince's family were truly deplorable. Having been compelled by the pope to part with his first queen, *Alonso*, the son whom he had by her, was considered

dered as illegitimate, or rather his legitimacy depended upon the will of his holiness. *Urracca*, his father's second wife, had brought him two sons, *Sancho* and *Garcia*, whom she endeavoured to advance to the succession, to *Alonso's* prejudice, whom his father had left his heir. That prince behaved, however, with so much wisdom and moderation, that he won the affection of his subjects, and his mother-in-law was obliged to lay aside, at least for the present, her ambitious designs. The same good correspondence subsisted between the kings of *Castile* and *Leon* as in the late *Ferdinand's* time. The king of *Leon* being knighted by the *Castilian*, from an excess of respect, kissed his hand, in a public assembly, an act which the *Castilians* interpreted as homage. Their joint forces, for some time, were very successful against the *Moors*, but at last they quarreled about the division of their conquests, and the king of *Leon* joined with the king of *Portugal*, and inconsiderately married his own cousin german.

The king of *Castile* had at this time no son, and his daughter, *Berengara*, was looked upon as the heiress of his dominions. The emperor *Frederic Barbarossa*, considered her as a fit match for his son, prince *Conrade*; and the alliance being agreeable to the *Castilian*, the young prince was sent to be married at *Toledo*. In the mean while, the queen of *Castile* was brought to bed of a son, *Ferdinand*, which disconcerted the *German* prince so much, that the match never took place. The ambition of the king of *Castile* at this time embroiled him with the courts of *Leon* and *Arragon*, and *Gregory*, the pope's legate in *Spain*, summoned a council at *Salamanca*, to dissolve the marriage between the king of *Leon* and his wife, on account of consanguinity. Some of the *Spanish* prelates opposed this proceeding, but were excommunicated, and the kingdoms of *Leon* and *Portugal* were put under an interdict, as neither of the monarchs were willing to comply with the legate's will. At last, the king and queen of *Leon* were actually excommunicated, and it was with the utmost difficulty that the bishop of *Zamora* prevailed with the pope to take the interdict off the kingdom, and to continue it upon the king and queen alone.

A son
born to
the king
of *Castile*.

A new irruption of the *Moors* into *Castile*, under *Jacob* king of *Morocco*, obliged *Alonso* to apply for assistance to his kindred, the kings of *Leon* and *Navarre*. The *Spanish* historians seem to acknowledge that *Jacob* was provoked to this invasion, by the inhumanities which the *Castilians* practised upon his subjects. The infidels considered this as a war of religion, and *Jacob's* army was the greatest that they had ever brought to the field in *Spain*. The *Castilian* came to the desperate resolution of fighting them before he was joined by his auxiliaries, which he did near the town of *Alarcos*, on the 18th of *July* 1194, but he was completely defeated, with the loss of twenty thousand men, and the flower of his nobility, besides

The *Christians* defeated by the *Moors*.

besides all his baggage, so that it was with difficulty he sheltered the remains of his army in *Toledo*. The *Castilian*, upon the arrival of his confederates at that city, upbraided them as the cause of his defeat, and treated them with a rudeness which terminated in a war, while *Jacob* took *Calatrava* and *Alarcos*, and filled all *Portugal* with his ravages. He afterwards fell into *Castile*, and besieged *Toledo*, but he could not take it, and he retired, laden with plunder, to his own dominions.

Civil dissensions in Spain.

Though *Spain* was now threatened with total conquest by the *Moors*, yet the dissensions among her kindred *Christian* princes, raged as fiercely as ever. The persecutions of the pope had obliged the king of *Leon* to send back his wife to *Portugal*, after she had borne him two daughters; and the king of *Castile* again invaded his dominions, though his own were in the utmost danger of being conquered by the *Moors*, whose preparations were so formidable, that at last they brought about a peace between the kings of *Castile* and *Leon*, and a marriage followed, between *Berengara* and the last mentioned king. The king of *Castile*, however, was in a manner forced by his subjects into this accommodation, and was favoured by a rebellion that broke out against *Jacob* in *Africa*. *Innocent* the III^d was then pope, and he ordered his nuntio to put the kingdoms of *Leon* and *Castile* under an interdict, unless the late marriage between the king of *Leon* and the princess of *Castile* was annulled, on account of consanguinity. The parties in vain endeavoured to appease his holiness, but the *Castilian* received some consolation from the great successes of his arms in *Navarre*. Soon after, the infanta *Blanca*, *Alonso*'s daughter, and niece to *John* king of *England*, married prince *Lewis* of *France*, and the marriage was accordingly celebrated in the year 1200. Many differences about this time broke out, between *Alonso* king of *Leon*, and his mother-in-law, who was dispossessed of some important places left her by her husband. Her brother, *Diego Lopez de Haro*, took her part, and began a rebellion; but, in the mean while, the kingdom of *Leon* was put under an interdict, and the haughty king of *Castile* was obliged to bend before the more haughty pope, by declaring that he was ready to receive back his daughter, the queen of *Leon*, if her husband would part with her. This the king of *Leon* was obliged to comply with, but all the favour he could obtain of the pope was, that he declared the children of the marriage legitimate, and these were the infants *Ferdinand* and *Alonso*, with the infantas *Eleonora*, *Constantia* and *Berengara*. Upon the divorce taking place, the infant *Ferdinand* was recognized by the states of *Leon* as his father's successor. A truce then subsisted between the kings of *Castile*, *Aragon* and *Navarre*, and *Diego Lopez* was restored to their favour. About the year 1208, the king of *Castile* married his daughter *Urracca* to the prince of *Portugal*, and

1200.
Vol. X.
P. 471.

1208.

and took all imaginable measures to strengthen himself against the *Moors*, with whom the truce was now on the point of expiring.

The war was accordingly renewed in the year 1210, and 1210.
Mahommed, king of *Morocco*, fell upon the possessions of the knights of *Calatrava*, from whom he took *Salvatierra*, but in the mean time *Ferdinand*, infant of *Castile*, died in 1211. 1211.
 The king of *Morocco* having suppressed his rebels in *Africa*, The king of *Castile* collected all his forces to make a total conquest of *Spain*. The king of *Castile* favoured the dissensions among her *Christian* princes still continued. The king of *Castile* applied to the pope for assistance, and his holiness ordered a crusade to be preached up in the same terms as those for the *Holy Land*. This was of infinite service to *Alonso*, who being joined by the king of *Arragon*, raised a great army, the van of which, consisting of foreigners, was put under the command of *Diego Lopez*. Their successes were very great, but their foreign auxiliaries, being little better than banditti, deserted from them in great numbers, because they were not permitted to plunder *Calatrava*, after it had been surrendered by the *Moors* upon a capitulation. The kings of *Castile* and *Arragon*, who were in the field at the head of their respective armies, received such reinforcements as enabled them to push the war, and at last were joined by a gallant army under *Sanchez*, king of *Navarre*. The *Moorish* army was composed of an infantry so vast, that its numbers were not known, and eighty thousand excellent horse, and lay upon the defensive, behind the famous mountains called the *Sierra Morena*, the avenues of which they had carefully fortified. All those preparations made by *Mohammed*, who was an able general, presented a discouraging prospect to the confederates, and though they obtained some considerable advantages under *Diego Lopez*, they were preparing to return home. At this juncture, a shepherd, entirely unknown to any of the army, demanded audience of the kings, to which he was admitted with some difficulty, and offered to conduct them and their army, unobserved by the *Moors*, by a secret way other the mountains, to a spacious plain. *Diego Lopez* and another general put themselves under his guidance, and he performed his promise, so that next day the infidels were astonished to see the *Christians* drawn up in order of battle on the plain. No engagement happened till the 16th of July 1212. The right wing of the *Spaniards* was commanded by the king of *Navarre*, the left by the king of *Arragon*, and the center by the king of *Castile*; and the dispositions of the *Moors* were equally martial. The first onset, which was given by *Diego Lopez*, was very furious, but the vast superiority the *Moors* had in numbers, inclined the victory to their side, and the *Castilian* was ready to plunge himself into the midst of his enemies, to meet his death, when his men recovering their spirits, drove the infidels to an iron barricade, which defended them from the pursuit of the *Christian* infantry. The king of *Navarre*,

Navarre, at the head of his cavalry, overleaped this terrible chain, and rendered it accessible to the foot; nor do we find, that after this, the *Moors* made the least attempt to defend themselves from the swords of the *Christians*. What follows would be utterly incredible, did it not come from unquestionable authority; for the archbishop of *Toledo*, who was present on the spot, says that no more than twenty-five *Christians* fell in the battle, and a hundred and fifty during the whole campaign. Be this as it will, the disparity certainly was so great, (for the *Moors* are said to have lost two hundred thousand men) that the infidels must have been very little superior in their knowledge of military affairs, to the *Americans*, whom the descendants of the *Spaniards*, a few ages after, so infamously butchered and subdued.

Conjecture.

If we might venture a conjecture, there is some reason, on the face of history, for believing that the *Christians* were secretly favoured by the *Spanish Moors*, who disliked *Mohammed's* government, and wanted, as they actually afterwards did, to erect their dominions into independent principalities. In the late battle, which is called that of *Tolosa*, no fewer than thirty-five thousand horses were taken, and the *Christian* army dressed their victuals for two days with the wood of *Moorish* spears, arrows and javelins. The *Christians* pursued their victory with so little moderation, that driving the infidels to despair, they were obliged to raise the siege of *Ubeda*, and after losing great numbers by sickness, they returned to *Calatrava*, and thus ended this glorious campaign. The king of *Castile* made very generous returns to the king of *Navarre*, for the services he had done him, and magnanimously gave up many places to the kings of *Portugal* and *Leon*, who were at war with one another, that he might unite them in a common confederacy against the infidels. Next year, the *Castilian* renewed his operations against the *Moors* with success; but his perpetual wars had disabled his people from cultivating their lands, so that *Castile* was now afflicted with a famine, nor was *Alonso* able to reduce *Baeza*. In 1214, while he was repairing to an interview with the king of *Leon*, he fell ill of a malignant fever, which put an end to his life on the 6th of *August*, and a few weeks after he was followed by his queen, and his two greatest subjects, *Diego Lopez* and *Pedro Fernandez*.

Gratitude of the king of *Castile*.

1214.

His death, issue, and character. *Alonso* of *Castile*, who died in the 59th year of his age, and 56th of his reign, left behind him a minor son, *Henry*, who was no more than eleven years of age, and upon the death of his own mother, was put under the tuition of his sister, queen *Berengara*. Finding some of the great men dissatisfied with her administration, she was persuaded to call an assembly of the states, who took the young king out of her hands, and put him into those of *Alvaro de Lara*, who proved a tyrant, but was disappointed in a match which he had projected between his pupil and a princess of *Portugal*. At last, the conduct

duct of *Alvaro*, especially towards the clergy, rendered him universally detested by the *Castilians*; so that queen *Berengara* was in a manner obliged to put herself at the head of a party against him. He secured himself, by carrying the person of the young king, who was inclined to have joined his sister, to *Toledo*. Matters were ripe for a civil war, when, in the year 1217, the young king was killed by the fall of a tile, as he was at play with some of his companions in the episcopal palace of *Palentia*. and of his son *Henry*, 1217.

The reader may remember that *Berengara* had a son, *Ferdinand*, who is by her husband, the king of *Leon*, when she was forced from him. Without acquainting her husband of the young king's fate, she sent for her son, and he no sooner arrived, than she carried him to *Palentia*, where she was recognized by the nobility. She from thence went to *Valladolid*, but she met with such opposition from *Alvaro* (who aspired to the crown) and his family, that she could proceed no farther. Returning with her son to *Valladolid*, she there held an assembly of the states, which was very numerous, and acknowledged her right to the crown of *Castile*. In a few days, she solemnly resigned her authority to her son, and paid him homage as his subject; so that *Ferdinand* was inaugurated in the cathedral church of *Valladolid*, on the 31st of *August* 1217. The young king's father, instigated by *Alvaro*, was the first who declared himself his enemy, on pretence that he ought to have been consulted before his son mounted the throne. His resentment went so far, that he attempted to seize *Ferdinand's* person at *Burgos*, but he was prevented by *Lopez de Hara*; upon which he retired to *Leon*, greatly out of humour with *Alvaro*, for having persuaded him to so unmanly a proceeding. Notwithstanding this, some of the nobility who disliked having any superior, stuck by *Alvaro*, and refused to deliver up their castles to the king, who put himself at the head of a body of troops to force them. *Alvaro* was then in the field with a small army, but being over secure, was surprized, and taken prisoner. During his confinement, he was obliged to give up all his places to the king; but no sooner did he recover his liberty, than he employed it in again persuading the king of *Leon* to renew his attempts upon *Castile*. The prince unwillingly took the field against his father, but the latter, being by his clergy convinced of the injustice of his invasion, once more returned to *Leon*, and *Alvaro* broke his heart through spite. who re-signs in favour of her son *Ferdinand*.

This was an age renowned for warlike bishops, among whom we are to reckon the archbishops of *Toledo*. The name of him who now filled that see, was *Roderic*, the same who has left us an excellent history of the times; and by permission of the pope, he raised an army of crusaders, with whom he besieged *Reguena*, belonging to the *Moors*; but he was obliged to raise the siege, after losing ten thousand men in the attempt.

1219. In 1219, *Ferdinand*, king of *Castile*, married *Beatrix* of *Sua-*
bia, daughter to *Philip*, the late emperor of *Germany*, and his
 reign, for some years, continued tranquil, through the civil
 dissensions of the *Moors*. He received some disturbance from
 the family of the late *Alvaro*, but their differences were quick-
 ly compromised. In 1222, *Ferdinand* sent a considerable body
 of troops to the assistance of his father, to quell a rebellion
 that had broken out against him in *Galicia*, and next year *John*
de Brienne, the titular king of *Jerusalem*, married *Berengara*,
 sister to *Ferdinand* king of *Castile*, a match which afterwards
 produced many incidents in the history of *Europe*.
- The *Moors* defeated. We have reason to believe that many of the greatest ad-
 vantages which the *Moors* obtained over the *Christians* in *Spain*,
 were owing to the abilities and courage of the *Castilian*, *Ar-*
ragonese and other noblemen, who, thinking themselves neg-
 lected or ill rewarded at their own courts, and some perhaps
 from motives of prejudice and revenge, were received and
 employed by the *Moors*, without being obliged to change
 their religion, or to make any servile compliances. Such was
Alvaro Perez, whom *Ferdinand*, from a consideration of his
 great military abilities, reclaimed to his duty, and employed
 in an expedition he undertook against the infidels in 1224,
 with so much success, that the *Moorish* king of *Valentia*, and
 several of their other princes, became his tributaries. About
 the same time, *Alonso*, king of *Leon*, was victorious against the
 infidels, headed by the king of *Seville*, in another quarter of
Spain. In the year 1226, the king of *Castile* obliged the *Moors*
 to put some of their most important fortresses into his hands.
Mohammed, king of *Baeza*, was the chief author of those ces-
 sions, for which his subjects suspected him to be a *Christian* in
 his heart, and putting him to death, they threw themselves
 under the protection of the king of *Seville*. Upon his death,
 the *Moors* attempted to take *Baeza*, which had been surren-
 dered to the *Christians*, and was defended by the grand master
 of *Calatrava*; but they were defeated, and *Ferdinand* took
Capilla. In the year 1228, *Ferdinand* failed in a design of
 taking *Jaen*, and the pope's legate declared the marriage be-
 tween the king of *Arragon* and his queen to be void, on ac-
 count of consanguinity. Next year, the king of *Leon* gave a
 great defeat to the *Moors*, and reduced *Merida*, but *Ferdinand*
 was again disappointed in his designs upon *Jaen*. In the year
 1230, died *Alonso* of *Leon*, the king of *Castile*'s father, a prince
 of great political virtues, and some failings, leaving his two
 daughters, *Sancha* and *Dulcia*, by his first marriage with *Te-*
resa of *Portugal*. The destination of his crown was disputed
 by the party in favour of *Ferdinand*, and the two queens dow-
 ager, *Teresa* and *Berengara*, espoused the causes of their re-
 spective children. Matters were coming to extremities, when
 the two queens had an interview, in which they were the hap-
 py instruments of restoring the public tranquillity. The in-
 fantas

fantas were persuaded to accept of large pensions from *Ferdinand*, who was acknowledged king of *Leon* as well as *Castile*, and the reconciliation was so cordial on all sides, that the two queens and their families held a solemn meeting, and gave the public the most convincing proofs of their mutual affection and friendship.

SECTION III.

THE union of the crowns of *Castile* and *Leon*, in the person of *Ferdinand*, produces an interesting period in the *Spanish* history. *Ferdinand* punctually fulfilled the terms of the compromise he had made with his sisters; the royal family lived together in the most unrestrained confidence; one of the infantas was left at the *Castilian* court, and *Ferdinand*, in person, accompanied queen, *Teresa*, to *Portugal*, where he made an alliance with that king against the *Moors*. He then quelled the practices of the restless *Galicians*, who aimed at independency, and gave to the archbishopric of *Toledo*, several places taken from the *Moors* by that prelate. *Alonso* the king's brother, was now grown to man's estate, and commanded an army against *Aben Hut*, the most powerful of the *Moorish* princes in *Spain*. *Alvaro Perez* served under *Alonso*, and having penetrated far into the *Moors* dominions in the year 1233, they were surrounded by a prodigious army under *Aben Hut*. The *Christians*, equally unable and unwilling to retreat, joined battle and defeated the infidels with a most amazing slaughter, in which they lost but one man. Next year *Ferdinand* took *Ubeda*, one of the most important places the *Moors* held in *Spain*, but during the siege he lost his wife *Beatrice*, who left him six sons. Either *Ferdinand's* grief for her death, or the preparations he was making, prevented him from taking the field next campaign; but in the year 1236, *Ferdinand* planned his operations so well, that he became master of *Cordova*. His success, even by the *Spanish* accounts, seems to be greatly owing to the secret interest he had in the *Moorish* court and army. The loss of *Cordova* cost *Aben Hut* his life; being put to death by his governor of *Almeria*, for not attempting to relieve it. At the same time that that capital was reduced by *Ferdinand*, the king of *Arragon* became master of *Valencia*. The settling his new acquisition employed *Ferdinand* so long, that the *Moors* obtained a breathing time. Those of *Seville*, chose one *Tafa* for their head, but their ablest general was *Mohammed Al Hamar*. The truth is, other causes at this time operated in their favour.

The inhuman spirit of persecution and burning *Christians* on account of religion, had got footing in *Spain*; and

ligious
persecuti-
on.

nand, though otherwise a great prince, gave so much encouragement to it, that he repaired to the northern part of his dominions, where he acquired the title of the Saint, for having with his own hand lighted up the faggots that were to consume some of those human victims. It happened fortunately for him, that the ambition, luxury and degeneracy of the *Moors*, had then involved them in so many domestic quarrels, that they could not avail themselves of the vast power which still remained to them by their being masters of

1237.

the finest provinces of *Spain*. In 1237, *Ferdinand* by his mother's advice, married *Jane*, daughter of the count of *Ponthieu*, and renewed his league with the king of *Navarre*. Next year, died *Lopez de Hara*, and his son rebelled, because he was disappointed in his expectations of his father's government of *Baeza*; but he was soon reduced to his duty by the infant *Alonso*, *Ferdinand's* eldest son. The affairs of *Ferdi-*

1239.

nand in the year 1239, were in so prosperous a situation, and her dominions so extensive, that he applied himself to the study of securing what he had acquired, rather than to that of extending his conquests. The *Moorish* king of *Granada* attempted to form a confederacy of all the infidels against *Ferdinand*, but the king of *Murcia*, through the apprehension he had of the *Castilian* power, declined that engagement, threw himself under *Ferdinand's* protection, and delivered up his capital to the infant *Alonso*. In the year 1244, the king of *Granada*, who was now the bulwark of the *Spanish Moors*, after receiving great reinforcements from *Africa*, obtained some advantages over *Ferdinand's* troops, but that did not hinder him from besieging once more the strong city of *Jæn*, which had often baffled his arms. The king of *Granada* endeavoured in vain to relieve it, and at last, after a siege of eight months, he not only put it into *Ferdinand's* hands, but became his vassal and tributary, upon the *Castilian* promising to secure him in his possessions. The infidel even served, during the rest of the campaign, in *Ferdinand's* army.

The king
of *Grana-*
da be-
comes his
vassal.

Ferdinand had long observed that the power of the *Moors* in *Spain*, was owing to their ready communication by sea with *Africa*, and, being favoured by the court of *Rome*, he obtained a bull for levying the third of the tenths of his clergy, with which he built a fleet of thirteen large ships, and, under his admiral *Raymond Boniface*, an excellent officer, it beat the *Moorish* fleet at the mouth of the river *Guadalquivir*. *Ferdinand* then proceeded to his grand enterprize, the siege of *Seville*, for which he had made amazing preparations, and on the 23d of

1248.

November, 1248, that city capitulated. This vast acquisition of power, suggested to *Ferdinand* ideas of still more glorious attempts, and that of carrying his arms into *Africa* presented itself. The bodily infirmities *Ferdinand* had contracted through his vast fatigues, retarded for some time the execution of this noble project. In the mean while, *Alonso*, his eldest son, took upon himself the cross for the *Holy Land*, where

St. Lewis of *France* had been lately defeated, and we meet with no opposition this pious proposal met with from his father, though his expedition to *Africa*, at this time, certainly demanded the utmost exertion of his power. His admiral *Raymond*, had just beaten the *Moorish* fleet on the coast of *Africa*, when a dropsy carried him out of this life on the 30th of *May*, 1252. His inhuman spirit of persecution was his greatest virtue with bigots, and procured him the honour of canonization, while his great civil and military virtues, and the noble plans he formed for the good of his subjects, are passed over almost in oblivion.

1252.

Ferdinand was succeeded by his eldest son *Alonso* X. surnamed the *Wise*, to whom the principal *Moorish* princes in *Spain* performed homage. On his accession to the throne, he quarrelled with *Henry* III. of *England*, about the possession of *Guienne*, but the difference was made up by *Henry*'s son and heir, afterwards the famous *Edward Longshank*'s marrying *Eleanor*, *Alonso*'s sister. *Alonso* being freed from this war, applied himself to carry into execution his father's designs upon *Africa*; but the immense sums required in his preparations, proved very oppressive to his subjects, though he continued still to be favoured by the pope. It soon appeared that *Alonso*, notwithstanding his learning, was far inferior to his father in the duties of government. After a pompous celebration of the marriage between the prince of *England* and his sister, he gave his natural daughter with the country of *Algrave* in dower to the king of *Portugal*; but every day involved him in fresh difficulties. Instead of applying himself vigorously to the execution of his *African* scheme, he claimed the duchy of *Suabia*, in right of his mother, and intrigued for the empire of *Germany* itself, to which (as the reader may see in another part of this work) he actually was raised, but without ever leaving *Spain*. His claims in *Germany* naturally turned his eyes towards *Italy*, where he wasted vast sums in pursuit of his chimerical pretensions. Before the reign of *Alphonso*, the kings of *Castile* and *Leon*, had but seldom extended their connections beyond *Spain*, and *Alonso* reduced himself so low, by want of money to support his ambitious schemes, that his brother *Henry* tampered with the little *Moorish* king of *Niebla*, and they raised a rebellion against *Alonso*. It was quickly crushed, and *Henry* took refuge in *Tunis*, from whence we can trace him making a very considerable figure at *Rome*. It was with difficulty that the king of *Niebla* purchased his peace by the surrender of the greatest part of his dominions to *Alonso*.

Vol. VIII.

P. 491,

492.

A rebellion
on crushed.ibid.
p. 493.

The miscarriages of *Alonso* were evidently owing to his departing from that steady conduct which had distinguished his father, and the princes of his family. He completed, it is true, the noble design which the late king had formed of digesting the laws of his kingdoms into a code, and his munificence to the professors of the arts and sciences, especially that of astronomy, was worthy of a great king. Those princely

princely qualities, however, were far from recommending him to the *Moors*, whose princes joined in the design of a universal revolt, and invited the king of *Morocco* to join them. *Alonso*, by a vigorous exertion of his power, might have prevented his danger; but he continued to be so infatuated with the thoughts of becoming emperor of *Germany*, that he negotiated with the kings of *Granada* and *Murcia*, instead of fighting them. Being roused, at last, out of his dream, he engaged his father-in-law, the king of *Arragon*, in his interest, and gave full scope to the great qualities he really possessed, for he entirely defeated the united forces of *Murcia* and *Granada*, in 1263. During the winter, the king of *Morocco* sent over ten thousand horse to their assistance, and promised to follow them with a considerable army in person. Notwithstanding this, *Alonso* reduced *Xeres*, and a number of *Moorish* towns and forts, and the differences between the *Spanish* and *African Moors* arose to such a height, that the king of *Granada* returned to his allegiance, and his example was followed by the king of *Murcia*, who after being defeated by the king of *Arragon*, obtained life and liberty from *Alonso*, but with the loss of his dominions.

His ambition to be emperor of *Germany*,

Alonso might have now equalled the greatest of his predecessors in power and reputation, had he not obstinately pursued his chimerical scheme upon the empire. That question between him and his competitors was then depending before the court of *Rome*, which he bribed with immense sums, and thereby not only oppressed his subjects, but frustrated the most public spirited measures that he had undertaken for their welfare. It was the interest of the pope to keep the dispute in dependence, and thereby the hopes of *Alonso* were continually fed. In 1268, the infant *Ferdinand* of *Castile* espoused, in a most pompous manner, the princess *Blanche*, daughter to the king of *France*, and after the festivities, on that and many other occasions, were over, the king of *Arragon*, then in his old age, prepared to undertake an expedition to the *Holy Land*, and *Alonso*, one to *Italy* in support of his imperial claims. Both those romantic pernicious projects were disappointed. The *Arragonefe* was forced back by stress of weather to his dominions, and the *Castilian* was dissuaded by his nobility from his *Italian* journey. In 1269, *Alonso*, to the discontent of his subjects, remitted the whole or part of the tribute due from the crown of *Portugal* to that of *Leon*, on account of his being grandfather to the infant *Denis*, the heir apparent to that crown. *Alonso's* passion for becoming emperor of *Germany*, though he kept it secret, was still as strong as ever. This was soon perceived by the oppressions his subjects underwent in the money he raised. His nobility, at last, assembled at the castle of *Lara*, where they concerted measures for a general revolt. *Alonso* hearing of their discontents, sent them money to appease them, but they employed it in raising troops against him, and bringing the *Moorish* kings over to their party. *Alonso*,
still

still possessed of his favourite passion, offered to refer their complaints to an assembly, which he actually called at *Burgos*; but the malecontents, notwithstanding all the means *Alonso* and the royal family could employ to retain them in their duty, marched to *Granada*, and proclaimed themselves the allies of that king. *Alonso* being assured of assistance from his faithful ally the king of *Aragon*, called an assembly of his states at *Almagro*, and prepared for war. The death of the king of *Granada* at this critical juncture, and the disputes which arose about his succession, disposed the malecontents, among whom was the infant *Philip*, to listen to the terms proposed to them by the queen and the infant *Ferdinand*, which being confirmed by the king, don *Philip* and the lords of his party, were received again into favour at court, and *Alonso* continued his protection to the new king of *Granada* on the same terms as he had given it to his father.

All this lenity on the part of *Alonso*, was only to disguise his favourite purpose. *Richard* earl of *Cornwall*, his competitor for the empire, was now dead, and *Rodolph*, count of *Hapsburg*, had been raised to that dignity, and his election confirmed by the pope, whom *Alonso* persuaded to give him a meeting, which he accordingly did, but to no effect. The absence of a king of *Spain* out of his dominions, had scarcely ever happened before, and the king of *Granada* took advantage of it to persuade *Aben Joseph*, king of *Morocco*, to assist him in person with a new army. *Joseph* accordingly landed with seventeen thousand excellent troops, and several strong places were put into his hands by the king of *Granada*'s orders, so that his progress at first was rapid, and he defeated *Nunez de Lara*, one of *Alonso*'s generals. About this time, the king of *Granada* defeated and killed the infant *Sancho*, archbishop of *Toledo*, who had attacked the *Moors* unadvisedly, before he was joined by *Lopez de Hara*. Those repeated misfortunes were followed by the death of the infant *Ferdinand*, *Alonso*'s eldest son, who left behind him by his wife, the princess *Blanche*, *Alonso*, and *Ferdinand, de la Cerda*; both of them very young. Upon his death, the infant *Sancho*, *Alonso*'s second son, flew to *Ciudad Real*, where he was joined by *Lopez de Hara*, and made such dispositions as for some time checked the progress of the *Moors*. In 1275, *Alonso*, after miscarrying in his negotiation with the pope, but still exercising the imperial authority, returned to *Spain*, where he found his son *Sancho* had made a truce with the *Moors*. The father and the son met at *Toledo*, and *Sancho* demanded to be nominated his father's successor to the crown. This demand, upon examination, appeared not to be so absurd as it seemed at first sight. As the crown of *Leon* had not been originally hereditary, it had been customary for its kings to obtain, during their own life-time, from the nobility, a recognizance of their eldest son's right to the succession; but this was supposed to be confined to the prince's own person. No such recognizance had been made

1275.

made in favour of the late infant *Ferdinand's* two sons, and *Alonso* was prevailed on to lay the matter before an assembly of the states, that was to meet at *Segovia*.

Settlement
of the
crown.

Upon the meeting of the assembly, after the claims of all parties had been examined and debated upon, *Emanuel*, the king's brother, in the name of the assembly, pronounced sentence in favour of *Sancho*, because his elder brother *Ferdinand* died in his father's life-time. *Alonso* acquiesced in this very extraordinary decision; pope *John* the 21st favoured it; *Edward* I. of *England*, was indifferent in the matter; and all the threats of *Philip*, king of *France*, to revenge the injury done to *Blanche* and her children, came to nothing. The affair became more serious in *Spain*. *Alonso's* queen *Violante*, daughter to the king of *Aragon*, resenting the injury done to the children of her eldest son, was received with all her family into her father's protection. Their retreat proved fatal to two of their partizans, *Fredric* and *Simon Ruez de los Cameros*; the first, though uncle to *Sancho*, being beheaded, and the latter burnt in his own house.

1277.

In the year 1277, war was declared between *France* and *Castile*, and pope *Nicholas* III. compelled *Alonso* to compromise the differences in his family, and to prosecute the war against the *Moors*, in consideration of

A treaty.

the taxes which he was allowed by the holy see. It was accordingly agreed, that queen *Violante* should return to her husband, the princess *Blanche* to *France*, and the two infants remain in *Aragon*. Next year the king of *Castile's* two sons, *Pedro* and *Alonso*, who commanded against the *Moors*, were beaten by

1278.

the king of *Morocco*, and the *French* made themselves masters of *Pampeluna* in *Navarre*, though *Alonso* sent thither an army to oppose them. By the unwearied interposition of the pope, and the king of *England*, conferences were opened at *Bordeaux*, to settle the succession to the crowns of *Leon* and *Castile*,

1279.

but they terminated in nothing. In the year 1279, the war between the *Moors* and *Alonso* was continued, but without any signal event happening, and many dark negotiations were set on foot concerning the succession of the *de la Cerda* family, as the sons of the late infant *Ferdinand* were called, whose interests seem to have been betrayed by their nearest relations, they themselves being still minors. By this time, *Alonso* had concluded a truce with the king of *Morocco*, so that the king of *Granada* was left to bear the brunt of the *Christian* arms. *Alonso's* troops continued to be headed by his son *Sancho*, who opposed an accommodation that had been made for giving the kingdom of *Murcia* to the eldest of the *de la Cerda* princes.

Alonso
forced to
apply to
the king
of *Morocco*
for assistance.

An assembly was held at *Seville*, in which *Alonso* mentioned this accommodation among other matters of government, upon which *Sancho* declared, that his father was in a state of dotage, and that he was resolved to take the administration into his own hands. He was joined by the two brothers, and the greatest part of the nobility; but when the states reassembled at *Valladolid*, to create him king, he refused that title, and contented

1282.

contented himself with that of regent. This defection from old *Alonso*, was so general, that in 1282, finding himself likewise forsaken by the kings of *France*, *Aragon*, and *Portugal*, he applied himself to the king of *Morocco*, who joined him with an army. Thus were the kingdoms of *Castile* and *Leon* involved in a war partly foreign, and partly domestic. *Badajoz* was the only place of consequence in *Spain*, that continued firm in its allegiance to old *Alonso*, who, in the bitterness of his soul, published an act, solemnly disinheriting his son *Sancho*, and leaving him his curse. The king of *Morocco* returned to *Africa* for fresh troops. The pope remained firm in the interest of *Alonso*, and threatened to excommunicate *Sancho*, and to make void his marriage with *Maria*, daughter to his great uncle *Alonso de Molina*. Upon the whole, *Alonso* had, at this time, the superiority in the dispute, especially after his younger sons had returned to their duty, by abandoning their brother. The *Christian Spaniards* now found the misfortune of dissipating their strength. *Alonso* sided with the *French*, who were masters of *Navarre*, as *Sancho* did with the *Aragonese*, who opposed them. The king of *Portugal* was excommunicated, and *Aben Joseph* quarrelled with *Alonso*, who would not assist him in reducing the king of *Granada*, because it would have made the infidels too powerful in *Spain*. *Sancho* finding his interest decreasing, assembled the nobility at *Palencia*, and prevailed with them to intercede with his father, for preventing the bolts which the *Roman* pontif was preparing to launch against him and his party. In the mean while he fell ill, or pretended to be so, and affected so bitter a contrition for his behaviour towards his father, that the latter forgave him, and revoked his curses; but died himself on the 4th of *April*, 1284, aged about sixty-four. *Alonso*, to a very uncommon share of learning, especially in mathematics and astronomy, added great courage and skill in the military art; he being the best general in *Spain*. His great failing, as we have more than once observed, was his unbounded passion to be emperor of *Germany*, the functions of which he discharged to his dying day, to the ridicule of his person all over *Europe*. His nobility, who were then as free as any in *Europe*, thought that to be a foreign consideration, to which their internal interest was sacrificed, and their opposition proved an inexpressible source of calamity to *Alonso*. He endeavoured to govern, as he studied, on scientific and demonstrative principles; but they failed him, for though at one time he undoubtedly had the best right to the empire, and tho' his claim was even favoured by the pope, whose power was then unbounded, yet he had no interest either in *Germany* or *Rome*, but what he purchased with his money, and this proved a perpetual drain to the purses of his subjects. He is accused of impiety in having said that, "If God Almighty had consulted him in the creation of the world, he could have contrived it better." But if he threw out such an expression, it must be

His death
and character.

1284.

be understood of the *Ptolemaic* and other erroneous systems which prevailed in his time. With all his faults, we cannot agree with those writers, who think they preponderated his virtues, for he was undoubtedly the author of many excellent and permanent institutions for the good of his people.

He is succeeded by his son *Sancho*,

who is called the Brave.

1285.

Though the late *Alonso* had pardoned his son *Sancho*, and revoked his curses, yet he had made no other alteration in his will, and he had bequeathed the kingdom of *Seville* to the infant *Juan*. Those partitions were disagreeable to the nobility, and *Juan* thought proper to submit to do homage to his brother. *Aben Joseph*, king of *Morocco*, would gladly have gained the friendship of *Sancho*; but the latter was too distrustful of his own situation, to do any thing that might seem to favour the infidels, and by the assistance of a *Genoese* fleet, he totally defeated their maritime power. *Sancho*, after this, called together his states at *Seville*, and entirely won the hearts of his nobility, by his magnanimous patriotic declarations, and by the delicacy with which he treated the profusion of his father. He observed a neutral part in the disputes between the kings of *France* and *Aragon*, concerning *Navarre*, and again defeated the *African Moors* by sea and land. Notwithstanding his resolute determined behaviour in the field, which gained him the title of the Brave, or the Fierce, he was advisable in the cabinet, and was greatly swayed by the councils of his brother *Juan* and *Lopez de Hara*. Upon his return to *Seville*, from his double victory over the *Moors*, he granted peace to *Aben Joseph*, who paid him three millions of marvedies in ready money, and in the year 1285, his happiness was augmented by the birth of a son, *Ferdinand*, whom he immediately obliged the states of *Castile* to acknowledge for his heir apparent. This step was the more necessary, on account of what had befallen the children of his eldest brother, *Ferdinand*, as well as the papal fulmination against *Sancho's* marriage. When he sent ambassadors to establish a good correspondence between him and the crown of *France*; the ministers of the latter insinuated, that the best cement of their union, would be for *Sancho* to repudiate his wife, and to marry a *French* princess; upon which, he ordered his ambassadors to leave the court of *France*. *Edward*, king of *England*, and the pope, then undertook the mediation between *France* and *Castile*, but with very little success, nor could *Sancho* prevail with the king of *Aragon*, who had lately succeeded his father *Pedro*, to put into his hands the infants *de la Cerda*.

The nobility rebel.

The unbounded power of the pope in dissolving marriages, began now to have very serious consequences with regard to *Sancho*. He found that his first minister, the bishop of *Sigüenza*, privately sided with the pope and the court of *France*, in the affair of his marriage; upon which, he put the direction of his affairs into the hands of *Lopez de Hara*, father-in-law to the infant *Juan*. The pride, ambition and tyranny of that nobleman, became intolerable to the great lords, especially

to the house of *Lara*, who retired to *Portugal*, and *Sancho*, who seems to have acted with admirable moderation, perceiving how very unpopular his minister was, dismissed him, and substituted don *Juan de Lara*, though in exile, in his room. *Sancho* then ventured to call an assembly of the states at *Toro*, where he found his measures opposed by his brother *Juan*, and his late minister, who both of them withdrew from court in disgust. *Sancho* endeavoured to reclaim them by his mildness, and granting them personal interviews; but they continued their intrigues with the king of *Arragon*, and seemed to be above the reach of public justice. At last, they were unguarded enough to give the king a meeting at *Alfaro*, before a council of the clergy and nobility. The king again demanded that they should give up the places with which they had been entrusted, when in his service. He was answered by *Lopez* drawing his sword and pointing towards his majesty's person, upon which, some of the nobility cut off his right arm, and put an end to his life. His son-in-law, who was wounded in defending him, would have shared the same fate, had he not fled for refuge to the apartments of the queen, who threw herself at *Sancho's* feet, and saved him; but he was committed to prison.

The death of *Lopez de Hara* kindled the flames of war in Vol. XI. *Castile*, for his family, which was very powerful, joined the p. 32. eldest infant *de la Cerda*, whom they persuaded the king of *Arragon* to proclaim king of *Castile*. *Sancho* was now surrounded with difficulties. He was afraid of an invasion from *Cerda* *Philip the Handsome*, of *France*, and of another on the side of *Portugal*; but he bore up with great intrepidity under all his pressures, though his dominions were invaded by the king of *Arragon*, and the infant *Alonso de la Cerda*, with an army of almost a hundred thousand men. *Sancho* took his measures so well, that the king of *Arragon* was obliged to retire to his own kingdom, though *de la Cerda* found means, by his personal interest, to continue the war. In the year 1289, the inhabitants of *Badajoz* were massacred by the royal troops, for declaring in his favour; but the king of *France*, in an interview he had at *Bayonne* with *Sancho*, privately gave up his interest, upon *Sancho* consenting to continue the war against the king of *Arragon*. Notwithstanding that, *de la Cerda's* right of blood still procured him a vast party in *Castile*. *Juan de Lara* grew so uneasy in his post of first minister, that though the king and queen did every thing they could to remove his apprehensions, he retired to *France*. His loss was the less felt, as *Sancho*, about the same time, having made up matters with the king of *Arragon*, gave a new defeat to the *Morocco* fleet, through the assistance of his *Genese* allies, who were commanded by the famous *Benedict Zachary*.

The infant *Juan* had, before this time, been delivered out of his confinement, by his brother, who thought his interest necessary for balancing the parties of the malecontents; but infant he *Juan*.

he soon broke into open rebellion, and being joined by young *Juan de Lara*, they took possession of *Valentia* and *Castro Torosa*. They were so hardly pressed by the king, who cut off all their supplies, that *de Lara* threw himself at the feet of *Sancho*, upon which old *de Lara* returned to his allegiance, and was trusted with the command of the royal army, while the infant *Juan* took refuge in *Portugal*. About this time, the infant *Henry*, son of *St. Ferdinand*, whom as we have already observed, had lived long in exile at *Tunis* and in *Rome*, returned to *Spain*, where he was kindly received by *Sancho*. The infant *Juan*, having been guilty of the most atrocious acts of perfidy, lost the protection of the king of *Portugal*, fled to *Morocco*, and returned from thence with an army of infidels, with which he besieged *Tarifa*. It was defended so bravely by *Perez de Guzman*, that *Juan* in despair having got into his possession *Guzman's* infant son, threatened to butcher him before his eyes, if he did not surrender the place. *Guzman*, by way of bravado, threw his sword over the walls, as daring him to commit such an inhumanity; and the royal monster instantly pierced the child to the heart, in sight of the parent, the garrison and the army. This horrid story is told with other circumstances, but seems to be true in the main; and from this same heroic *Guzman*, the dukes of *Medina*, *Sidonia*, the first grandees of *Spain*, are descended. *Sancho* did not fail to acknowledge the almost unexampled loyalty of *Guzman*, by a letter under his own hand, which is said to be still preserved in the archives of that family. He afterwards raised the siege of *Tarifa*, and his brother *Juan* deserting his command, took shelter with the king of *Granada*. On the 25th of *April*, in the year 1295, died *Sancho*, king of *Castile*, and his eldest son *Alonso* having died before him, his second son *Ferdinand*, though only ten years old, was recognized for his successor by the nobility, and the infant *Henry*; the queen, his mother, being by the late king declared regent of the kingdom, and guardian of his person. *Sancho* seems to have deserved the epithet of the Fierce, only in the field, being in other respects, a mild, prudent and magnanimous prince. Besides *Ferdinand*, he left issue *Peter*, afterwards governor to *Alonso XI.* his grandson; *Elizabeth*, first married to *James II.* of *Aragon*, and afterwards (being divorced from *James* on the account of proximity of blood) to *John* duke of *Bretagne*; and *Beatrice*, wife to *Alphonso IV.* of *Portugal*. His natural daughter *Violante*, married to *Fernando Ruis de Castro*; and was grandmother to *Jane de Castro*, queen of *Castile*; and *Agnes de Castro*, queen of *Portugal*.

1295.
Death of
Sancho.

Rebellions
against his
successor
Ferdinand. The recognizance of *Ferdinand's* sovereignty, did not prevent great disputes concerning the succession to the crown, from taking place. The infant *Juan* pretending the late king's marriage to be illegal, claimed the crown, as the eldest son alive of *Alonso* the Astronomer, and his claim was founded upon the decision of the states, by which *Sancho* was admitted

to the succession. His claim was supported by the *Moors* and the king of *Portugal*; but the prudence of the queen regent, preserved, for that time, the public tranquillity, and *Juan* did homage to his nephew. His example, after great difficulties were surmounted, was followed by the heads of the great families of *de Hara* and *de Lara*; but the infant *Henry* obliged the queen dowager to resign the regency to him, and to be contented with the tutelage of her son. The king of *Granada* took advantage of those public commotions to invade young *Ferdinand's* dominions, but he was beaten by *Roderigo Ponce*, who being mortally wounded, was succeeded by the brave *Guzman* as grand master of *Calatrava*. The dark machinations of the great men against the public tranquillity, during the late reign, began then to be disclosed. The kings of *France*, *Arragon*, *Portugal* and *Granada* declared themselves the protectors of *Alonso de la Cerda*, who now renewed his claim upon the crown of *Castile*, and had promised the king of *Arragon* the kingdom of *Murcia*. Besides those potentates, he was joined by the infant *Juan*, to whom he promised the kingdoms of *Leon* and *Galacia*, and by the head of the *Lara* family. *Juan* was proclaimed king of *Leon*, and *de la Cerda* was for leading his army directly to *Burgos*, but was dissuaded by *Juan*, while *Henry*, the regent, was beaten by the king of *Granada*. It is probable, the confederates would have made a more dangerous progress, had not an epidemical distemper obliged the *Arragonese* to return to their own country, and the infant *Juan* to retire to *Portugal*, with *Juan de Lara*. The different and incompatible claims of the allies, contributed to the safety of the government. The king of *Arragon* applied himself entirely to the conquest of *Murcia*; *Juan de Lara* refused to act offensively against the persons of the young king and his mother, and the regent *Henry* rendered himself detestable, by his ambition, avarice, and a shameful peace he had made with the king of *Granada*, which the queen and the states refused to ratify. But an appearance of great service to be done to *Ferdinand* and his mother, at this time, arose from *Juan Fernandez de Lerma* detaching *Denis*, king of *Portugal*, from his engagements with the infant *Juan*, the pretended king of *Leon*. A double marriage was concluded between the two royal families. The young *Castilian* monarch was to marry the infanta *Constantia* of *Portugal*, and *Alonso* the prince of *Portugal* was to marry the infanta *Beatrix* of *Castile*, who was by way of dowry to carry with her a large portion of territory, and his *Portuguese* majesty was to assist *Ferdinand* with all his forces. Those promising appearances were attended with little effect.

The king of *Portugal* afforded *Ferdinand* but small assistance, Prudent and proposed that the kingdom of *Galicia* should be given to manage the infant *Juan*. This proposition was strongly enforced by ment of the infant *Henry*; and out of hatred to him, the states rejected his mother; upon which, *Denis* sent a body of troops to *Juan's* assistance, and the king of *Granada* again took the field, and renewed

renewed his ravages. The queen dowager *Mary*, and her son, must have sunk under so many difficulties, had it not been for her own incomparable address, wisdom and intrepidity. She prevailed with the pope, through the archbishop of *Toledo*, to confirm her marriage. She conciliated by her winning behaviour the affection of all who approached her person. Without breaking with *Henry*, she rendered the public sensible of his infamous conduct, and entirely gained the confidence of the states, by laying before them candid accounts of the expenditure of the money they granted her. Instead of distrusting the towns which she had reason to suspect, she ventured her own person and her children within their walls; so that the common people would have sacrificed their lives in her service and that of her family. She could not, however, disarm the great men of their treachery and discontents, but she took her measures so well, that her faithful servants rendered their schemes, particularly those of the infant *Henry*, ineffectual. Her general, *Alonso de Hara*, made *Juan de Lara* prisoner, but he was pardoned through the mildness of the queen, and became a good subject; the infant *Henry*, now an old man, falling in love with and marrying his beautiful young daughter.

Her great
credit
with the
states.

1301.

The queen dowager still kept up her credit with the states, who were assembled at *Valladolid*, and granted her more money than she demanded. This supported her cause against all the machinations of the great men so firmly, that *Juan* resigned his usurped titles of *Leon* and *Castile*, (some part of which he possessed) and renewed his homage and oath of fidelity to *Ferdinand*. His submission furnished him only with a more favourable opportunity of renewing his treasons. In concert with the infant *Henry*, they prevailed with the king of *Aragon* again to invade *Castile*, and when the *Castilian* army took the field, the queen found such a coldness and backwardness among her general officers, that she was forced to put herself at its head; but the important town of *Lorca*, after a long siege, fell by treachery, into the hands of the king of *Aragon*. Notwithstanding this, the queen would have ruined the army of that prince, had not she been forsaken by the infants *Juan* and *Henry*, who suffered it to escape. She found means, however, to foment the discontents in *Aragon* so effectually, that that king offered to evacuate *Murcia*, if she would put him in possession of *Alicant*, but she rejected the proposal with great firmness. Her conduct, at last, drove *Alonso de la Cerda* to seek assistance in *France*, where he found none; but in the meanwhile, the two perfidious infants persuaded young *Ferdinand* to make an elopement from his mother. Their conduct was highly resented by the states at *Valladolid* and *Burgos*, where the queen still maintained a superior interest. The lords in the party of the infant *Juan* (for *Henry* had before this left them, and declared loudly for the queen mother) were stiled the favourites, and still kept their hold upon the king's person. The queen dowager was resorted to by all the rest of the nobility,

1302.

nobility, and the favourites became so despicable, that they persuaded *Ferdinand* to make his own and their terms with his mother, who, though firm and steady, was far from being obstinate or inexorable. She endeavoured to make him sensible of the mistaken measures he had been pursuing, and for some time, notwithstanding the mutual jealousies of the infants *Juan* and *Henry*, the court continued in a tolerable degree of tranquillity, the queen mother having detached *Diego de Hara* from the confederacy of the favourites.

All this while, the new king of *Granada* was gaining Continu- ground, and nothing effectual was doing to check the growing ance of progress of the *Moors*. A treaty for that purpose, was set on the civil foot between the kings of *Castile* and *Arragon*, and the king of diffentions. *Portugal* was chosen to be umpire of their differences. The in *Castile*. The queen mother foresaw, that this negotiation would terminate to the prejudice of *Ferdinand*, as, in fact, it did; for the town and fortress of *Alicant*, with a large tract of country, were given up to the crown of *Arragon*, and large appenages were assigned to the infants *de la Cerda*, upon their performing homage to *Ferdinand*. A dispute, at this time, subsisted between the infant *Juan* and *Diego de Hara*, about the possession of *Biscay*, which the former claimed in right of his wife, who was daughter to *Diego's* elder brother; and though an assembly of the states had been called to decide the difference, it remained still undetermined. It ended, at last, in a civil war, for the king took part with *Juan*, and *de Hara* was supported by the queen mother, the house of *Lara*, and many of the great nobility. *Juan* was so much disliked, that an universal coldness prevailed in the king's troops, and he was obliged once more to have recourse to negotiations, by which *Diego* was to hold *Biscay* during his own life, and it was then to descend to *Juan* and his posterity. This accommodation threw the nation again into a civil war, but *Ferdinand*, at last, was so much convinced of *Juan* being the cause of all the public disturbances, that finding him too powerful to be reduced by force, he had recourse to the methods of assassination, which having failed, *Juan* became more insolent than ever.

This period is distinguished by the surrender which the knights templars made of their lands, by way of deposit to *Philip Ferdinand's* brother, till their cause could be decided. Vol. X. We have already taken notice of the cruel persecution and ex- p. 125. tirpation of this order by the pope, the king of *France*, and the other princes of *Europe*. In *Spain*, they met with more justice, for they were cleared upon their cause being heard; and though the name of the order was abolished, and great part of their estates remained with the crown and the princes of the blood, or were given to the order of *Calatrava*; yet the knights were honourably provided for, and employed in the royal armies. The league between the king of *Castile* and *Arragon* to make war upon the *Moors*, was renewed at this time; but though both armies took the field, the operations of the

Death of
Ferdinand.

the war were but lamely concluded on the part of the *Christians*. Both the king and the public ascribed the misfortunes they met with, to the overgrown power of *Juan* and his party, and the queen mother again and again attempted to reconcile them to the king, but without effect. In the year 1311, *Ferdinand* assembled the states at *Valladolid*, and a new war with the *Moors* was agreed on; but he had no sooner taken the field, than he died of a fit of the apoplexy, occasioned probably by his intemperance. The most credible of the *Spanish* historians say, that he died on the 30th day after being appealed to appear on that day before the tribunal of God by two brothers, whom he had unjustly put to death, and whose defence he refused to hear.

Succeeded
ed by
Alonso,
whose
guardian-
ship is
disputed.

The guardianship of *Alonso*, *Ferdinand's* eldest son, was disputed by his uncle *Pedro*, and his grand uncle *Juan*; and all *Castile* was involved in the quarrel. At last it was agreed that the royal infants should each act as regent in the places possessed by their respective parties, but that the elder queen dowager, *Maria* of *Portugal* (the younger queen dowager having died suddenly) should undertake the custody, and superintend the education, of the young king. This agreement, though confirmed by the states, did not restore the public tranquillity. The animosities between the two royal infants still continued, till a papal bull was published for raising a large sum upon the clergy, towards a crusade against the *Moors*. The prospect of so gainful a trade of war, united the two infants, and in 1318 they jointly took the field. They were opposed by a regular army of the *Moors*, under one *Osmyr*, who defeated the *Christians* in a general engagement, and both the infants were left dead in the field, while the infidels retook all the places they had lately lost, with several others.

1318.
The *Moors*
defeat the
Christians,
and the
two re-
gents are
killed.

Their deaths renewed the disputes concerning the regency, to which no fewer than five candidates aspired, among whom was the infant *Philip*, uncle to the young king. The son of the late infant *Juan*, who had great possessions, was another candidate. The queen dowager took part with the infant *Philip*, and about the year 1321, the pope sent a legate to moderate among the parties. All his interposition, however, was in vain, and before an assembly of the states could be called at *Palencia*, the queen mother, *Maria*, to whose wise councils *Castile* owed so much, died. She was so much revered by both parties, that they for some time, out of respect to her, suspended their warlike operations; but they soon renewed them, with more fury than ever. The dispute lay chiefly between *Juan Emanuel*, who was son of the infant *Emanuel* by *Constantia* of *Arragon*, a fierce cruel prince, and the infant *Philip*; but while the war was raging with inexpressible fury, the young king, *Alonso*, though no more than fourteen years old, declared himself of age, and obliged the two candidates for the regency to acknowledge his authority

New dis-
putes a-
bout the
regency.

rity in an assembly of the states, which he called at *Valladolid*. Their intrigues however still continued, and *Alonso*, young as he was, discovered a most terrible genius for government. In affairs of state he was his own minister, but he was not without personal favourites. His guards were of his own picking, and he employed them chiefly in exterminating the banditti, to whom he gave no quarter, and whose remains put themselves under the protection of *Juan*, called the Deformed, son to the late infant *Juan*. The latter was not only very powerful in *Castile*, but was supported by the courts of *Aragon* and *Portugal*. *Alonso*, in several conferences he had with him, endeavoured to make him his friend, but *Juan* being in a haughty insolent manner, the king, with the greatest appearance of kindness, invited him to an entertainment; but on his entering the hall, he was, by his order, assassinated, and all his great estates, *Biscay* particularly, were confiscated to the crown. *Alonso* openly acknowledged that what had been done was by his own order, and *Juan Emanuel*, though he performed very great services against the *Moors*, thought proper to retire to his own estates. This happened towards the year 1325, about which time the king undertook a progress through his dominions, during which he exhibited many bloody specimens of his justice, which he thought necessary for the reformation of his people, who, during the late contests, had lost all regard for the crown or the laws. It was not long before don *Juan Emanuel* threw off the mask, and not only renounced his allegiance to *Alonso*, but made a peace with the *Moors*, to whom the king had of late given a great overthrow by sea. Don *Juan* was supported by the king of *Aragon*, who sent a large body of troops to his assistance. A more cruel civil war now broke out in *Castile*, than had ever been known before.

Juan the Deformed assassinated.

1325.

Don *Alvaro Nunez Osorio*, the king's favourite, had been created count of *Transtamara*, and his other favourite, *Garcilasso de la Vega*, was made chancellor of *Castile*. Don *Juan* and the other malecontents pretended that they had taken arms only to rescue the king from those wicked counsellors. *Toro*, *Zamora* and *Valladolid* declared against the king. His chancellor, with his son and twenty-four of his friends, were killed in a church. Every corner was filled with blood, either shed by the king or the rebels, and *Alonso*, at last, was obliged to dismiss the count of *Transtamara* from his service, and hearing that that nobleman was preparing to resent his dismissal, he consented to his being stabbed by don *Juan Ramirez*, who pretended to desert to the court. His death, and the king's own vigour, at last reclaimed the *Castilians* to their duty; a peace was made with the king of *Aragon*, who married *Alonso's* sister *Eleonora*, while *Alonso* himself espoused the infanta of *Portugal*. All those monarchs, in the year 1328, entered into a confederacy for making war upon the *Moors*; but *Alonso* could not reconcile don *Juan Emanuel* to his service,

The civil war renewed.

1328.

vice, though he offered to pay him a sum of money, and set his daughter, *donna Constantia*, whom he had put under arrest, at liberty. That lady's history is a little singular, for she had been affianced to the king when he was young, had for some time borne the title of queen, and *Alonso* secretly professed a passion for her person.

1329.

*Alonso falls
in love
with Leo-
nora de
Guzman.*

Her mag-
nanimity.

In the year 1329, *Alonso* made a glorious campaign against the *Moors*, and upon his return to *Seville*, he fell in love with the famous *donna Leonora de Guzman*, the finest woman, and the richest widow in *Spain*. The events of the king's life from that time, both public and private, were very romantic. He disliked his lawful wife, *donna Maria of Portugal*; he flattered *donna Constantia* with the hopes of her becoming his queen, by means of a divorce, but he lived publicly with *donna Leonora*, who bore him children, and was attended with all the pomp of a sovereign princess. The queen, *Maria*, who was a woman of sense and address, held a secret correspondence with *don Juan Emanuel*, and other discontented great lords, and even instigated her father to revenge the treatment she received from her husband. *Donna Constantia*, a woman of the most exalted virtue and prudence, made her father the confidant of her correspondence with the king, and *donna Leonora* triumphed over them all, by having the entire management of his majesty. *Alonso*, while he was passing his time with *Leonora*, made a great acquisition, by the king of *Granada* consenting to become his tributary, and by *don Alonso de la Cerda* throwing himself upon his mercy, and returning to his duty. *Don Juan Emanuel* was, at this time, meditating how to make himself more considerable than ever, though he affected great indifference as to affairs of government. He proposed to return to court, and to put himself under the protection of *Leonora*, if she could persuade the king to marry her; but the lady told him that she had no ambition to be the king's wife; tho' at the same time, *don Juan*, under pretence of condoling with the king of *Portugal*, upon the treatment his daughter received from *Alonso*, set on foot a proposal of marriage between his daughter *Constantia* and the infant of *Portugal*, which afterwards took place. The other intrigues of *don Juan*, for disturbing the public tranquillity, were with the *Moors* and the house of *Lara*; and in the year 1332, *Gibraltar* was besieged by an army of *African Moors*, who took it. *Alonso* marched with an army to relieve it, and endeavoured to reclaim the malecontents to their duty, but they found means to raise such insurrections in the kingdom as endangered his throne, and obliged him not only to make a truce with the *Moors*, but to remit the tribute paid him by the king of *Granada*.

1332.

Alonso perceiving that all his attempts to reclaim the rebels were in vain, returned to his natural severity, and put so many of their accomplices to death, in the way of justice, that the rest were startled, and *don Juan de Lara* returned to his

his duty. In the year 1335, don *Juan Emanuel* offered likewise to submit himself entirely to the king, and desired his majesty's consent to the match depending between his daughter *Constantia* and the infant of *Portugal*. *Alonso* agreed to all, and the public tranquillity seemed once more to be reestablished, when it was disturbed with an invasion of *Castile*, by the viceroy of *Navarre*, who had no provocation for his hostilities. He was defeated by *Alonso's* general, *Martin Fernandez*. This victory, and the unanimity of *Alonso's* subjects under his government, gave him a great figure in foreign courts. He received ambassadors from *Edward* the III^d of *England*, and the king of *Morocco*, who were struck with the splendour and politeness of the *Castilian* court; but while *Alonso* thus thought himself in the bosom of tranquillity, he discovered the plan of a new rebellion, which had been drawn up by don *Juan Emanuel* and don *Juan de Lara*. *Alonso* very prudently laid the discoveries he had made before his states, and they voted both those noblemen to be traitors. The king prosecuted *de Lara* with unrelenting severity, and besieged him in *Lerma*, where, notwithstanding all the machinations of don *Juan Emanuel*, and his other friends, and the threats of the king of *Portugal*, he was obliged to surrender himself and the place to *Alonso*, who, upon his most humble application, restored him to his favour. Don *Juan Emanuel* then submitted to *Alonso*, who found himself involved in a short war with *Portugal*, but it was finished by the pope's mediation. All that *Alonso* had now to apprehend, was an invasion from the *African Moors*, under *Abul Assan*, king of *Morocco*. To provide against that, he held an assembly of his states, where many excellent regulations were made for the defence of the kingdom. His holiness took that opportunity of admonishing *Alonso*, to part with *Leonora*, but with no effect. One of the fruits of *Alonso's* reconciliation with don *Juan Emanuel*, was an alliance now entered into between him and the king of *Arragon*, against the *Moors*. The year 1339 was distinguished by several victories obtained against those infidels, and next year *Abul-Assan*, to revenge the death of his son, who had been killed in the preceding campaign, again invaded *Alonso's* dominions, and completely defeated his fleet.

1335.

The viceroy of Navarre defeated.

The Christian rebels submit.

1339.

The defeat produced a renewal of the peace between *Castile* and *Portugal*, and *Alonso* took the proper measures for opposing a fresh invasion made by *Abul-Assan*. This invasion took place, and the infidels besieged *Tarifa*. The *Castilian* fleet being wrecked by storms, in endeavouring to relieve it, the king of *Portugal* generously offered *Alonso* his assistance against the infidels. It was readily accepted of, and the two kings agreed that *Alonso* should attack the king of *Morocco*, and the king of *Portugal* the king of *Granada*. The dispute was bloody, but at length, on the 29th of *October*, the *Moors* were defeated at *Salsedo*, with an incredible slaughter, their loss amounting to near sixty thousand men. This wonderful victory

Alonso gains the great victory of Salsedo, over the Moors.

- victory seems to have touched the heart of *Alonso*, with some sentiments of piety, for it is said that he never had any criminal intercourse with his favourite *Leonora* after that time.
1340. In the year 1340, *Alonso* took *Alcala* from the king of *Granada*, and obtained such other advantages over him, that he would have renewed his tribute to *Alonso*, but could not be persuaded to renounce his alliance with *Abul-Affan*. Next year *Alonso's* fleet defeated that of the *Moors*, but he found his finances so low, and his people so much exhausted, that he resolved to carry the war into the vitals of the king of *Granada's* dominions, by besieging *Algeriza*. It was bravely defended by the *Moors*, who (according to the *Spanish* historians) had artillery mounted upon their walls, and incredible were the distresses that *Alonso* had to encounter during that very remarkable siege. The young nobility from all parts of *Europe* repaired to it, but were soon discouraged by its difficulties. The king of *Navarre* brought *Alonso* a body of troops, but died on his return to his own dominions; and *Alonso* found himself at last in danger of being abandoned for want of money, by his *Genoese* mercenaries, on whom all his hopes of success depended. To complete his difficulties, a *Moorish* seaman, one *Muza*, found means to throw supplies into the place, notwithstanding a strong dyke which *Alonso* had constructed to block it up, so that the besieged still held out, though *Alonso* had gained an entire victory over the *Moors*, who attempted to relieve it. The constancy of *Alonso* and his brave nobility, at last surmounted all obstacles, and *Algeriza*, on the 26th of *March*
1343. 1343, capitulated, and the king of *Granada* submitted to renew his tribute. Soon after *Abul-Affan* made a truce with *Alonso* likewise.
1346. The tranquillity which *Castile* enjoyed about the year 1346, was greatly damped by the reduced circumstances of the king and the kingdom, through the expensive wars they had maintained, and by a plague which broke out. Notwithstanding those distresses, *Alonso* no sooner heard that *Abul-Affan* was engaged in a family war at *Morocco*, than he prevailed with his states to give him fresh supplies, with which he undertook the siege of *Gibraltar*; but when he was on the point of reducing that important fortress, he died of the plague, on the 26th of
1348. *March* 1348. He was undoubtedly a great and enterprising prince, and the lustre of his actions, after he came to the years of manhood, effaced the preceding blemishes of his reign; for afterward he shone as much by his generous, humane and forgiving disposition, as he had been before noted for the opposite qualities.
- Succeeded by *Pedro* the Cruel. Don *Pedro*, afterwards surnamed the Cruel, was the only son whom the late *Alonso* left by his queen, and he was sixteen years of age at the time of his accession to the crown of *Castile*. He was entirely under the direction of his mother and her favourite *Alonso de Albuquerque*, but they gave a melancholy specimen of their administration, by ordering the

siege of *Gibraltar* to be discontinued upon *Alonso's* decease, and by putting to death the generous *Leónora de Guzman*, who had repaired to court, under the most solemn promises of security. Don *Juan de Lara* and don *Ferdinand Emanuel*, who were equally distinguished for the troubles they excited in the beginning, and the services they performed towards the close of the late reign, retired from court, a short time before their death, and it soon appeared that *Pedro* was the greatest monster that had ever filled the *Castilian* throne. He murdered *Garcilasso de la Vega*, the late chancellor's son, without any provocation. He confiscated the *Lara* estates, and he obliged *Henry* count of *Transtamara*, the late king's son, by *Leonora*, to take shelter in *Biscay*. *Albuquerque* continued to be his worthless first minister, and he artfully engaged his master in an amour with a young lady, *Maria de Padilla*, which continued, on his part, with the most unremitting passion to the time of her death, and was productive of the most dreadful consequences. At that very time, a match had been concluded between *Pedro* and *Blanche*, daughter to the duke of *Bourbon*, but the king's attachment to his mistress was such, that it was with difficulty he was brought to marry her at *Valadolid*. *Albuquerque* now found his wicked politics turned against himself. *Padilla's* relations supplanted him in the king's favour, and to save their lives, he and his adherents were obliged to fly to *Portugal*. Upon this, all his creatures were dismissed from court. Don *Tello*, another of *Pedro's* natural brothers, was married to the heiress of the *Lara* family, and *Pedro* imprisoned his wife *Blanche*. He then ordered the grand master of the order of *Calatrava* to be murdered, that he might raise *Padilla's* brother to his place, and behaved in all other respects with so much cruelty and frenzy, that his brother, don *Henry*, put himself at the head of a numerous party, which, with the assistance of the pope's legate, forced *Pedro* to promise to reform his manners. While conferences for that purpose were held at *Toro*, *Pedro* gained over some of the principal lords of the confederacy, and making his escape, he repaired to *Burgos*, where he cut off many of the suspected nobility, and obtained a considerable supply from the states.

Marriage
of *Pedro*
to *Blanche*
of *Bour-*
bon.

Pedro, after procuring two of his bishops to pronounce his marriage with his queen *Blanche* to be null, had married a widow lady of the house of *Castro*, whom in a few days he likewise abandoned, which induced her brother, don *Ferdinand de Castro*, to join with don *Henry* and don *Tello*, in opposing *Pedro*. The queen mother being at *Toro*, the king, instigated by his hatred to her favourite *Albuquerque*, besieged that place, but his army was repulsed by don *Henry*. His queen *Blanche* was then at *Toledo*, where the inhabitants had declared themselves in her favour; but *Pedro* becoming master of that city, he committed most enormous cruelties, by beheading the nobility and hanging the chief inhabitants, after which he sent

He mar-
ries a se-
cond me.

His wars
and mur-
ders.

1358.

Blanche prisoner to *Siguenca*. He then returned to the siege of *Toro*, which he took, together with the person of his mother, and the nobility who attended her, whom he ordered to be butchered, while his natural brethren, with great difficulty, escap'd to *France*. About this time, he had a quarrel by sea with the king of *Arragon*, who invited don *Henry* into his service, in which he gave him large appointments. *Pedro*, however, had the advantage of the war with *Arragon*, till his two generals, *de la Cerda* and *Guzman*, left him in detestation of his conduct. He afterwards murdered his brother, don *Frederic*, and his cousin, don *Juan* of *Arragon*, and dined that very day in the room where the former had been put to death. In 1358, notwithstanding *Pedro's* detestable cruelties, the pope mediated a reconciliation between him and the king of *Arragon*; but *Pedro* having equipped a strong fleet, insisted upon very high terms, carried the war into *Arragon*, and put to death his aunt, the queen dowager of that crown, together with *Isabell*, the infant of *Arragon's* wife. By land, his troops were defeated by don *Henry*, whose party multiplied, through the growing excesses of *Pedro's* cruelties, and his favourite *Hinestrofa*, uncle to his mistress *Padilla*, fell in the engagement. *Pedro's* rage and desire of revenge upon this defeat, drove great numbers of his subjects into *Portugal*, where the king sided with the king of *Arragon*. It is amazing, after so many complicated cruelties as *Pedro* had been guilty of, that he was able at this time to bring an army into the field so powerful, that it would have crushed don *Henry*, had he not taken refuge in *Najara*. He even found means to make peace with the king of *Portugal*, upon his promising to give up such of his subjects as were accessory to the death of his wife, the famous *Agnes de Castro*, in his father's lifetime.

He puts
his wife,
Blanche,
to death,

1361.

Pedro was equally avaricious as cruel. He put to death, under the most exquisite tortures, a Jew, that he might become master of his treasures, which were immense. The vast riches *Pedro* had heaped up, rendered the court of *Rome* his friend, and the pope's legate made a peace between him and the king of *Arragon*; nor do we know of any ecclesiastical censures for the death of his virtuous and beautiful queen, *Blanche*, whom he ordered to be poisoned during her confinement, only because her sufferings and merits had gained her many friends. The pretext of the pope for mediating a peace between the king of *Arragon* and *Pedro*, was, that the latter might be more at liberty to make war upon the *Moors*, but in the year 361, his army was defeated near *Cadiz*, by the infidels, with great loss. Fortunately for him, *Mohammed Barbarossa*, who gained the battle, had usurped the crown of *Granada*, and was daily in fear of being dethroned by the lawful king, for which reason he gave liberty to all his *Castilian* prisoners, on condition that they would prevail with *Pedro* to grant him his friendship. *Pedro* was irreconcilable, and carried

ried on the war against *Barbarossa* with such spirit and success, and murdered the king of that he was obliged to sue for a safe conduct, that he might ders the repair to *Seville*, and perform homage to *Pedro* for his crown. king of The safe conduct was given; but *Barbarossa* and thirty-seven *Granada*. of his chief nobility who attended him, were murdered, amidst the rejoicings that were made for their reception. Some say that *Barbarossa* was killed by *Pedro*'s own hand, and it is certain that his head was sent to *Yago*, the true king of *Granada*, who thereupon resumed his throne without opposition. It was during this war, that *Pedro*'s beloved mistress, *Padilla*, died. He, for some time, appeared inconsolable at her loss; but he assembled his states at *Seville*, where he produced evidences, to prove that he had been married to her, previous to his marriage with *Bianche*, upon which the nobility recognized his son, *Alonso*, whom he had by *Padilla*, as his successor, and in case of his death, his three sisters, all born of *Padilla*, were to succeed in their turns. He had a remarkable friendship for *Charles* king of *Navarre*, justly surnamed the Wicked, and engaged him to be neutral in the war which he renewed against the king of *Arragon*, who thereupon recalled don *Henry* out of *France*. In the mean while his son, don *Pedro Alonso*, died, and *Pedro*, after expressing his grief for his loss, makes an alliance with *England*. made an alliance, offensive and defensive, with *Edward* the III^d, king of *England*. This was the more necessary for his affairs, as don *Ferdinand*, brother to the king of *Arragon*, had a great party in *Castile*, who intended to raise him to that throne; so that don *Henry*, the count of *Transtamara*, once more thought proper to return to *France*, where he made a flying kind of a war upon the *English*, whom he considered as *Pedro*'s allies. The pope's legate again interposed between *Pedro* and the king of *Arragon*, who consented to give his daughter, *Johanna*, in marriage to *Pedro*, and the latter agreed to a marriage between his daughter, *Beatrix*, and the prince of *Arragon*, by which he was to succeed to the crown of *Castile*. This produced an insurrection among the revolted *Castilians*, who were in the interest of don *Ferdinand*, who was killed in the fray, and upon his death, *Pedro*, who looked upon him as his most dangerous rival, broke off his treaty with the king of *Arragon*.

Don *Ferdinand*'s death drew the eyes of the *Castilian* malecontents upon the count of *Transtamara*, who was likewise favoured by the kings of *Navarre* and *Arragon*, whom *Pedro* now set at defiance. A confederacy was entered into between those two monarchs and don *Henry*, by which it was resolved to raise the latter to the crown of *Castile*. *Pedro* was not wanting to his own defence, and acted with such vigour, that he would probably have dethroned the king of *Arragon*, had he not been relieved by the famous *Bernard de Guesclin*, in the manner we have already related in the history of *France*. No sooner did that great warrior enter *Spain*, than the count of *Transtamara*, who did not distrust *Pedro* more than he did the kings of *Castile*.

Vol. XI.
p. 112.

ibid.

Don Henry crown-
ed king of
Castile.

kings of *Arragon* and *Navarre*, was proclaimed and crowned king of *Castile* and *Burgos*, and on the very day of his coronation, he made ample satisfaction to all who had contributed to his elevation. In a few weeks he was recognized as king by most of the *Castilians*; so that *Pedro* had little to trust to, besides the vast treasures he had amassed, great part of which fell into don *Henry's* hands. *Pedro* was now detested by all the princes of *Europe*, to such a degree, that the prince of *Portugal* refused to marry his daughter, though she was to bring with her a prodigious sum in ready money. Finding himself thus deserted, *Pedro* wandered about from place to place, on the frontiers of his dominions, till he was received in *Compostella*, by the persuasions of the archbishop, whom in requital he murdered, that he might seize his riches. He then embarked himself, his treasures and the dependents still left him, on board a fleet, in which he sailed to *Bayonne*, where he claimed the assistance of the prince of *Wales*, commonly called the *Black Prince*, who received him favourably, on account of the riches he brought with him. The truth is, the *Black Prince* was distressed for money, a consideration that rendered him less delicate in his engagements with *Pedro*, who promised to him and his general officers all they could desire, and left his daughters as hostages for the performance. The *Black Prince*, particularly, was to be put in possession of the county of *Biscay*, and many other estates in *Spain*. The rest of *Europe* were amazed, when the *Black Prince* undertook to restore *Pedro* to his dominions, which were now entirely possessed by *Henry*. Some absurdly imputed it to the envy he entertained of *Guesclin's* great exploits in *Spain*, and others to a noble principle of generosity. Ambition and necessity were perhaps his chief motives, but he found himself miserably disappointed in *Pedro*; for he was so far from advancing money towards his own restoration, that the prince was obliged to melt down his own plate to pay the mercenaries whom he took into his service, and who had lately served under *Guesclin*.

He is defeated by the *Black Prince*, and flies to *France*.

It was now too late for the prince to recede, and after mustering his army he marched into *Spain*. His success there was at first so bad, that *Henry* called a council of war, to settle the dispositions for a general engagement, but he was dissuaded from that resolution by *Guesclin*, who well knew the military talents of the *Black Prince*, and the excellent discipline of his troops. While both armies lay in sight of one another, the *English* at *Navarrette*, and the *Spaniards* at *Najara*, the *Black Prince* (who very probably by this time had altered his opinion of *Pedro* and his cause) entered into a negotiation with the count of *Transtamara*, to whom he made vast offers, if he would resign the crown to *Pedro*. The letters which passed between the prince and the count on this head, have come to our hands, and it is extremely remarkable, that in those written by *Henry*, he says that the *Castilians* had no intention to have deprived *Pedro* of his crown, had he not made

made a voluntary abdication of it. All hopes of an accommodation vanishing, a general battle was fought, in which the *Black Prince* proved victorious, and *Guesclin* was made prisoner, as were the chief officers of *Henry's* army. As to *Henry* himself, after behaving with the greatest personal courage, he was, in a manner, forced out of the field by *Guesclin*, and once more saved himself in *France*. The loss of the *English* amounted to no more than forty common soldiers, and four knights, but that of the *Spaniards* was above six thousand men, and must have been far greater, had not the *Black Prince*, who saw *Pedro* eager to satisfy his vengeance and thirst of blood, put a stop to the slaughter. *Pedro*, upon his knees, returned the prince thanks for restoring him to his throne; but it was with difficulty that the presence and admonitions of the prince prevented his giving a loose to his natural cruelty. An epidemical disease broke out in the *English* army, and the prince finding it necessary to return to *France*, put *Pedro* in mind of his engagements, which he most ungratefully evaded, under pretence that the excesses committed by the *English* troops, disabled him from raising the money. The prince, before his return, negociated a truce between *Castile* and *Arragon*, and concluded a defensive treaty, in his own name, with *Arragon* and *Portugal*. The sickness in his army encreasing, nothing was now left to the prince, but either to force *Pedro* to fulfil his engagements, or to return to *France*. The first was deemed to be impracticable, considering the state of the *English* army, and the latter was resolved upon, but not before *Pedro* refused to pay his auxiliaries, and intimated that he would be glad to see them leave his dominions. *Pedro* was restored to his crown after the battle of *Najara*, almost without opposition; but no sooner were the *English* departed, than he relapsed into his former cruelties, which rendered him so detestable over the rest of *Europe*, that by the assistance of the pope, the *French* king, and the duke of *Anjou*, *Henry* was again at the head of an army, with which he invaded *Spain*.

Pedro refuses to pay the *English* troops.

1367.

Vol. XI.
p. 114.

In the month of *April* 1368, *Henry* conquered the city of *Leon*, and the greatest part of *Asturia*; but by this time *Pedro* had made an alliance with the king of *Granada*, who furnished him with six thousand horse and thirty thousand foot, with whom he undertook the siege of *Cordova*. Nothing but the despair of the besieged, occasioned by the dread of *Pedro's* cruelties, could have prevented him from taking it; but he was forced to raise the siege, and to march to the relief of *Toledo*, which was besieged by *Henry*. This brought on another battle, in the neighbourhood of *Seville*, after *Henry* had been joined by *Guesclin*, who was now set at liberty. It was fought in the plains of *Montiel*, where victory declared for *Henry*, who besieged his brother in the castle of *Montiel*, where he had shut himself up. Finding the place not tenable, *Pedro* entered into a negotiation with *Guesclin*, for permission

1368.
Death of *Pedro*.

mission to escape; and the latter, with *Henry's* privity, having appointed him a meeting in his tent, he was there put to death by *Henry's* own hands, and those of his followers. Thus ended the life of a prince stained with every crime that was execrable, and every vice that was mean, and yet his memory has found advocates among the favourers of hereditary right. He was not quite thirty-six years of age when he died, and notwithstanding the immense losses he sustained, he left behind him prodigious treasures (historians say a hundred and fifty millions, but do not tell us of what species) in gold and silver, besides jewels and plate. The only good quality he had, was his courage, for which he was distinguished, especially in the last battle of *Montiel*, which was fought on the 14th of *March* 1368-9, and in which he lost fourteen thousand men.

Wise administration of his successor *Henry*.

1370.

The two daughters of the late king *Pedro* remained still as hostages in *Guienne*, and at first *Henry* obtained little more by his victory than the death of his rival; for more formidable rivals started up. Many places declared for the king of *Arragon*, and more for don *Ferdinand*, king of *Portugal*, who was now a pretender to the crown of *Castile*. *Henry* carried his arms into *Portugal*, where he took *Braga*, and acted with so much temper, prudence, and generosity, that he was well served by his subjects, and he forced the king of *Granada* to sue for a truce. The treasures of the late king, his brother, had fallen into his hands, and they enabled him to equip a fleet, which defeated those of *England* and *Portugal*. Upon the death of his brother, don *Tello*, he annexed *Biscay*, that great bone of contention, to the crown of *Castile* for ever, and by his prudent administration, about the year 1370, he was in full possession of all *Castile*, and at peace with his neighbours, especially the king of *Portugal*, who offered to marry *Henry's* daughter, *Leonora*, with three hundred thousand crowns for her fortune. The *Portuguese* monarch, however, falling in love with another lady, broke off the match, and acknowledged the title of *John of Gaunt*, duke of *Lancaster*, *Edward* the IIIrd of *England's* son, to the crown of *Castile*, by his marrying donna *Constantia*, daughter to the late king *Pedro*. Though *John* made several attempts, by the king of *Portugal's* assistance, to dispossess *Henry*, yet the latter took his measures so well, that they all proved fruitless, and he carried his arms to the very gates of *Lisbon*, part of which he burned down. This forced the king of *Portugal* to agree to a peace, under the mediation of the pope's legate, which was very honourable for *Henry*. His great maxim, after his recovering the crown, was to cultivate the friendship of *France*, of which he reaped the benefit, by being able to reduce once more his dominions to a state of tranquillity. The duke of *Lancaster* being thus left to push his pretensions alone, applied for assistance to the king of *Arragon*, and renewed his invasion of *Castile*. *Henry* raised troops to oppose him, but had the
misfortune

misfortune to lose his brother, don *Sancho*, in a mutiny of the soldiers. Before hostilities commenced, a treaty took place between him and the king of *Arragon*, who received a hundred and eighty thousand crowns for the places he gave up. All *Henry's* care now was to guard against the future attempts of *John of Gaunt*, which he effectually did; and in the year 1375, he gave his daughter, *Leonora*, to don *Carlos*, the prince of *Navarre*, while his son, *Juan*, infant of *Castile*, married *Leonora* of *Arragon*. Soon after those intermarriages, *Edward* the III^d of *England* died, and the perfidious king of *Navarre* was almost made a prisoner, in an attempt to surprize *Logrono*, while his son, don *Juan*, penetrated almost to *Pampeluna* in *Navarre*.

1375.

The schism which at this time prevailed in the church, gave *Henry* a pretext to assemble his states at *Burgos*, where it was resolved to sequester the revenues of the pope, till the schism was ended. *Henry*, at the same time, made a peace with the king of *Navarre*, to whom he lent a sum of money, to enable him to discharge his mercenaries, and died, as some think, by poison, in the year 1379, with the character of his having made up the deficiencies of his title by many royal virtues, particularly, by a punctual performance of all his engagements.

His death.

1379.

Don *Juan*, when he mounted his father's throne, made a peace with *Mohammed Guadis-Abulhagen*, king of *Granada*, by his son a prince, like himself, of a peaceable, beneficent disposition. In the same year, the king of *Portugal* cancelled a match, to which he had consented, between his daughter and heir, donna *Beatrix*, and *Frederic*, the natural son of the late king *Henry* of *Castile*, that he might marry her to don *Henry*, *Juan's* lawful son, who was no more than a year old. By the marriage articles, the survivor was to enjoy the dominions of the other. Notwithstanding this seeming cordiality, don *Juan* raised an army to oppose that of the *Portuguese*, who had invited the duke of *Lancaster* to renew his attempts upon *Castile*, the title of which he still continued to assume. *Juan* having certain intelligence that the duke was expected to land with an army in *Portugal*, invaded that kingdom by sea and land, and his admiral of *Castile* entirely defeated the *Portuguese* fleet. Upon the arrival of the *English* auxiliaries, commanded by the earl of *Cambridge*, the fickle king of *Portugal* actually married his daughter, *Beatrix*, to that prince's eldest son, who was afterwards duke of *York*, though he was no more than six years of age, and they were bedded in public. The king of *Castile*, however, had now laid siege to *Lisbon*, but upon the arrival of the *English* troops, he was obliged to retire to *Castile*; and a quarrel soon after breaking out between the *English* and the *Portuguese*, the two kings of *Portugal* and *Castile* were about to decide their differences by a general engagement, when they again made peace; the chief stipulation of which was, that the *Castilian* should furnish a fleet, (that

Succeeded by his son *Juan*.

of

1382.

of *Portugal* having been destroyed) for carrying the *English* back to their own country. In the year 1382, *Juan* being a widower, he married the infanta *Beatrix* of *Portugal*, though she was then actually contracted to his second son, *Ferdinand*. This match encouraged *Alonso*, brother to *Juan*, a prince of a very turbulent disposition, to revolt, but he was quickly reduced by *Juan*, whose wife, *Beatrix*, became at this time queen of *Portugal*, by the death of her father, the most unsteady prince of his time. Upon this, the king put his brother again under arrest, and likewise don *Juan*, the late king of *Portugal*'s brother, who had a strong party for his succeeding to that crown. Another don *Juan*, a natural brother to the late king, also put in his pretensions, and seized the government, under the title of protector. The king of *Castile*, upon this, raised an army, assumed the title of king of *Portugal*, and invaded that kingdom in his wife's right.

War with
Portugal.

A bloody war ensued, and in all appearance, the *Castilian* would have become master of *Lisbon*, with the assistance of the prince of *Navarre*, had he not been obliged to raise the siege, by the practices of the queen mother of *Portugal*, and a pestilence which broke out in his army. He, upon this, garrisoned the places he had taken, and having returned to *Castile*, he received certain intelligence that the estates of *Portugal* had elected the protector for their king. This gave *Juan* sensible uneasiness, and it is said, upon good authority, that he employed the count of *Transtamara* to take off the new king by assassination, but that the plot was discovered. It is certain the *Castilian* raised an army of thirty thousand men, and again invaded *Portugal* by sea and land. He was opposed by the *Portuguese Juan*, at the head of about ten thousand men, but those encamped to such advantage, that the attacking them was against the sense of the best officers in his army. The question, however, for the attack, was carried by the young officers in the *Castilian* army, which was completely routed, and the king was obliged to throw himself aboard his fleet, which carried him to *Seville*. The *Portuguese* army then invaded *Castile* in its turn, and defeated the *Castilians* under the grand masters of St. *James*, *Alcantara* and *Calatrava*. So many disasters obliged the *Castilian* to apply to the pope and the king of *France*, for their mediation and assistance. The king of *France* sent him a considerable reinforcement, and the pope his best advice; but in *July* that same year, the duke of *Lancaster* again landed in *Portugal* with a fresh army, and was proclaimed king on the frontiers of *Castile*, in right of his queen *Constantia*, who attended him in this expedition. Before hostilities commenced, the duke of *Lancaster* and the *Castilian* monarch entered into a private negotiation together, upon a marriage proposed between the infant don *Henry*, son to the king of *Castile*, and donna *Cathalina*, daughter to the duke of *Lancaster*, by *Constantia*. The engagements the duke was under with regard to *Portugal*, broke off this negotiation, and

and the *Portuguese* and *English* again invaded *Castile*, but with very bad success; so that they were soon obliged to return to *Portugal*. The marriage treaty between the duke of *Lancaster* and the king of *Castile* was again renewed, and the marriage at last agreed upon, as soon as the infant don *Henry* was of age to consummate the nuptials, which, in case of his death, was to be performed by his younger brother.

The duke of *Lancaster* and his wife, by marrying their daughter to the heir of *Castile*, were at the summit of their wishes, and donna *Constantia*, in an interview she had with the *Castilian* monarch, made him a present of the golden crown which her own husband was to have worn at his coronation, and a ewer of the same metal. The war still continued between *Castile* and *Portugal*, and though the *Castilian* finances were much exhausted, through the great sums paid to the duke of *Lancaster* and his wife, yet his subjects generously supplied his necessities, being touched by the tenderness with which he had always treated them. About the year 1389,

Marriage of the infant *Henry* to the duke of *Lancaster's* daughter.

1389.

Juan of *Castile* grew so much out of love with the world, that it was with difficulty his nobility dissuaded him from resigning his crown to his son, who was but a minor. He had the happiness, however, to continue the tranquillity of his subjects, by the kings of *Granada* and *Portugal* renewing their engagements with him; and he prevailed with the king of *Morocco* to suffer a number of his *Castilian* subjects, who had been settled in *Africa*, under the title of *Farfans*, to return to *Spain*. Those exiles were famous for their horsemanship, and upon their first division coming over, *Juan* desired to see a specimen of their dexterity at *Alcala*; but during the exhibition, his own horse made a plunge, which threw him over his head, and killed him on the spot. The great difficulties, which this prince surmounted, through the faithful attachment of his subjects, sufficiently prove him to have been the father of his people.

Juan was succeeded by his son, *Henry* the III^d. who was no more than ten years of age. It was necessary, to preserve the public tranquillity, to gratify the princes of the blood, who, besides the queen's dowager, who resided at the court of *Castile*, were very numerous, with large appointments and places, and a regency was fixed in the persons of the duke *de Benevent*, who was natural son to *Henry* the II^d, and consequently uncle to the late king, the archbishops of *Toledo* and *Compostella*, and others. This regency was confirmed by the states, but disapproved of by the archbishop of *Toledo*, and a new one appointed, but with as little unanimity of sentiment as the former. The public dissensions increased to such a degree, that the *Moors* of *Granada* invaded the kingdom, but were defeated, and it was thought by some, that the duke of *Benevent*, and some of the heads of the regency had dangerous designs upon the crown. Young *Henry* was then no more than twelve years and ten months of age, but he had sense to perceive that the divisions among his great men must,

He succeeds his father in the throne.

1393.

in

His spirited conduct.

in the end, bring himself and his people to ruin. He therefore came to the wise and spirited resolution of taking the helm of state into his own hand, and his conduct soon convinced his people of his capacity for government. He called his states together at *Madrid*; he confirmed the privileges of *Biscay*; he celebrated his marriage with the princess of *Lancaster*; and after performing many popular acts, he ventured to strike off the exorbitant appointments of his great men and the princes of the blood. This created a general defection of them from his court, but *Henry* proceeded with firmness, made the archbishop of *Toledo* his first minister, and though some of them took up arms, he at last reduced them all, partly by prudence, partly by force, to their duty.

The Moors defeat the Spaniards.

In the mean while, don *Martin Yanez*, grand master of *Alcantara*, and one of the best military officers in *Spain*, was so much deluded by an enthusiast hermit, who lived in the neighbourhood, that he believed himself, and all the troops under him to be invulnerable. in case they should undertake an expedition against the *Moors* of *Granada*, and, by virtue of the same revelation, they were persuaded they should conquer. The delusion was so infectious, that *Yanez* was soon at the head of five or six thousand troops, among whom were many men of quality. The king of *Granada* suffered them to advance almost to the gates of his capital, where the *Christians* made their experiment, but it failed, for they were surrounded by a body of *Moors*, who cut half of them in pieces, with their general, and made the others prisoners. The *Moorish* king was so little of a barbarian, that he admitted of *Henry's* apology, that so frantic an attempt, headed by one or two enthusiasts, ought not to break the good understanding that subsisted between them. *Henry*, however, perceiving that the princes of his blood and his malecontent lords were preparing to renew the public commotions, raised an army, and proceeded with such vigour, that he ordered the duke of *Benevent* to be arrested, and stripped him of all his places.

War with Portugal.

1395.

He secured, at the same time, the person of his aunt, the queen of *Navarre*, one of the most dangerous of the malecontents, and sent her home to live with her husband, from whom she had been for some time separated. In short, he forced all who opposed him, or attempted to disturb the public tranquillity, to accept of the terms he was pleased to prescribe. In the year 1395, a war broke out between the *Castilians* and the *Portuguese*, on account of the latter having surprized *Badajoz*. *Henry* in this war was victorious by sea, but the *Portuguese* obtained some advantages by land, and at last a ten years truce was concluded between the two kingdoms.

Henry has a daughter.

1399.

This truce left *Henry* at liberty to chastise the corsairs of *Barbary*, from whom he took *Tetuan* in the year 1399. The wise and vigorous measures of *Henry*, rendered his name respectable among the infidels themselves. *Mohammed*, the young king of *Granada*, came in person to his court, and renewed

newed his truce with him, and even the great *Timur Bec*, or *Tamerlane*, expressed a veneration for *Henry's* person, and offered him his friendship in the most polite and honourable manner. *Henry* having acknowledged *Benedict* the XIIIth to be pope, suffered him to name his nephew, don *Pedro de Luna*, to the archbishopric of *Toledo*; and in the year 1402, his queen was brought to bed of a daughter, whom the states recognized as his successor, if he should die without male heirs. 1402.

In this year it is reasonable to presume that *Spain*, in general, was in the zenith of its prosperity. Her provinces, notwithstanding the many dreadful plagues that had broken out, were prodigiously populous, and the *Castilians* were reckoned the most industrious and ingenious of any people in *Europe*, in all manufactures, especially those of steel and clock-work. The *Moors*, with more frugal manners, were equally populous and prosperous, and the growing friendship between *Tamerlane* and *Henry* was of inexpressible advantage to the commerce of *Castile*. He could not, however, without the most terrible apprehensions, reflect on the invincible antipathy that subsisted between his subjects and the *Moors*, that the finest provinces in *Spain* belonged to the latter, and that they were daily improving in the arts of life and war. The reduction of *Henry* is his expences, gave a hint to the king of *Granada*, that he reserved his treasures for supplying a war, and he omitted nothing, by presents or submissions, that could testify his esteem and affection for *Henry*. It has been with reason suspected, that a *Jew* physician mingled in the train of one of those magnificent embassies sent to *Henry*, and administered to him a slow poison, the effects of which he began to feel about the year 1405, as he was intent upon the most laudable duties of a king, the suppressing those seditions and factions among his subjects, that are generally attendants upon riches, encouraging agriculture, and embellishing his dominions with structures equally magnificent as useful. The same year, to his great joy, his queen was brought to bed of a son, *Juan*; but he was soon alarmed, by the intelligence he received, that the *Moors* of *Granada* were in motion, and had besieged *Guezada* with four thousand horse and twenty-five thousand foot; it is thought that the *Moorish* king was encouraged to this, by the secret intelligence he had that *Henry's* life was drawing to its close. Whatever may be in that, it is certain that *Henry* drew his army to the field, defeated the infidels in two actions, and raised the siege of *Guezada*. He next assembled his states at *Toledo*, to deliberate upon a total reduction of the kingdom of *Granada*, but was unable to preside in the assembly, and died on *Christmas* day 1406. According to the *Spanish* authors, the conduct of *Henry* ought to be a model for that of all princes towards their subjects. By his justice and equanimity, he conciliated the affections of the common people to such a degree, that he was enabled to humble his 1405. 1406.

his turbulent nobility and the princes of his blood, and though he died very rich, he never was accused of avarice or oppression.

and leaves
a minor
son.

Don *Ferdinand*, *Henry's* surviving brother, presented his nephew, don *Juan*, to the assembly of the states, and upon reading the late king's will, it was agreed that the queen and don *Ferdinand* should be joint regents during the royal minority. Happily for *Castile*, *Ferdinand* was a prince of vast abilities, and so sincerely attached to his nephew, that he discouraged every insinuation thrown out by the great men, as if he himself was the most proper person to fill the throne. His wars with the *Moors* were generally successful, though the infidels seldom brought fewer than fourscore thousand men into the field; but he had some difficulty in managing the temper of the queen dowager, who was greatly influenced by her favourites. At last, he succeeded so well, that he gained her approbation in making one of his sons, don *Sancho*, grand master of *Alcantara*; another, *Henry*, grand master of the order of St. *James*; and she gave her daughter donna *Maria*, to *Alonso*, his eldest son. During the minority, the states of *Castile* were cautious of acting offensively against the *Moors*; but don *Ferdinand* convinced them of their error, and took *Antequera*, one of their best and strongest towns. *Ferdinand* would have improved this and many other advantages he obtained over the infidels, had not his intention been entirely turned on making good his claim upon the crown of *Arragon*, the right of which would have belonged to the king don *Juan*, had it not been for a family compact, which was confirmed by the states of both kingdoms, to prevent the two crowns from being united in one person; a provision, however, which was afterwards eluded. As the queen mother of *Castile* was then entirely in *Ferdinand's* interest, she agreed not only to temporary truces with the *Moors*, but to *Ferdinand's* applying a vast treasure, that had been voted for a war against them, to his own purposes, by which he succeeded in his claim. He still met with resistance from the count *de Urgel*, but he was so well supported by the *Castilians*, that by his wisdom and moderation, he became the arbiter of all the neighbouring crowns, but he died in the year 1415, and was succeeded by his son *Alonso*, who had three brothers, *Juan*, *Henry*, and *Pedro*.

1415.

Discon-
tents on
account of
a favou-
rite.

The death of *Ferdinand* left the queen mother sole regent of *Castile*, and she governed by a council. She did not long enjoy that honour, for though she was in every other respect an excellent princess, yet she was addicted to wine, and found dead in her bed of an apoplexy. Though the king, don *Juan*, was then no more than thirteen years old, yet it was thought proper to declare him of age, and he married donna *Maria* of *Arragon*. Don *Juan*, and don *Henry* of *Arragon*, caballed to surprize his person, in which the latter succeeded; but the

king

king of *Castile* escaped out of his hands by the assistance of don *Alvaro de Luna*, who afterwards became his reigning favourite. Don *Juan*, out of hatred to his brother *Henry*, raised troops under pretence of securing the king's freedom; but the difference between the two brothers operated to the tranquillity of king don *Juan*, who, young as he was, played them so skilfully against each other, that he became master of them both. In this state matters continued till the year 1422, when the king don *Juan* deprived the constable of *Castile*, for his seditious practices, of that high office, which he gave to his favourite *Alvaro*. The year following, some differences happened between the kings, *Juan* of *Castile*, and *Alonso* of *Arragon*, concerning the person of *Henry*, *Alonso's* brother, whom the king don *Juan* had imprisoned. In the year 1424, the queen of *Castile* was delivered of a son *Henry*, who was recognized by the states as his successor, and matters were compromised between the crowns of *Castile* and *Arragon*, but, in the mean while, don *Juan* of *Arragon* became king of *Navarre* in right of his wife donna *Blanca*, and the first use he made of his new dignity, was to procure the deliverance of his brother *Henry* out of prison. The tranquillity which the union of those three crowns produced, was but of short continuance; for the nobles of *Castile* were so much discontented at the sway which the favourite continued to have in the government, that, countenanced by the king of *Arragon*, they obliged the king, don *Juan*, to part with him. He was quickly recalled, through the imprudence of his enemies, and the king of *Navarre's* influence. The king, don *Juan*, to give his nobility employment farther abroad, instigated *Mohammed* the Left-handed, who had been driven from the throne of *Granada*, to reclaim his dominions; but all schemes of that kind were frustrated by the kings of *Navarre* and *Arragon* joining the noble *Castilians* against *Alvaro de Luna*, whose power in *Castile* was now more formidable than ever. Various were the tentatives to compromise matters, but a war between *Castile* and *Arragon* succeeded, in which the king don *Juan* had the advantage, and the malecontents were reduced.

The king of *Navarre*, and the infant don *Henry* of *Arragon*, The Moors still kept possession of *Albuquerque*, and the king don *Juan* confiscated all their estates in *Castile*. By this time, *Mohammed* the Left-handed had recovered his kingdom, and put to death his rival; but ungratefully sided with the king of *Arragon*, against his benefactor the king of *Castile*. This fired the *Castilians* so much, that in the year 1431, the king don *Juan* was at the head of a hundred thousand troops, and completely defeated the army of the infidels, which was equally numerous, near *Cavecca de los Ginetes*. Twenty thousand infidels were killed in the battle and the pursuit, and a vast body of them surrendered themselves prisoners of war to the constable. The aversion the *Castilian* nobility had to that great man, prevented the king don *Juan* from making himself master of *Granada*,

nada, and driving the *Moors* entirely out of *Spain*. He had, however, interest enough to place *Muley* on the throne of *Granada*, which became tributary to that of *Castile*. Scarcely was the king of *Castile* returned from this glorious campaign, when the noble *Castilians* renewed their cabals against the constable; but after various events, too minute for this history, they ended in their own loss and confusion.

1432. In 1432, *Muley* king of *Granada* died, and *Mohammed* the
A rebelli- Left-handed recovered that throne. The king, don *Juan*,
on in *Cas-* obtained money from the states sufficient for renewing the
tile. war with the infidels, but the plots and conspiracies which

1435. In the year 1435, all matters were amicably compromised between the kings of *Castile*, *Aragon* and *Navarre*. The discontented nobility proving still troublesome, the king don *Juan* commanded *Pedro Manrique* to be put under restraint, and ordered his great men to serve upon the frontiers, in the war which still continued against the *Moors*. They obeyed with a seeming cheerfulness, but it was only to appear in a body against their sovereign. They were supported at first by the king of *Navarre*, and the infant don *Henry*. The former soon joined the king don *Juan*, and the latter headed the malecontents, whom the king of *Navarre* had abandoned, only that he might be the more in a condition to mediate a peace. All *Castile* was now in arms, and the king don *Juan* saw that he must either lose his crown or give up his favourite, who was accused of the most arbitrary tyrannical practices. The king, at first, seemed to listen to his people, by ordering *Alvaro* not to appear at his court; but they were more exasperated than ever at seeing him put at the head of the prince of *Asturia's* household, who had been lately married to donna *Blanca*, the king of *Navarre's* daughter. That prince had a favourite as well as his father; his name was *Pacheco*, by whose advice he declared himself for the malecontents, and surprized *Toledo*. The king, don *Juan*, omitted nothing to retake it, but in vain, for the malecontents united themselves more strictly than ever. His own queen became a party against him, and at last, he was forced to put himself into the hands of the malecontents, and to accept of the terms they pleased to prescribe against the constable. He was insincere in the reconciliation, and endeavoured to divide the confederacy, in which he would have succeeded, had it not been for the intrigues of his son, the prince of *Asturia*.

1443. In the year 1443, the king, don *Juan*, found himself little
Its king a better than a state prisoner, under the custody of his own
prisoner, family, and that of the admiral. The confederacy, however,
but ef- when it was least expected, split among themselves, and
capes. the prince of *Asturia*, by *Pacheco's* instigation, offered upon
certain

certain terms to set his father at liberty; but while the negotiation was in agitation, the king, don *Juan*, made his escape, and put himself at the head of a body of loyal subjects, who at the instigation of the bishop of *Avila*, had taken arms for his deliverance. He soon obliged the king of *Navarre*, and the chief malecontents to retire; and before the end of the year 1444, he completely regained his authority. The prince of *Asturia* being then reconciled to his father, the king of *Navarre*, and the remains of the malecontents took the field; but in May 1445, the king, don *Juan*, entirely defeated his opponents, and made the admiral, with the heads of the faction, prisoners. The admiral escaped, but the king proceeded with so much severity against his associates, that the prince again declared himself on the side of the malecontents. The king trusting to a body of troops sent out of *Portugal* to his assistance, continued his severities against the rebels, and his queen dying at this time, his favourite, without his knowledge, had the insolence to make up a match between him and donna *Isabella* of *Portugal*. Though the king, don *Juan*, resented this step at first, yet he soon acquiesced, and gave his favourite the grand mastership of the order of St. *James*, but at the same time, he was obliged to give the prince the disposal of many other places of great importance. A revolution which happened this year in *Granada*, gave the king, don *Juan*, an opportunity of supporting *Ishmael*, a *Moorish* prince, and one of his own officers, who was a competitor for the crown, and thereby he divided the infidels among themselves.

1444.

1445.

In all the disputes between the *Castilians* and their sovereign, He dislikes the former constantly declared that their opposition was only his favourite don *Alvaro*; but though the prince of *Asturia* had adopted that pretence himself, yet his father easily saw that he intended to dethrone him. Both again took the field, and an accommodation was patched up by their two favourites, on the 11th of May 1446. After this, the favourites quarrelled with one another, and the king's affection for *Alvaro* began to cool, but he found he durst not disgrace him, and the remaining part of the year presented a most dismal scene of slaughter and desolation between the *Navarrese* and the *Gascons* who invaded *Castile* on the one hand, as the *Moors* did on the other, both of them in support of the malecontents, while the prince of *Asturia* underhand omitted no measure or art to oblige his father to resign his crown. The match between the king, don *Juan*, and the princess of *Portugal*, had now taken place, and he imparted to her in secrecy, that he was determined to ruin his favourite *Alvaro*. The queen, who owed her marriage to *Alvaro*, joined in the project, and supplanted him in her husband's affections. *Alvaro* had some suspicion of this, and by means of *Pacheco*, brought about an interview between the king don *Juan*, and his son; but this served only to augment the public distractions, and to encourage the *Navarrese* and *Moors* to renew their incursions. The king, don *Juan*, was

1446.

was now fallen into a state of mind which disposed him to keep no farther measures with *Alvaro*, and to compromise all differences with the king of *Navarre* and the malecontents. This intention was favoured by his son discarding *Pacheco* at the same time, and by the clergy, who under the pope's authority, mediated so effectually, that the prince of *Asturia* submitted himself to his father, and gave up *Toledo*. *Alvaro*, in appearance, preserved as much power as ever, because he knew the king durst not arrest him. The treasurer, *Vivero*, joined with the queen in plotting his destruction, and a secret, but more powerful confederacy than ever was formed against him. A quarrel between the king of *Navarre* and his son, in which the latter was defeated and taken prisoner, happened in 1452, and this gave *Alvaro's* enemies an opportunity, under pretence of interceding for the prince of *Navarre's* liberty, to bring their machinations to a crisis.

1452. who is be- The event was, that after a great number of difficulties headed. were surmounted, *Alvaro's* house was surrounded, and he surrendered himself prisoner, upon his obtaining, as is said, a promise of pardon. His process was immediately ordered to be made out, and being condemned, he was beheaded on a scaffold at *Valladolid*, on the 5th of *July*. Notwithstanding all his excesses, he undoubtedly was a great man, and the king soon regretted his loss. He was delivered, it is true, from a minister, whom he both feared and hated, but he was obliged to spend the remainder of his life in the midst of his guards, and under perpetual apprehensions. At last he died, on the 21st of *July* 1454.

1454. Henry IV. The prince of *Asturia*, under the name of don *Henry* IV. king of succeeded to the crown of *Castile*, and the commencement of *Castile*. his reign promised to efface all remembrance of his conduct during his father's life time, by restoring tranquillity both at home and abroad, which left him at liberty to continue the war against the *Moors*. In this, however, he was not very successful, and his favourite *Pacheco*, now marquis of *Villena*, having recovered all his influence over him, his nobles caballed against him, as they had done against *Alvaro*. The king visited the coast of *Barbary*, and his favourite privately swore allegiance to the king of *Aragon*, with a view of obtaining in time of necessity, an asylum in that prince's dominions. The archbishop of *Toledo*, the admiral and other grandees, drew up remonstrances upon the public grievances, which *Henry* promised should be redressed in an assembly of the states. Instead of that, he endeavoured to promote upstarts, and to raise new families, who might counterbalance the old. This succeeded in some measure, but in the year 1459, he received fresh remonstrances from his nobility, who required, as he had no children of his own, on account of his natural impotence, that he should name don *Alonso* his heir, and give him a suitable education, and likewise the infanta *Isabella*, who was next in succession to don *Alonso*. In 1460, the queen, donna *Joanna*,

Joanna, was brought to bed of a daughter, whom *Henry* owned as his own, though the general opinion was that she was begotten by his new favourite don *Bernard de la Cueva*. Notwithstanding this, she was recognized as heiress to the crown by don *Alonso*, donna *Isabella*, and the states of *Castile*. *Henry*, about this time, recovered the strong fortrefs of *Gibraltar*, from the *Moors*, while the *Catalans* shook off the yoke of *Arragon*, and proclaimed him their king in *Barcelona*. He was even flattered with the hopes of becoming king of *Arragon* and *Valentia*, but he was prevailed upon by the archbishop of *Toledo*, and the marquis of *Villena*, to make *Lewis XI.* of *France*, the arbiter of his difference with *Arragon*. The Vol. XI. decision of *Lewis*, who had an interview with *Henry*, was p. 224. equally distasteful to both parties, and the war went on. A new league was formed in *Castile* against *Henry*, who, to fortify himself, offered his sister *Isabella* in marriage to the king of *Portugal*; but that penetrating princess evaded the proposal, by pretending that her hand was at the disposal only of the states of *Castile*.

The marquis of *Villena*, having joined in the confederacy A league against *Henry*, had formed several dangerous, but well con- against-
certed plans for seizing the person of the king, in which, him.
however, he failed. The kings of *Arragon* and *Navarre* joined the confederates, and publicly proclaimed one of the causes of their taking arms, to be the king's (who was notoriously impotent) having imposed upon the states a supposititious heir. There wanted little proof of this, and the king was once more obliged to conciliate matters with the confederates, and not only to acknowledge the infant don *Alonso* for his heir, but to strip his favourite *la Cueva* of the grand mastership of *St. James*, and to bestow it on that prince, who, at the same time, was to be put into the hands of the marquis of *Villena*. *Henry* was soon sensible that the confederates having thus carried their point, would raise don *Alonso* to the throne, and he summoned them to restore his brother into his hands. It was now too late; for in an assembly at *Seville*, the states of *Castile* deposed *Henry*, and chose his brother, don *Alonso*, in his room. His incomparable sister, donna *Isabella*, was his only comforter, under this terrible reverse of fortune, and he retired to *Salamanca*, while the confederates raised troops to support their choice. The archbishop of *Toledo*, who had been the chief agent in this revolution, proposed marching immediately to surprize the king in *Salamanca*; but the marquis of *Villena*, who hated the archbishop, privately informed *Henry* of his danger, and the confederates besieged *Simencas*. This gave the king liberty to join the loyal part of his subjects, and he was soon at the head of an army which would have reduced the malecontents, had he not been persuaded by the marquis of *Villena*, to consent to a suspension of arms, and to dismiss his troops. This happened in the year 1465; but notwith- 1465.
standing *Villena's* treachery, the king found so powerful a
P 3 support

support at the court of *Rome*, that the rebels agreed to abandon the cause of don *Alonso*, provided the infanta donna *Isabella* was given in marriage to *Giron*, *Villena's* brother and grand master of *Calatrava*. Though donna *Isabella* strenuously opposed this marriage, yet she might have been forced to give *Giron* her hand, had he not critically died of a fever. The confederates then readopted the cause of don *Alonso*, and besieged *Medina del Campo*. The king marched to raise the siege, and a battle followed, but neither side could boast of a victory. Don *Alonso*, however, recovered the custody of his sister *Isabella's* person; but the intrigues and treachery that prevailed among the confederates were such, that the pope's legate excommunicated them.

Marriage
of *Ferdi-*
nand and
Isabella.

The papal power was then very high, and the confederates soon felt the force of its censures, for *Henry* recovered *Toledo*, and don *Alonso* was preparing to retire to *Avila*, but died on the road, as is thought of poison. The confederates then turned their eyes upon his sister donna *Isabella*, and she was not only pressed to accept of the crown, but actually proclaimed queen at *Seville*, and several other places. She firmly renounced the dignity which they had no power to bestow, but insisted upon her being recognized as next heir to the crown, which she accordingly was, and by her seasonable resolution, she preserved the crown on *Henry's* head. The marquis of *Castellan* thinking his services not sufficiently rewarded, spirited up the queen, donna *Joanna*, (who remained as a kind of hostage with the archbishop of *Seville*) to make her escape, which she did, and the marquis thus became possessed of the persons of her and her daughter, the supposititious princess. Notwithstanding this, *Henry* disregarding all other considerations, treated of a marriage between his sister and don *Ferdinand*, king of *Sicily*, son and heir to don *Juan*, king of *Arragon* and *Naples*. As the latter had his heart fixt upon this match, no money was spared to bring it about; but it was opposed by the great lords, who foresaw their own ruin if it should take place. The *Arragonese* gold, notwithstanding the violence of their intrigues and opposition, at last prevailed, and the marriage, being favoured by the archbishop of *Toledo*, and the admiral, was publicly celebrated at *Valladolid*, on the 25th of *October* 1469. Don *Henry* not having been consulted in the consummation of this match, pretended to take it highly amiss, that it had been concluded without his consent, and revived the claim of his supposed daughter, *Joanna*, to be his heir. Thus, two presumptive heirs to the crown of *Castile* appeared, which once more filled that unhappy kingdom with blood and devastation. The infant *Joanna* was betrothed to the *French* duke of *Berry*, and both sides published manifestos in defence of their several titles. The pope, however, favoured *Henry*, and the *Arragonian* interest must have been ruined, had it not been firmly supported by the archbishop of *Toledo*. The match between the infanta *Joanna* with the duke

1469.

duke of *Berry*, had never taken place, and *Henry* offered her first to the king of *Portugal*, and then to don *Henry* of *Arragon*.

Villena was a strenuous advocate for this match, as being the only expedient that could defeat the effects of the other; but the politics of the court of *Rome*, at this time, favoured *Ferdinand*. The latter applied to his father, to put don *Henry* of *Arragon* under arrest, but he escaped to *Castile*, where he behaved in every respect as if he had been already on that throne. To put an end to the public calamities and the civil war which continued to rage in *Castile*, a legate arrived from the pope, but as he inclined to the *Arragoneſe* party, his presence served only to enflame matters, and so little regard was now paid to the authority of the crown, that private noblemen waged war with one another, as if they had been independent princes, which occasioned a prodigious effusion of the noblest *Castilian* blood. Don *Henry* of *Arragon*'s behaviour was such, as disgusted all the *Castilian* noblemen, and *Villena* persuaded, or rather commanded the king, don *Henry*, to elude the performance of his marriage with donna *Joanna*. Don *Henry*'s treasures lay then in the *Alcazar* at *Segovia*, which was commanded by *Cabrera*, an officer of approved virtue and loyalty. As they were very considerable, *Villena* made several attempts to become master of them, but he was always baffled by *Cabrera*'s courage and vigilance. He had, however, such an ascendancy over *Henry*, that he obtained from him an order directed to *Cabrera*, for the latter to deliver up the place into *Villena*'s hands; but the gallant officer refused to comply with the order, which he said was such as his master ought not to give. *Villena* persuaded him to go in person to *Segovia*, where in a conversation he had with *Cabrera* and his wife, his eyes were opened, for he was made sensible of *Villena*'s treacherous practices, and the expediency of his being reconciled to *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*. The faithful wife of *Cabrera*, in the disguise of a peasant, brought *Isabella*, who had been formerly her mistress, to *Segovia*, where *Henry* was so much captivated with her conversation, that he ordered all the public honours to be paid to her that were due to the heir of his crown, he himself even holding her bridle, when she appeared on horseback. *Isabella* was followed by her husband *Ferdinand*, who was likewise highly caressed by *Henry*; but that unsteady prince falling ill during their stay at *Segovia*, he suspected that they had given him poison, and renewed his private correspondences with *Villena* and his party. This did not escape the penetration of *Cabrera*, who defeated all his machinations to surprize the persons of *Isabella* and her husband.

It was thought proper that *Ferdinand* should leave *Segovia*. In the mean while, that prince was solemnly invested by the ambassadors of the duke of *Burgundy*, with the order of the golden fleece, and obtained many advantages over his antagonists.

1474.

tagonists. Don *Henry* still pressed the king of *Portugal* to marry his daughter, but during the dependence of that negotiation, *Villena* died, and in him perished all the hopes of the infanta donna *Joanna*. He was quickly followed by the king don *Henry* himself, who died at *Madrid* in 1474, and on his death-bed declared the infanta donna *Joanna* to be his sole heir. He was a weak unsteady prince, entirely governed by his favourites, but possessed of the two *Spanish* virtues, of gravity and religion. As we are now to consider the crowns of *Aragon* and *Castile* to be united by marriage, though not in one person, it is proper for us to pursue a slight recapitulation of the history of *Aragon*, so as to connect it with that of *Castile* at this period.

History of
Aragon.

It is most probable that the kingdom of *Aragon*, after the invasion of the *Moors*, was divided into many little principalities or states, each headed by its chieftain, who provided for the safety of himself and his dependents in the best manner that the rugged situation of the country admitted of. We have already observed, that don *Sancho* the Great, took the title of earl of *Aragon*, and in what manner he partitioned out his territories to his children. *Aragon* fell to the lot of *Ramiro*, but it was then no more than a small county, though dignified with the name of a kingdom. *Ramiro* was married to the beautiful *Ermisinda*, daughter to the count of *Bigorre*, about the year 1036; but on the death of *Gonçales*, his brother, he succeeded to his dominions, which comprehended the countries of *Soprarba* and *Ripagorza*. This accession rendered him a powerful prince, but at the same time, prompted him to invade don *Garcia*, the king of *Navarre's* dominions; but he was defeated, and *Garcia* following his blow, drove *Ramiro* to the mountains of *Soprarba*. Matters, however, were accommodated by the intervention of the clergy; and *Sancho*, who succeeded *Garcia* in the kingdom of *Navarre*, joined with *Ramiro* in opposing the formidable progress of *Ferdinand*, king of *León*. *Ramiro* was now old, and he closed his days by attacking the *Moors*, who were tributaries to the king of *Castile*, but he was killed in battle in the 28th year of his reign.

He was succeeded by his son *Sancho*, who was no more than eighteen years of age. This prince is said to have substituted the *German* code of laws instead of the *Gothic*, and was deeply engaged in a war with the *Moors*, who threw themselves under the protection of the king of *Navarre*. After that king was assassinated, *Sancho* acquired a part of his kingdom, but the rest was disputed by the king of *Castile* and *León*. About this time, the *Roman* pontiffs began to enter their illegal claims of superiority over the *Spanish* monarchs; but the king of *Aragon* disclaimed all such subjection, and obtained two glorious victories over the *Moors* of *Saragossa*. He continued his wars against those infidels with vast success, and brought an
army

army into the field against the *Moorish* prince of *Huesca*, whose capital he besieged, but he was killed during the operations in the year 1094.

He was succeeded by his son *Pedro*, who continued the siege of *Huesca*, which the *Moors* endeavoured to raise. The prince of *Huesca* was assisted by the king of *Castile*, whose tributary he was; but *Pedro* defeated the *Moors*, and their *Castilian* auxiliaries in the plain of *Alcaraz*. It is said, that in this battle, the infidels lost forty thousand men, and *Huesca* opened its gates to the conqueror, who thereby acquired a finer province than any he had before in his dominions. About the year 1101, *Pedro* extended his conquests farther over the *Moors*, and was beginning to cultivate the arts of peace, when grief for the loss of his two sons put an end to his life in 1104. His brother *Alonso* succeeded him, and being a prince of vast accomplishments, he married, as we have seen, *Urracca*, daughter to the emperor *Alonso*, king of *Castile* and *Leon*. The reader is already acquainted with the consequences of this match, which promising as it was, terminated highly to the disadvantage of the *Christians* in *Spain*, through the disagreement between the king and the queen. After the divorce between them had taken place; *Alonso*, king of *Aragon*, applied himself to the improvement of his hereditary dominions, and to the reduction of the *Moorish* power in *Spain*. In this, he was assisted by the *French*, who were always fond of crusades against the infidels. By their assistance he reduced *Tudela*, in the year 1114, defeated the *Moors*, and took *Saragossa*, with many other places, on the 18th of December 1118. *Alonso* made *Saragossa* the capital of his kingdom, but in consequence of the *Gothic* maxim, he dismantled the fortifications, that the inhabitants might owe their security to their swords. The two following years he continued to extend his conquests over the same infidels, many of whom patiently submitted to be his subjects and tributaries. Being again joined by the *French* in the year 1121, he defeated the *Moors* in a great battle near *Alcaraz*. This and many other successes against the infidels, brought numbers of those *Christians*, who had fortified themselves in the mountains, to recognize his authority; and he formed them into civil society. After he had comprized some differences with the king of *Castile*, he was persuaded by a party of the *French* to march towards *Gascony*, where he reduced *Bayonne*. During his absence, the *Moors* had obtained some advantages; but upon his return, he checked them, and besieged *Fraga*. Meeting with a vigorous resistance, the infidels brought into the field all their force, and defeated him with a vast slaughter, so that a few days after he died of grief. He was a prince of great virtues, and enlarged his dominions two thirds more than he found it.

Don Pedro
defeats the
Moors.

He was succeeded in the kingdom of *Aragon* by his brother A monk don *Ramiro*, a monk, and in that of *Navarre* by don *Garcia* king of *Ramirez*. We have already touched upon the history of both *Aragon*.

in

in that of *Castile*, and it is sufficient here to observe that in the year 1137, having married his daughter and heiress to *Raymond*, count of *Barcelona*, he resigned to him the reins of government, and retired again to a monastery. *Raymond* reigned under the title of prince of *Arragon*, and proved an excellent general as well as politician, for he obtained many advantages over the *Moors*, concluded a peace with the king of *Navarre*, acquired large family estates in *France*, but died in 1162, as he was marching to assist the emperor *Frederic* to dethrone pope *Alexander III.* His widow, donna *Petronella*, did all she could for securing the public tranquillity, which was in danger from an impostor, who pretended to be the late king *Alonso*, who died of grief after the battle of *Fraga*, and whom she ordered to be put to death. She then resigned the government to her son *Alonso*, the greatest part of whose history is recounted in that of *Castile*. He died full of glory in 1196, and was succeeded by his son *Pedro*, who had the weakness to go to *Rome*, and acknowledge himself a vassal of the holy see, and to pay his holiness a large tribute. He married *Maria*, daughter of the count of *Montpellier*; but he was unacceptable to his people on account of his subjection to the see of *Rome*. We have already seen the connections of this prince with the count of *Thoulouse*, and the manner of his death at the battle of *Moret*. His son was then in the hands of *Simon de Montfort*, who delivered him up to the states of *Arragon*, when he was no more than six years and four months old, and he reigned by the name of don *Jayme*, under the tuition of his mother and his uncle don *Sancho*, a prince of great ambition, who aimed at the crown, and rendered his nephew's reign very uncomfortable. His virtues prevailed with the king of *Navarre* to adopt him as his son, but he suffered the right heir to succeed, and in general he was successful in his wars with the *Moors*, from whom he conquered the kingdom of *Valencia*. Towards the latter end of his reign he became arbitrary, but was obliged at last to refer the grievances of his subjects to the assembly of his states. In the year 1269, he took upon himself the cross for the *Holy Land*, but was driven back by a storm, and died after a turbulent reign in 1276. He was succeeded as king of *Arragon* by his son *Pedro III.* and in the kingdom of *Majorca*, which he had acquired, by his second son don *Jayme*. Having a claim in right of his wife, daughter to king *Mainfroy*, upon the crown of *Sicily*, we have already seen how artfully he conducted himself in the tragedy of the *Sicilian vespers*, and how he made himself master of that island. No prince of his time that we know of, even though he was excommunicated by the pope, experienced a more uninterrupted course of successes, and no prince encountered more powerful enemies. Having driven the *French* out of his dominions, which they had invaded under *Philip the Hardy*; he died in 1285, leaving the crown of *Arragon* to his son don *Alonso*; but his second son, don *Jayme*, succeeded to that of *Sicily*.

Vol. X.
p. 81.
E seq.

ibid.
p. 111.

Alonso,

Alonso, who is called the Third, was in *Majorca*, when he Great heard of his father's death ; but so very free were the states of power of *Arragon* at that time, that they formed a confederacy against the states him for presuming to take the title of king before he was there. crowned, nor would they suffer him to name even his own ministers and servants, without their approbation. He was befriended by *Edward I.* of *England*, but opposed by pope *Nicholas IV.* and we have had frequent opportunities in the histories of *France* and *Italy*, to give an account of his various wars and negotiations. Having by his address and courage conquered all opposition, he called an assembly of his states, in which he annulled all their claims and acts that were derogatory to the royal authority. He died during the preparations that were making for his celebrating his marriage with the princess *Eleanor* of *England* in 1291. His successor was his brother don *Jayme II.* the principal events of whose reign may be seen in the history of *Castile*. He would willingly, for the sake of public tranquillity, have resigned the kingdom of *Sicily*; but his mother, *Constantia*, who was heiress of that crown, and his brother *Frederic* kept possession of it. He was by pope *Boniface VIII.* over persuaded to enter into a war with both. *Frederic*, who had taken the title of king, opposed him with great vigour, but the power of *Arragon* by sea, being at that time very great, his fleet was defeated, and the reader in the places referred to, may learn the consequences. This don *Jayme* generously protected the knights templers against the cruel persecution which they suffered in the year 1306; and when that order was dissolved, he made large allowances to them out of their own estates. He was greatly mortified after raising his people to a very high pitch of prosperity, by the disposition of his eldest son don *Jayme*, who affecting a life of privacy, was insensible to his father's threats to deprive him of the succession, took an oath of fealty to his brother don *Alonso*, renounced all pretensions to the succession, assumed a religious habit, and died as a private person. It was about that time, that, by a decree of the states, *Arragon*, *Valentia* and *Catalonia* were united, and declared to be for ever after inseparable. We must refer our readers to the history of *Italy* for an account of this prince's conduct there. Having acquired by his virtues the name of *Jayme* the Just, he died in the 27th year of his reign, in 1326, leaving his kingdoms in the most flourishing state they had ever known.

Jayme the Just, was succeeded by his son don *Alonso IV.* a prince like his father, of great virtues, but unhappy in the dispositions of his family, for his son *Pedro* rebelled against him. He died in 1336, and the epithet given him by the gratitude of his subjects, was that of *Alonso* the Kind. His successor *Pedro IV.* found his dominions in great disorder, through the broils raised by himself during his father's life. He had some differences with his mother-in-law, donna *Leonora* of *Castile*, which he compromised, and he joined with the *Castilians*,

The crown of *Arragon* disputed.

Vol. X. p. 114, 117, & seq.

Pedro IV. king.

Castilians, as we have already seen in their wars with the *Moors*, but was embroiled with the king of *Majorca*, who refused to pay him homage for his crown; and, at last, in the year 1343, he stript that prince of his dominions, which he annexed to the crown of *Arragon*, and brought him to implore his forgiveness on his knees. Even this humiliating posture could not mollify the stern don *Pedro*, who continued his persecution of him, till he was obliged to take refuge with the count *de Foix*. *Pedro's* perpetual successes, his profound policy and vast power, both in *Spain* and *Italy*, encouraged him to alter the succession to his crown, as he had then no son, and to exclude his brothers in favour of his daughters. This occasioned a revival of the union of *Arragon* under his brother don *Jayme*, which reduced him to such distress, that he was obliged to call an assembly of the states, where he submitted to all the terms they proposed, with the impious resolution of not observing one. After this, it is thought that he poisoned his brother don *Jayme*, but at last, he subdued all the patrons of public liberty, and established his own will as a law to his subjects. Thinking himself then above all controul, being thwarted by the pope's legate, he ordered him to be hung upon a gibbet by the heels over a precipice, threatening to cut the rope if he did not instantly comply with his will, which the legate did just as the executioner was about to have obeyed the king. *Pedro* died in 1386, after living seventy-six years, and reigning fifty. He was severe, ceremonious, and haughty; but knew how to make himself obeyed by his subjects, and dreaded by his neighbours.

Juan I.
king.

Don *Pedro* the Ceremonious, as he was called, was succeeded by his son don *Juan* I. who deprived his mother-in-law *Sybilla* of her jointure, and would have taken her life likewise, had not the pope interposed in her favour, on the ridiculous charge of her having bewitched the late king, for which, however, several innocent persons suffered death. He had several differences with the duke of *Lancaster*, on account of some arrears which the latter alledged were due to him, but they were soon compromised, and the court of *Arragon* afterwards became under the patronage of the queen donna *Violante*, and her favourite donna *Carazza Villaragut*, the favourite residence of poetry and music; but the sternness of the *Arragonian* lords forced the king to expel them, and to dismiss *Villaragut* from his court. *Juan* II. was reckoned an indolent prince, and having a propensity to pleasure, his indigence disabled him from supporting the lustre of his predecessors in *Italy* and its adjacent islands, and in the frontiers towards *France*. He was killed by a fall from his horse in 1395. The suddenness of his death occasioned great perplexity to the states of *Arragon*. His widow donna *Violante* pretended to be with child; his son in law, the count of *Foix*, aspired to the crown in right of his wife; but it was by the states of *Arragon*, *Valencia*, and *Catalonia* decreed to his brother don *Martin*, duke of

of *Montalban*, who was then in *Sicily*. *Arragon* was invaded by the count of *Foix*, who was obliged to retire with loss, and the king don *Martin*, having settled the affairs of his son, the king of *Sicily*, committed the regency of *Arragon* to his wife, a princess of incomparable spirit and abilities, and had a conference with the pope at *Avignon*, from whence he landed at *Barcelona* on the 26th of *June* 1397. Being settled on the throne, he compromised all differences with the count of *Foix*, and by his address prevailed with his states, not only to give him very extraordinary supplies, but to acknowledge his son the king of *Sicily*, as the heir apparent of *Arragon*. The son of the king of *Sicily* dying, affairs ran into such disorder in that kingdom, that the king don *Martin* was obliged to go to the assistance of his son, who was a dissolute prince, with an army. After he had re-established his son's affairs, the latter died of his excesses, but his father don *Martin*, who was his heir, did not long survive him; for he having married a young wife in hope of male heirs, he died on the last of *May* 1410, and the difficulties that occurred in his succession, occasioned an interregnum, during which the administration was executed by the states.

Notwithstanding the complicated claims upon the kingdom, the chief of which was that of the count *Urgel*, yet the crown of *Arragon*, in the end, lost none of its splendor. The states agreed to settle the succession, and, for that purpose, desired the protection of the infant don *Ferdinand* of *Castile*, who was the son of donna *Leonora*, eldest sister to the two late kings; and the states, after many formal meetings and great debates, chose nine judges to determine the important affair. Their decision was in favour of *Ferdinand*, because he was the next heir male to the last reigning prince, though descending from a female. His title was by no means clear, but it was as unexceptionable as that of any of the other competitors, and he entered upon the exercise of the regal office with far less opposition than he had reason to expect; though if we consider the principles of hereditary succession, his father had the prior title. He began his reign with the usual acts of popularity, decided in and took such measures as kept the count of *Urgel* quiet, and favour at last, obliged him to throw himself at his feet; upon which he was committed to prison. *Ferdinand* did not sit quite four years on the throne of *Arragon*, and met with such opposition in money matters, that he retired to *Castile*, where he died in 1416. He was succeeded by his son don *Alonso* V. who, as we have already seen, was embroiled in the affairs of *Italy*, where he was taken prisoner by the duke of *Milan*, who entertained him nobly, and dismissed him. His captivity brought together the states of *Arragon*, which were held by his queen donna *Maria*, at *Moucon*, and voted a large sum to be raised if necessary, for the king's ransom. Though *Alonso* had no occasion for the money to procure his liberty, yet the whole of it was generously sent him, and in the main he found himself a very considerable

Dispute
about the
succession
to the
crown,

Vol. X.
p. 138.
§ seq.

Alonso
king of
Arragon
and *Na-*
ples.

considerable gainer by his defeat and captivity. In 1443, he became master of the kingdom, and city of *Naples*; and the following year he was considered as the most powerful prince in *Europe*. He died on the 22d of *June* 1468, after being king of *Arragon* forty-three years. He was succeeded in the kingdom of *Arragon*, by his son don *Juan*, king of *Navarre*; who held an assembly of the states at *Braga*, and to please the *Arragonians*, he annexed the crowns of *Sicily* and *Sardinia* for ever to *Arragon*. He was embroiled with his son, the prince of *Viana*, whom he refused to declare heir to his crown. The king of *Portugal* offered his daughter to that prince, but the latter being tampered with by the ambassadors of *Castile*, his father, for reasons that have never yet been ascertained in history, put him under a close arrest. The states of *Arragon* and *Catalonia* raised troops in favour of the prince, but his father set him at liberty, and was forced to give him the principality of *Catalonia*. His father, however, having an irreconcilable hatred of his person, persuaded the court of *Castile* to abandon him, and the prince died of heart-break at *Barcelona*. He is said to have been adorned with every quality proper either for a royal or a private station, and the *Catalans* were so much convinced that he was poisoned by his mother-in-law, that they took arms, and besieged her and her son in *Giron*; but the siege was raised by the assistance which *Lewis XI.* of *France* gave to the king don *Juan*.

The rebels still kept their arms in their hands, and after offering their principality to various potentates, it was accepted of by the duke of *Anjou*, and his son, the duke of *Lorraine*. The king of *Arragon*, though old and infirm, shewed great abilities against the rebels, but his successes were owing to the spirit and intrepidity of his queen, who headed his armies, and whose fatigues in the field finished her life. It is said, that on her death-bed she expressed great horrors for having poisoned the prince of *Viana*, in order to make way for her son don *Ferdinand* to the crown. Her death did not disarm the *Catalans* of their resentment, but in 1471, the *Arragoneses* were entirely defeated by the king don *Juan*, who soon after became master of *Barcelona*, but upon terms prescribed by the inhabitants, to whom he was thoroughly reconciled. He next forced the *French* twice to raise the siege of *Perpignan*; but his perpetual calls for money to supply the expences of his son *Ferdinand* at the *Castilian* court, disposed him to negotiate with the *French* king. He was deceived by the perfidy of that prince, and the *French* again ravaged his dominions, which were at the same time afflicted with a plague and famine. The king don *Juan* was now almost blind, and must have sunk under the difficulties he encountered, had he not been occasionally relieved by his son don *Ferdinand*. At last, in the year 1479, he died at *Barcelona* in the eighty-second year of his age.

Union of
Arragon

We are now arrived at the period in which we proposed to connect the history of *Castile* and *Arragon*. No sooner was
done

don *Henry* of *Castile* dead, than donna *Isabella* and her husband and *Cas-*
don *Ferdinand*, were proclaimed king and queen of *Castile* and *tile*,
Leon; but they soon received some trouble from the party of
the infanta donna *Joanna*, whom the late king, don *Henry*, had
on his death-bed acknowledged for his daughter. Some dis-
putes happened about the joint authority of the king and queen,
but it was agreed that the former should do nothing without
the consent of the latter. In the year 1475, king *Alonso* of
Portugal espoused donna *Joanna*, (but the marriage never was
consummated) who had still a great party in *Castile*, and took
upon her the titles of that crown. A war ensued, in which
Isabella discovered great political and natural abilities, and con-
tributed greatly to the successes of her husband. The latter
besieged *Toro*, which the king of *Portugal* endeavoured to re-
lieve. This drew on a battle, which ended to the disadvantage
of the *Portuguese*, and they were forced to retire to their own
country. Upon the return of *Ferdinand* and his queen to *Cas-*
tile, they entered into a treaty with the archbishop of *Toledo*,
who had joined the *Portuguese*, and who notwithstanding all
his high demands, was obliged at last to submit to their maje-
sties, and after surmounting infinite difficulties, they re-esta-
blished order in *Castile*. Upon the death of don *Juan*, king of
Arragon, *Ferdinand* being obliged to repair to his hereditary
dominions, left the government of *Castile* in the hands of *Isa-*
bella, who conducted herself with so much firmness and wif-
dom, that she made a peace with the king of *Portugal*, who
thereby quitted the titles and arms of *Castile*. This peace, The in-
which is called that of *Alcavovas*, left *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* quisation
without a rival to their dominions, which by their resumptious introduced
of exorbitant grants, and other wise regulations, they raised in into *Spain*.
a few years to an immense pitch of grandeur; but their reign
was strained by their introducing into *Spain* the execrable
court of inquisition, about the year 1480. This measure
was apologized for by the necessity their majesties were under
to prevent their subjects from being poisoned in their loyalty
as well as religion, by *Jews* and *Moors*. We are not to omit,
that before this time, the infanta *Joanna* of *Castile*, who
had been betrothed to the king of *Portugal*, had taken the veil
and shut herself up in a monastery at *Lisbon*.

1480.

The great scheme of queen *Isabella*, and perhaps, her chief War with
failing, was her desire to expel all the *Moors* out of *Spain*. As the *Moors*.
a preparatory measure for this, she and her husband proceeded
with equal firmness and severity in reforming the morals and
police of their people, especially in *Galicie*. Having succeeded
in that great point, they came to a resolution of breaking the
truce, which some time before they had made with *Abul Hosssein*,
king of *Granada*, for which violation of good faith, nothing
but zeal for religion could be pleaded. A quarrel with the
pope intervened about this time, but *Ferdinand* supported his
civil rights with so much resolution, that his holiness was
obliged to yield, and to grant a bull, which gave *Ferdinand*
and

and his successors a power of nominating to all the archbishops and bishops in *Spain*. Hostilities multiplying with the king of *Granada*, the latter took the field with forty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, to retake the town of *Albama*, which had been surprized by the marquis of *Cadiz*, a *Spanish* general; but he was forced by don *Ferdinand* to raise the siege. No difficulties could conquer the invincible aversion *Isabella* had for the *Moors*, who on their part carried on the war with equal ardour; but in the year 1482, their majesties were alarmed by intelligence they received, that the king of *Portugal* had taken the infanta *Joanna* out of her convent, and intended to dispose of her in marriage to the king of *Navarre*, nephew to *Lewis XI.* of *France*. This year, the war with the *Moors* of *Granada* proved unfavourable to the *Christians*; but the latter surprized and made prisoner the young king of *Granada*, *Muley Abul Abdali*, who had rebelled against his father *Abul Hosssein*. By *Isabella's* decision, he was restored to his liberty, that the differences among the *Moors* might be kept up. Notwithstanding this, the *Moors*, though divided between the father and son, continued the war, even with success, till by the indefatigable zeal of *Isabella*, the troops were provided with artillery, and with every thing that could enable them to keep the field during the winter. She likewise put to sea a fleet, which cut off their communication with the coast of *Barbary*.

New method of making war.

These precautions entirely altered the nature of the warlike operations against the *Moors*, and from that time the whole system of making war in *Europe* seems to have been changed. *Abul Hosssein*, who had now recovered his throne, finding he could not be relieved by the king of *Morocco*, offered to enter into a treaty with *Ferdinand*; but his advances were rejected, and it is said, that the first regular army, according to the present mode of making war, appeared in 1485, upon the plains of *Granada*, where *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* were attended by almost their whole nobility, twelve thousand horse, and twenty thousand foot, all of them choice troops, completely armed, provided with a large train of artillery, and plentifully supplied from magazines with every means of subsistence. The progress of such an army was irresistible by the *Moors*. Those in the open country quietly submitted, and were sent by *Ferdinand* to the interior parts of his dominions; and to prevent the rest from seeking their safety in despair, he offered them good terms, and was very punctual in performing the capitulations he granted them. *Ferdinand*, however, did not succeed in his attempts to besiege *Malaga*, but when the campaign in 1486 opened, he found himself at the head of an army vastly superior both in its numbers and appointments to that he commanded the year before. The reader may judge of this by the number of his draught horses and mules, which amounted to fifty thousand. The truth is, at this time, the expedition against *Granada* became so much in vogue at other *Christian* courts,

1482.

1485.

1486.

courts, that their nobility flocked from all quarters to serve under *Ferdinand*, whose army consisted of the best officers and soldiers who had borne arms in *Italy*, *Spain* and *France*. It is amazing how the *Moors* under *Abul Abdali*, made so great a head as they did against so formidable a power. They bravely disputed every inch of ground, till at last *Abul Aldali* being severely wounded, was forced to surrender *Loja*, and once more to become tributary to *Ferdinand*. Notwithstanding this, he rendered himself master of *Granada*, from whence he had been some time before expelled, and dethroned his uncle, *Al Zagel*. *Ferdinand* turned his arms against *Velez*, which he reduced, and then he besieged *Malaga*, the most considerable place, next to *Granada*, that the *Moors* held in *Spain*. The *Moors* within it, made a noble resistance, but the town at last was obliged to capitulate, *Abul Abdali* having joined *Ferdinand*, and promising to put *Granada* into his hands.

The expences of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, in carrying on this war, were so excessive, that in the campaign of the year 1488, their army was not so powerful as in the two preceding years, and the *Moors* even recovered some places they had lost. The siege of *Baza* was formed, and *Ferdinand* found such difficulties in carrying it on, that he was on the point of raising it, had it not been for *Isabella*, who repaired in person to the camp, and encouraged the soldiers to continue it; upon which *Baza* was surrendered by the *Moorish* governor, who entered into the service of *Ferdinand*, and persuaded *Al Zagel* to surrender *Guadix* and *Almeria*; but *Ferdinand*, upon reviewing his army at the end of the year, found that he had lost twenty thousand men during the campaign.

1488.

Next year might have been fatal to the *Spanish* arms, had not *Ferdinand*, by his money, found means to corrupt most of the *Moorish* generals, and treated all who submitted to him with the greatest politeness. Having summoned *Abul Abdali* to surrender *Granada*, according to his promise, he excused himself, on account of the vast increase of *Moors* in the city, who had been driven thither by the success of their majesties arms. In the mean while the inhabitants of the district of *Alpujarros* revolted against *Ferdinand*, and it was with some difficulty that they were reduced. After that, the siege of *Granada* was formed, and *Isabella*, who was in the camp in person, to mitigate the inconveniencies of a winter campaign, ordered houses of free-stone, instead of tents, to be built for the soldiers, from the neighbouring quarries. This expedient facilitated the reduction of *Granada*, where a most terrible famine raged, and the city capitulated on the 25th of November 1491. The terms granted to the king and garrison were honourable; and thus ended the conquest of all the places belonging to the *Moors* in *Spain*.

Granada taken.

1491.

During the siege of *Granada*, *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* entered into a negotiation for the marriage of their eldest daughter, *Joanna*, with the archduke *Philip*, son to the emperor *Maximilian*.

Expulsion
of the
Jews.

1493.

Vol. X.
p. 257,
& seq.
1496.

The Moors
continue
to be per-
secuted.

1501.

Vol. X.
p. 224.

milian, and of their second daughter, *Catharine*, with *Arthur* prince of *Wales*, son to *Henry* the VIIth of *England*; both which matches afterwards took place. This period is remarkable for two great events. The first is, the expulsion of the *Jews* out of *Spain*, to whom their majesties denied the same indulgence they had granted to the *Moors*, and who are said to have amounted to eight hundred thousand souls. The second was, the agreement made by queen *Isabella* with the famous *Christopher Columbus*, for the discovery of a new world. So greatly were the royal finances exhausted at this time, that the queen could not have been at the expence of fitting *Columbus* out for his expedition, without pawning her jewels, had not one of her domestics advanced her seventeen thousand ducats. In 1493, *Charles* the VIIIth, king of *France*, being intent on his expedition to *Italy*, restored to their catholic majesties the counties of *Roussillon* and *Cerdagne*. We have already given the detail of the invasion of *Naples* by *Charles*, and of the very politic, if not perfidious behaviour of *Ferdinand*, during, and after, the expedition. In 1496, *Ferdinand* found means to surprize the important city of *Melilla* in *Africa*, and completed the marriage of his son, the prince of *Asturia*, with the princess *Margaret* of *Austria*, but don *Juan* died that same year, without leaving any issue. The reduction of *Granada* was only a part of the great scheme queen *Isabella* formed, for the *Moors* must either turn *Christians*, or evacuate *Spain*. The execution of this alternative was left to the archbishops of *Toledo* and *Granada*, and most of the *Moors* suffered themselves to be converted, but without being sincere in their new profession. The court was disappointed at this, and many pretexts were invented for accusing them of a correspondence with their brethren in *Africa*, or for driving them into despair, which at last had the desired effect. The infidels had still a number of castles in the mountains, and such were the oppressions they suffered, that they broke out into open rebellion, though without the least prospect of their obtaining relief. *Ferdinand* marched into their country at the head of an army, and they submitted; many of them agreeing to be transported to *Africa*, and the remainder purchasing their pardon with money. Upon the birth of *Charles*, the son of donna *Joanna*, and the archduke *Philip*, the young prince was acknowledged the heir of the crown, after some debate on that head between *Isabella* and her spouse, to whom the recognition was very disagreeable. During the archduke's abode in *Spain*, he discovered so much duplicity and dissimulation in *Ferdinand's* conduct, that he never could afterwards be reconciled to his person; and notwithstanding all the opposition of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, he formed an unalterable resolution of leaving *Spain*. In his way through *France*, he made a treaty, as we have already seen, with *Lewis* the XIIth, but it was disowned by *Ferdinand*, who gave orders to *Gonsalvo*, called the Great Captain, not

to comply with the terms, and this renewed the war between *France* and *Spain*, in which *Ferdinand* had the advantage. In the mean while, the infanta *Joanna* was delivered of a second son, *Ferdinand*, but upon her recovery she discovered visible marks of incapacity; upon which it was resolved to send her to her husband, of whom she was distractedly fond. Her misfortune, joined to other private calamities in the family, had such an effect, that her mother, the famous queen *Isabella*, died under them, on the 26th of *November* 1504. She was one of the wisest and most fortunate princesses that history records. She lived to see the riches which the discovery of *America*, owing to her patronage alone, brought into *Spain*; and the steadiness with which she prosecuted the extirpation of the *Moorish* power in that kingdom, is the more allowable, when we reflect on the irreconcilable differences between the *Christian* and the *Mohammedan* religion, and the constant antipathy the professors of both had for each other.

1504.

No sooner was *Isabella* dead, than *Ferdinand* ordered her daughter, the archduchess *Joanna*, to be proclaimed queen of *Spain*, though he secretly intended to keep all the power in his own hands. We have already related the events which immediately followed, and that *Philip* had such a detestation of his father-in-law's duplicity, that at the time of his death, which happened soon after, he left the guardianship of his son *Charles*, to *Lewis* the XIIth of *France*. *Pacheco*, marquis of *Villena*, and the duke of *Majara*, were at the head of a strong party formed against *Ferdinand's* administration, and he was supported by the admiral of *Castile*, the archbishop of *Toledo*, and the duke of *Alva*; but the dissimulation and address of *Ferdinand*, proved his best friends. By proposing a match between himself and *Germana de Foix*, the *French* king's favourite niece, and by offering to settle the kingdom of *Naples* on the heirs of the marriage, he detached *Lewis* from the interest of the *Austrian* house, and he evaded the execution of the treaty of *Blois*. King *Philip*, *Ferdinand's* son-in-law, left behind him don *Carlos*, afterwards the famous *Charles* the Vth, and don *Ferdinand*, afterwards emperor of *Germany*; the infanta donna *Eleonora*, who was first queen of *Portugal*, and then of *France*; donna *Isabella*, who was married to the king of *Denmark*; donna *Maria*, married to the king of *Hungary*, and donna *Catalina*, or rather *Catharine*, who became queen of *Portugal*. Their mother was still alive, and queen of *Castile* in her own right; but her husband's death had touched her brain, and she was incapable of acting; so that the archbishop of *Toledo* prevailed with the states of *Castile* to commit the administration to king *Ferdinand*, who was then in *Naples*.

Vol. IX.
p. 85.Opposi-
tion to
*Ferdi-
nand*.Vol. XI.
p. 269.*Ibid.* 270.

The discovery of the new world by the great *Columbus*, who died about this time, altered the political system of *Europe* as well as *Spain*. We shall here only mention the vast ingratitude of *Ferdinand* to *Columbus*, for his important discovery.

1506.

Discove-
ry of *Ame-
rica*.

Q

The

The truth is, that *Ferdinand* was himself of so groveling and jealous a disposition, but at the same time so very avaricious, that he had not spirit sufficient to make the best of the discovery; and the great affairs he was engaged with in *Spain*, the *Low Countries*, and *Italy*, swallowed up the treasures that had been imported by *Columbus* and his immediate successors or officers. His grandson, *Charles* the Vth, was afterwards engaged in still more extensive schemes; so that the effects of the vast acquisition of *America*, were for some years imperceptible in *Spain*, but sensibly felt in almost every other country in *Europe*.

Exploits
of *Ximenes*.
Vol. X.
p. 227.

No sooner had the states of *Castile* voted the administration to *Ferdinand*, than he returned from *Italy*, from whence he brought the Great Captain, to whom he owed all his successes there, little better than a state prisoner. Upon his arrival at *Castile*, he found that the emperor *Maximilian*, the other grandfather of don *Carlos*, had a strong party in his favour; but *Ferdinand's* riches and address got the better of all opposition, and that too, without being obliged to have recourse to acts of tyranny and violence. He laid before the states of his kingdoms a most excellent code of laws, which they embraced without difficulty. He secured private property by his justice, and conciliated the minds of his nobility and clergy, by his prudence and equanimity. The party of *Maximilian* was like himself, unsteady and indigent, and *Ferdinand* having ordered the bishop of *Badajoz*, and some of the most turbulent among them, to be put under arrest, forced others to take refuge in the great cities, where they held dangerous cabals. At *Cordova*, tumults rose to such a height, that the marquis *de Ariego*, one of the greatest men in *Spain*, entered into a rebellion; but the firmness of *Ferdinand*, who marched against him at the head of an army, soon reduced him to his duty, and all the other great lords of his party were overawed. As to the marquis himself, he was put under confinement, and his chief castles razed to the ground, whilst his partizans were executed, or otherwise punished in *Cordova*, as were all the imperial emissaries, wherever they were discovered. The famous cardinal *Ximenes* was the minister and favourite of *Ferdinand*, to whom he was very useful, by the art he had of conciliating differences between him and his great men. The cardinal, however, served him in another capacity, for he undertook the conquest of *Oran*, in quality of archbishop of *Toledo*, at his own expence. He raised ten thousand foot and four thousand horse for the expedition, the king only furnishing the fleet for transporting them. Though the cardinal was very ill served by *Navarro* and *Fianelli*, the two chiefs, who commanded under him, yet he had so good intelligence within the place, that he completed his conquest, and left the command of his troops to *Navarro*, who, after performing very great exploits against the infidels, was at last defeated by venturing too far. *Oran* itself was then subject to the African prince

prince of *Tremecen*; but by the bargain which the cardinal made with *Ferdinand*, the sovereignty and revenue of the place was to be annexed to the archbishopric of *Toledo*, till the king refunded the expence of the expedition.

Ximenes behaved with peculiar modesty upon his success. His modesty. He avoided all congratulations, and applied himself to found the university of *Alcala*. He was quickly drawn from his retirement, to act as *Ferdinand's* lieutenant in *Castile*. We Vol. X. have already seen in what manner *Ferdinand* and the pope extricated themselves from their engagements, by the league of *Cambray*, and by what measures *Ferdinand* secured to himself the kingdom of *Naples*. What is most wonderful, is, that he Vol. XI. made those acquisitions while he was engaged in a bloody, and p. 273. no very successful war, with the *Moors* in *Africa*, where *Navarro*, don *Garcia de Toledo*, and *Vianelli* were killed. The kings of *Spain* seldom lost by being defeated by infidels. The church, and the zeal of their bigotted people, were always at hand to recruit their troops, circumstances of which *Ferdinand* knew well how to avail himself. He raised a vast army, and declared that he was resolved to head it himself, against the *Moors*, and to pass over into *Africa*. The *Moors* submitted to the terms he prescribed them, and they became his tributaries; but *Ferdinand* kept his army on foot to execute his own ambitious schemes. He had an eye upon *Navarre*, whose king, *John d'Albret* (by marrying the heiress of that crown) was in the *French* interest. He found means, by flattery the vanity of *Henry* the VIIIth of *England*, and promising to assist him in the conquest of *Guienne*, to bring him over to his measures, and even to assist him in his designs upon *Navarre*. He marched an army into that country, and made such demands upon *d'Albret* as his honour could not Vol. X. comply with, upon which the duke of *Alva* besieged and took p. 234. *Pampeluna*, and reduced the greatest part of that kingdom to *Ferdinand's* allegiance. The *French* made some ineffectual efforts to recover *Navarre*, and at last, consented to a truce for a year, which left *Ferdinand* at liberty to complete his other schemes. His politics were so impenetrable, that all the princes in *Europe* were at a stand how to regulate their conduct. *Henry* the VIIIth was the first who discovered the arrangements he proposed, which were to make intermarriages between his family and that of *France*, and to prolong the truce. The *French* court knew there was no meaning nor sincerity in *Ferdinand's* promises, and readily closed with *Henry* of *England*, who was farther exasperated, both with *Ferdinand* and *Maximilian*, for delaying the match which had been long before concluded between the archduke *Charles* and the princess *Mary* of *England*. He offered *Lewis* his own beautiful sister in marriage, and the match was quickly concluded. This measure gave a turn to the affairs of *Europe*, especially in *Italy*, as the reader may perceive in the history of *Ibid.* p. that 238.

that country; but the war there ended at last, in a truce, through the mediation of *Leo* the Xth.

1514.

Ferdinand's

great preparations.

Vol. XI.

p. 284.

Ibid. §

sq.

His death
and character.

In 1514, *Ferdinand*, notwithstanding the late truce, had on foot great armaments both by sea and land, under pretence of curbing the infidels. Upon the accession of *Francis* the 1st to the crown of *France*, he sent ambassadors to feel his pulse about the affairs of *Italy*, and it was easy for them to perceive, notwithstanding the dissimulation of *Francis*, that he intended to invade *Italy* in person, though at first it was suspected that his design was to recover *Navarre* for the *d'Albret* family. The history of the war that followed in *Italy* has been already related. *Ferdinand* could not, without the aid of his states, supply so many wars as he was engaged in, especially as his returns from *America*, through the selfishness and corruption of his officers there, were now but inconsiderable. Having annexed all he held in *Navarre* to *Castile* and *Leon*, he brought their states into his measures; but when he sent his young queen, *Germana*, to the states of *Aragon*, they complained that the privileges of their nobles had been invaded, by their vassals being permitted to maintain suits against them in the royal courts, and therefore they refused to raise the supplies demanded. The reader may form some judgment of the immense power which those nobles had formerly over their vassals, from this complaint, the ground of which was the glory of *Ferdinand's* reign. He was then in a dangerous state of health, and had just made his will, when deputies from *Aragon* laid their grievances before him. His answer was, that as he had made his people free, he was determined to keep them so, and he then ordered the deputies to quit his presence. He recovered so much strength, however, as to go in person to *Aragon*, where he found the states greatly divided. The clergy and the cities naturally sought refuge under the wings of the royal authority, from the tyranny of the nobles, who continued still obstinate. *Ferdinand* applied to the cities, who gave him a supply without consulting the nobles.

By this time, the archduke *Charles*, to the great mortification of his grandfather, *Ferdinand*, had been declared of age by the states of *Flanders*, and young as he was, *Ferdinand* had intelligence out of *England*, that he considered himself as having the best right to his mother's crown of *Castile*. *Ferdinand* was then overwhelmed with cares and infirmities, and shifting from place to place of his dominions, for the benefit of air. His fleets were hard pressed at sea, by those of the infidels, commanded by *Barbarossa*; and it was owing to the great skill and intrepidity of his generals, *Navarro* particularly, that he still maintained his footing against *Francis*, in the *Millanse*. Though then on the brink of the grave, it is said he was pleased with the death of his Great Captain, *Gonzalvo*, whose vast services in *Italy* he had so ungratefully requited, that it was thought, had both of them lived much longer,

longer, *Gonsalvo* would have declared for the archduke. *Ferdinand* had now no relief, either in body or mind, but in the amusement of hunting; and he was taken ill at a common inn in the little village of *Madrigalejo*, where he sent for two of his chief counsellors, *Zapata* and *Carvajal*, to consult about his will, by which he had left the regency of *Castile* to his grandson, don *Ferdinand*, in prejudice of his elder brother, the archduke *Charles*. They disapproved of this disposition, and *Ferdinand* altered his will in favour of the archduke, who was to inherit the crown of *Spain*, after his daughter donna *Joanna*; but cardinal *Ximenes* was to be regent of *Castile*. After this he expired, on the 23d of *January*, in the 64th year of his age. We have already mentioned his legitimate children, but he had several who were natural, particularly the archbishop of *Saragossa*, and donna *Joanna*, the wife of *Velasco*, the constable of *Spain*. He certainly was a man of great natural and acquired parts, but stuck at no breach of promise or practice of iniquity with his neighbours, to acquire his ends. He disoblged them all by turns, when they found out his duplicity, and therefore, though he was generally successful, yet his life was disquieted, and his reign rendered uncomfortable, by his never enjoying a moment free from war or intrigues. He had the uncommon good fortune, by adding to his own power, to encrease the happiness of his people; for while he reduced the tyranny of his nobles, he rendered himself absolute over his other subjects.

SECTION IV.

The History of Spain under the House of Austria.

THOUGH the period we now enter on is recent, yet there is reason to believe that the events it contains have never been fully explained, because it was the intention of the prevailing party that they should be concealed. By the will of queen *Isabella*, her grandson *Charles* was not to act as king of *Castile* till he was twenty years of age; and by *Ferdinand's* will, *Ximenes* was to be regent during the intermediate time. He now proved himself to be one of the ablest ministers that ever served a prince, and it is no wonder that *Ferdinand* was partial in his favour. His birth was humble, but he joined to the primitive simplicity of his profession, an unbounded knowledge of the public interest, and of the *Spaniards* in general. Though humble and disinterested in his private life, and in the practice of every virtue, he had the most clear and exalted ideas of civil policy. Had *Ferdinand* followed his advice more implicitly than he did, his reign would have been

State of
Spain.

more happy, but now that he was regent, he reaped the benefit of the counsels he had given as minister. He knew that the nobles of *Castile* and *Arragon* thought the time was come for their resuming their hereditary privileges, by which they would have made the people slaves, and the crown dependent; but *Ximenes* defeated their schemes, for he armed the common people against the nobles, so that besides the veteran army of the crown, he had always on foot thirty thousand well disciplined men among the commons and citizens; who served the crown without putting it to the smallest expence.

Conduct
of cardinal
Ximenes.

Ximenes had however prodigious difficulties to encounter. He was no stranger to the dark inquisitive disposition of *Charles*, or the selfish suspicious temper of *Chievres*, and his other *Flemish* ministers, under whom he had been bred, and who he knew hated him in proportion as he acquired power and authority in *Spain*. The dean of *Louvain*, as lieutenant for *Charles*, had demanded the regency. *Ximenes* answered, that *Charles* had no authority to give him such a deputation. *Charles* thought proper to acquiesce, and to confirm *Ximenes* in the regency, but demanded to be acknowledged by the states of *Castile* in the character of king, which he assumed. *Ximenes* called together the states, but could not carry his point, till he told them they were only consulted for form sake, and ordered the standard of *Charles* 1st to be displayed, and his title to be proclaimed. So resolute a behaviour awed the nobility into submission; and when some of them demanded to see the cardinal's powers, he ordered the crown troops and artillery to be drawn out. Behold, said he, my powers, and by them I am resolved to govern, till the king's arrival. With the like vigour he defeated all the attempts of the king and queen of *Navarre*, to recover their dominions.

1495.

In the year 1495, *Barbarossa* beat the *Spanish* fleet which attacked the king of *Fez*, and then strangled that prince, who had called him to his assistance.

His death.

The greater capacity *Ximenes* shewed for government, the greater was the distrust of the *Flemish* ministry; but *Charles* found it expedient, if not necessary, to send him such powers as rendered him almost absolute in *Spain*; and he made use of them with such wisdom and vigour, that when *Charles* arrived in that country, he found the royal authority flourishing, confirmed, and respected. His mother, queen *Joanna*, was still alive at *Tordesillas*, but still under a most deplorable state of melancholy, though not of insensibility. As she was the only person who could counteract the cardinal, he removed from about her person all whom he suspected, and prevailed with her to relish the honours, and to appear abroad in the dress of royalty. With all those, and many other exalted merits, even to the opposing the pope's encroachments, *Ximenes* was so much hated at his master's court, that the latter had scarcely set his foot on the *Spanish* shore before he was poisoned, in a trout which had been served him up at dinner. Others say,

that

that his end was hastened by his surprize at having received a letter of dismissal from all his posts from *Charles*. We shall not dispute his having received such a letter; but when the temper and complexion of the man is considered, it is highly improbable that it occasioned his death. The king's natural uncle, the archbishop of *Saragossa*, had been appointed regent of *Arragon*, but had not been able to prevail with the states there to acknowledge *Charles* as king. *Chievres* made that an accusation against the archbishop, and when the latter came to court, neither *Charles* nor his mother would see him. When the states of *Castile* met, they were persuaded, by the bishop of *Badajoz*, to trust to their monarch's generosity for observing their privileges, and to make him a present of six hundred thousand ducats. Their example influenced those of *Arragon*, who at last acknowledged him as king, and likewise presented him with a large sum of money.

This generosity of the states seems to have had very little *Charles* influence upon *Charles*, for, to the great disgust of all true *Spa-*disgusts *niards*, he sent his brother *Ferdinand*, who was their favourite, the *Spa-*into the *Low Countries*, and he raised *de Croy*, nephew to *Chiev-*niards *vres*, to the archbishopric of *Toledo*. He gave his sister, donna *Lesnora*, in marriage to the king of *Portugal*, though he had been before married to two of her aunts. In *Africa*, his troops defeated and killed *Barbarossa*, but the fleet he had prepared against *Algiers* was dispersed by a tempest.

When *Charles* had just begun to establish his authority in *Spain*, the imperial throne became vacant, by the death of his grandfather, *Maximilian*. *Charles* was then little more than eighteen years of age, but he had already expended immense sums in gaining a majority among the electors, and we have already seen in what manner he succeeded to that dignity. The states of *Castile* and *Arragon* laid hold, however, of that opportunity to claim the performance of their king's magnificent promises, and he was obliged to temporize. The dean of *Louvain*, now the cardinal bishop of *Tortosa*, and afterwards pope, by the name of *Adrian* the VIth, held an assembly of the clergy at *Barcelona*, in consequence of a grant made by pope *Leo* the Xth, of ecclesiastical tithes to *Charles*, for carrying on his war against the infidels. The clergy proved refractory, being instigated by the nobles, and the king put the government of *Valentia* into the hands of the trading corporations. The nobles made strong remonstrances to *Charles* upon his conduct. He endeavoured to soothe them, and sent the cardinal of *Tortosa* to open the states; but as *Charles* still continued to favour the commons, he could obtain nothing from them. After his succession to the imperial crown, not only the nobles, but many of the commons, became immeasurably jealous of his authority, and all the arts that *Charles* could employ could not prevent his life from being endangered in an insurrection, which happened at *Valladolid*, on a rumour that he was about to embark for *Germany*, and to

Vol. IX.
P. 96.

Vol. XI.
P. 288.

Opposi-
tion of his
govern-
ment.

Vol. IX.
P. 97.

Confusion
in Spain,

attended
by a

civil war,

1521.

which

This reasonable severity had a wonderful effect in favour of the royalist, so that in a short time, Toledo was the only city

to carry his mother with him. He adjourned the states of *Castile* from place to place, till at last he extorted from them a subsidy for supplying his present necessities. The state of affairs in *Germany* absolutely demanded his presence there, but he was obliged to leave *Spain* in a very unsettled state. We have already seen the reasons of his paying a visit to *Henry* the VIIIth, and his minister in *England*, from whence, after passing the *Whitsun* holidays, he embarked for *Flanders*. The *German* history, during his reign, has been related under its proper head, and we are now to follow that of *Spain*.

Upon the departure of *Charles*, all *Spain* became a scene of confusion, and the people, as well as the nobles, rose up in arms. They were headed by don *Juan Padilla*, and associated themselves by the name of *Los Comuneros*, or the *Commoners*. They pretended to the queen *Joanna*, that they had assembled together for her defence and security, as the king, her son, had precipitately left the kingdom. The queen received them at *Tordesillas*, and seemed to be so uneasy at the state of affairs, that the commoners took courage, and removed from about her person all the domestics who had been left her by her son. Cardinal *Adrian*, as he was called, then acted as viceroy for *Charles* in *Spain*, but it was with difficulty that he and the royal council escaped to *Burgos*, where they continued to act, as the *Commoners* did by a like council which they established at *Tordesillas*. *Charles* sent from *Flanders* a commission for associating with the cardinal in the regency, the constable and admiral of *Castile*. Both parties now raised troops. Those on the side of the regency were commanded by the count *de Haro*, but the *Commoners* not agreeing about the appointment of their general, they were, by *Haro*, driven out of *Tordesillas*; upon which they continued *Padilla* in his command. His wife, donna *Maria*, of the turbulent house of *Pacheco*, was the soul of the insurgents; and *Aragon*, through the prudence of the archbishop of *Saragossa*, was the only province in *Spain*, that was not then filled with blood and commotion. This ferment received some abatement by the death of *Chiveros*, who was excessively unpopular on account of his avarice. The scene was now greatly changed, since the death of *Ximenes*. *Charles* had disregarded the commoners and the great cities who were now in arms, and the nobles offered to support him, provided they were reinstated in their privileges. *Charles* was not naturally of a humour to gratify either the one or the other, for which he was severely reprimanded by his old tutor, the cardinal *Adrian*. *Haro's* troops were greatly superior to those under *Padilla*, who on the 23d of April 52, were entirely routed, and *Padilla*, with *Bracco* and *Maldonado*, the two officers next to him in command, being taken prisoners, were beheaded the next day.

city of consequence that stood out. The bishop of *Zamora*, your of who, by the death of *Padilla*, acted as general of the male- the go- contents, was defeated by the army of the regency, under the vernment. prior of *St. John's*, and at last the whole force of the *Castilian* malecontents was shut up in the *Alcazar* of *Toledo*, which was bravely defended by *donna Maria*. At last, however, it was forced, and she was obliged to fly to *Portugal*.

The connection between *Charles* and *Henry* the VIIIth of *Charles England*, received a severe shock by the preference the for- returns to mer gave to cardinal *Adrian*, in raising him to the papacy in- *Spain*. stead of *Wolsey*; but by the force of large presents, and still

larger promises, he regained that minister's friendship, and settled matters so well between him and *England*, that on the 6th of *July*, 1522, he arrived at *Port St. Andero*, in *Spain*, with a hundred and fifty sail of ships, and a considerable land force on board. His presence overawed the malecontents, to whom he seemed to behave very graciously; but by his moderation, he disappointed all parties; for he ordered a general pardon to be issued, with a reservation of not above fourscore of the most culpable insurgents, of whom no more than twelve persons were put to death. The *French* endeavoured to foment the public discontents of *Spain*, and were still carrying on a brisk war in *Navarre* and *Biscay*, where the *Spaniards* took *Fontarabia* from the *French*. The moderation and presence of *Charles*, at last restored a face of authority to his government in *Spain*; for he gratified the states of *Castile* in their most reasonable demands, and they in return presented him with four hundred thousand ducats.

1522.

We have, in the histories of *France*, *Italy* and *Germany*, given a full detail of *Charles's* wars and political connections in all parts of *Europe*, excepting *Spain*. Many writers have His situa- blamed him severely for his residence in *Spain* and employ- tion there, ing himself in settling little punctilios among the states and courtiers, when he ought to have been at the head of his armies in *Italy* and *France*. The truth is, *Charles* was disgusted with the *Germans*, who were both poor and refractory. He knew that his troops who were to make head against *Francis*, were commanded by the best generals in the world, and that it was in *Spain* alone, where, by his residence and the conformity of his manners with the inhabitants, he could procure the sinews of war. His revenues from *America* were indeed not very considerable as yet, but those of his *Spanish* subjects were immense; and now that he had gratified the wishes of his people, they were proud to pour them forth at his service. He had employed the prince of *Orange* to make Vol. IX. an irruption into *Navarre*, and the dominions of *France* had p. 100. been portioned out as we have already seen. It must be own- Vol. XI. ed, at the same time, that *Charles* left a great deal, perhaps p. 295. too much, to fortune, and his success in defeating and taking prisoner *Francis* the 1st, was an event which he had no reason to

to expect, nor can the warmest advocates of his memory vindicate his treatment of that prince.

The lustre of *Charles* seemed to be encreased by his absence from the great scenes of action. The sophy of *Persia* sent him a formal embassy, inviting him to an alliance against the *Turks*, and he married his youngest sister, donna *Catharina*, to don *Juan*, king of *Portugal*, which seems to have been a favourite alliance with *Charles* as well as his grandfather. While he remained in *Spain*, he was a little embarrassed by a visit which the duke of *Bourbon* paid him, to whom he had promised his sister, the queen dowager of *Portugal*, in marriage; but that princess disengaged him, by declaring that she preferred *Francis*, who offered her his hand, to the duke. During the captivity of *Francis*, the politics of *Henry* the VIIIth took a new turn, and, by the advice of *Wolsey*, he threw his weight into the scale of the holy league, which had been formed by the pope and the *Italian* states, in favour of *France*. We have related the consequences of that league in more places than one of the preceding history, to which we refer our readers. Even when *Charles* held pope *Clement* the VIIIth his prisoner, and was master of *Rome*, he continued to reside in *Spain*, where he punished the *Moors* of *Granada* and *Valentia* for their insurrections. In the spring of the year 1527, *Charles* introduced a very considerable alteration in the constitution of *Castile*, which he rendered conformable to that of *England*, by allotting separate houses to the several assemblies. He was, by this time, married to donna *Isabella* of *Portugal*, though she, as well as he, was the grand-child of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*; and in *May* she was brought to bed of don *Philip*, at *Valladolid*. The relation of the transactions, challenges and bravades that happened between *Charles* and *Francis*, on account of the latter not fulfilling the treaty of *Madrid*, are a disgrace to history.

1529. In the year 1529, though the states of *Castile* were greatly discontented, yet *Charles* found himself under a necessity of going to *Italy*. A remarkable incident happened before his departure. *Catalonia*, the most turbulent of all the *Spanish* provinces, had never recognized the sovereignty of *Charles* or that of his predecessors, in any other quality but that of counts of *Catalonia*. Upon his informing the *Catalans* that he intended, before his departure for *Italy*, to hold an assembly of their states, they sent him a deputation to know whether they should receive him as emperor or as count of *Barcelona*. He wisely answered, that he preferred the latter before all other titles; upon which they voted him a noble supply. Little occurs, relating to *Spain*, that has not been already taken notice of during the three following years, excepting his naval transactions. His gallees were defeated by the younger *Barbarossa*, who continued his ravages on the coasts of *Spain* and *Italy* with such cruelty, that *Charles* ordered his admiral, *Doria*,

to check them. *Doria* collected together all the remaining sea force of *Spain*, but found himself inferior to the infidels, till he was reinforced by a *French* squadron, upon which the *Turks* retired into port, and *Doria*, after conquering the greatest part of the *Morea*, returned to *Genoa*, where he proposed to meet the emperor in 1532. In the mean while, *Charles*, to ease himself of some part of the war with the infidels, made a cession of *Tripoli*, *Malta* and *Gosa*, to the knights of *St. John of Jerusalem*, and he appointed his sister, *donna Maria*, queen dowager of *Hungary*, to be his governess of the *Low Countries*. He was then embarrassed by the opposition which his clergy of *Spain*, headed by cardinal *Tavera*, archbishop of *Toledo*, made to the demands of the pope, which they thought struck at their privileges; but by his influence at the court of *Rome*, all their fears were removed, and his holiness, to shew his regard for *Charles*, made the archbishops of *Seville* and *Compostella* cardinals. During the absence of *Charles*, his empress had assembled the states of the kingdoms of *Castile* and *Leon*, where every thing passed to the mutual satisfaction of both parties, and *Charles* then prepared to return to *Spain*, where he was very popular. On the 22d of *April* 1533, he arrived at *Barcelona*, where he was met by his queen and his court, and gave audience to the king of *Tunis*, whom *Barbarossa* had dispossessed of his dominions. *Charles* promised him his assistance; but he found his conquests in the *Morea* so expensive to maintain, that after offering them to the pope and the *Venetians*, he sent *Doria* with a fleet, which brought away their garrisons to *Sicily*.

1532.

1533.

In *July*, *Charles* presided with great lustre at *Moncon*, where he held an assembly of his states, who, in consideration of the great things he had done against the infidels, voted him all the supplies he demanded. *Charles* supported the high opinion they had conceived of him, by the vast preparations he made to fulfill his promise of restoring the old king of *Tunis* to his throne. In this he was assisted by the king *don Lewis* of *Portugal*, and embarking on board a fleet commanded by *Doria*, consisting of an hundred and forty large, and two hundred and sixty smaller, ships, he landed at *Tunis*, where *Barbarossa* had brought a hundred thousand men to defend it. He stormed the fortress of *Goletta*, which was the strongest defence of *Tunis*, by the intrepidity of the *Spanish* infantry, and there seized all his enemies magazines. He then, by the advice of the infant of *Portugal*, and the duke of *Alva*, marched against *Tunis* itself, defeated, in a pitched battle, the great army of *Barbarossa*, and forced that barbarian to fly to *Algiers*. After that, he replaced the king of *Tunis* on his throne, and obliged him to become his tributary; but he kept possession of *Goletta*, where he left a strong garrison, and then returned to *Sicily*. Those glorious actions, which were pursued with a proper spirit, might have been fatal to the interests of the infidels, had not *Francis* the 1st, out of the constant hatred he had for *Charles*,

The
French
king un-
popular.

1537.

Vol. IX.
p. 111.
Death of
the em-
press.

Unsucce-
ful expe-
dition to
Africa.

1541.

Charles, become their friend and ally, and supported them with all his power, both by sea and land. This disconcerted all the generous plans of *Charles*, and he found it difficult to make head against his numerous enemies, who pushed him all at once. He roused the indignation of all *Europe* against the unchristian conduct of the *French* king, but he found in *Spain* the chief resources for supporting his power. The states of *Castile*, *Aragon*, *Catalonia* and *Valentia*, voted him liberal supplies; and, as if he had been determined to risk his all against the infidels, he ordered registers to be made out of all his *Spanish* subjects. Happily for him, his *French* and other enemies were as much exhausted by the war as he was, and means were found out to bring about a truce for ten years; in the year 1537, the particulars of which are related in the preceding parts of this history: On the 1st of *November* he held an assembly of the states at *Leon* and *Toledo*, where he made a strenuous effort to obtain a fixed and determined revenue, by means of an excise, in which he failed, through the firm opposition of his states, to whom he gave visible marks of his displeasure. Their excuse was, that they were afraid that such a method of raising the revenue would produce a rebellion; but at the same time they made him a free gift of four hundred and fifty millions of marvedies. After this, *Charles* underwent some sensible mortifications from the haughtiness of the *Castilian* nobility, and his empress dying in child-bed in the mean while, added to his affliction. The commotions that happened in *Ghent*, obliged *Charles* at last to leave *Spain*, and it was then he performed the famous journey through *France*, on that king's honour. This was the more extraordinary on both sides, as *Francis* had a claim upon the investiture of the duchy of *Milan*, for his son, the duke of *Orleans*; and as *Charles* was the most distrustful prince alive, and had often publicly branded *Francis* for his treachery.

Charles, upon his leaving *Spain*, had nominated the cardinal *Tavera* and the commander *Eobos*, to the regency; but while he was occupied in the affairs of the *Low Countries*, one of *Barbarossa's* officers became master of *Gibraltar*, from whence he carried off an immense booty, but it was recovered by *Mendoza*, the *Spanish* admiral, who destroyed or made prisoners all the infidels. This insult renewed in *Charles* the desire of conquering *Algiers*, for which he issued orders to his admirals and generals. They were obeyed with vast punctuality, and *Charles* having made the best provisions he could for the tranquillity of his dominions, during his absence in 1541, returned to *Italy*, and embarked on board his fleet, though the season of the year was then far advanced. This was one of the few instances in which *Charles* indulged his despotic authority, for his admiral, *Doria*, and his general, the marquis *del Vasto*, did all they could, but in vain, to dissuade him from so unpromising an expedition. He proceeded to *Algiers*, notwithstanding the tempests he encountered on the voyage, with two hundred

hundred capital and a hundred smaller ships, which carried six thousand *Spanish* and five thousand *Italian* foot, eight thousand *Germans*, two thousand cavalry and three thousand volunteers, besides sailors and supernumeraries of every kind. With this vast armament he besieged *Algiers*, towards the end of *October*, and the famous *Hernando Cortez*, who had added *Mexico* to his *Spanish* empire, served as a volunteer in his army. This siege was long and unfortunate, through the brave defence made by the besieged; and *Charles* being afraid that he should lose his fleet by the tempests, which had already destroyed great part of it, reembarked his army; and thus ended that unfortunate and unsuccessful expedition.

Upon the return of *Charles* to *Spain*, in the beginning of *December* 1542, he found that the *French* had, during his absence, been very busy in forming alliances against him; but *Charles* was so well served on the frontiers of *France*, and in the *Low Countries*, that the *French*, notwithstanding the powerful efforts they made, obtained but few advantages. Before he left *Spain*, he introduced his son, *Philip*, to the states of *Ar- ragon* and *Catalonia*, who acknowledged him as his father's heir, and presented *Charles* with half a million of ducats. Their example was followed by the states of *Valentia*. *Charles* then, though he was burning with resentment at the ungenerous usage he had met with from the *French* during his absence, drew up, with wonderful deliberation and sagacity, a paper of instructions for his son, whom he appointed to be his regent, but under the direction of the duke of *Alva* and *Cobos*. *Charles* then embarked on board *Doria's* galleys, and landed at *Genoa*. It was at this time principally, that his conduct proved him to be the great captain and politician he really was. He subdued the duke of *Cleves*, the *French* king's ally, and obliged him to renounce his alliance with *France*. He forced his enemy, *Francis*, to call the *Turkish* fleet to his assistance; but it brought him little besides disgrace and disappointment, and universal detestation among all the *Christian* powers. The marquis of *Bazan*, next to *Doria*, his ablest admiral, beat the *French* fleet, which was ravaging the coast of *Galicia*; and *Charles* in person, made such an impression on the frontiers of *France*, that it was thought he would march to the gates of *Paris*. We have already seen in what manner this was prevented by the treaty which the *French* were forced to sue for at *Crespi*, or (as some call it) the treaty of *Soissons*. While *Charles* was thus employed, so much to his glory, his *Spanish* nobility restored the *Moorish* king of *Tremecen*, to whom he had promised his assistance, to his dominions.

On the 8th of *January*, 1545, the princess of *Asturia* died in child-birth of her son, don *Carlos*, who was thought afterwards to have been put to death by his father. The two next years were spent by *Charles* in the affairs of the empire, of which we have given a detail in the history of *Germany*. The many duke of *Brabant*.

1542.

War with France.

Vol. XI.
p. 315.

III. p.
317.

A peace.

1545.

1548.

many vexations he met with, on the part of the pope, and the shameful management of the council of *Trent*, is said at this time to have induced *Charles* to give some attention to the points in dispute between the *Roman* catholics and the protestants, from which he imbibed some notions so much in favour of the reformers, that the violent *Roman* catholics pronounced him to be a heretic. In 1548, he sent his nephew, *Maximilian*, son to his brother *Ferdinand*, king of the *Romans*, to *Spain*, where he married his daughter, donna *Maria*, formerly betrothed to the duke of *Orleans*, who was then dead. The prince of *Asturia*, at his father's request, transferred his regency to *Maximilian*, and then embarked for *Italy*. His state, his attendance, and his behaviour on this occasion, have been perhaps too pompously and too minutely described by historians; his after conduct, at least, suited ill with so promising an outlet in life, as they describe. Upon his arrival at *Brussels*, he prostrated himself before his father, and he was, by the states of the *Low Countries*, acknowledged as duke of *Brabant*. It is certain that *Philip* was a son according to *Charles's* own heart, and that he had laid a deep plan, in which he however miscarried, for leaving him the empire of *Germany*.

1551.

In 1551, this miscarriage, with several others of a political kind, determined *Charles* to send *Philip* back to *Spain*, where his hereditary dominions were threatened by a descent of the *Turks*, the faithful allies of *France*. Upon the arrival of the prince of *Asturia* at *Barcelona*, prince *Maximilian* and his consort left *Spain*, while *Charles* was making an unequal war against the protestants in *Germany*, where he narrowly escaped losing his liberty. His affairs being resettled by the peace of

Vol. IX.

p. 120.

1552.

Passau, his states of *Spain* furnished him with the means of protecting his *Italian* dominions; but in 1552, the *Turks* defeated his admiral, *Doria*, by sea. By this time *Charles* had formed the scheme of a match between his son, the prince of *Asturia*, and *Mary*, queen of *England*, and in order to forward it, had declared the prince king of *Naples*. Upon *Philip's* leaving *Spain* to go to *England*, the princess dowager of *Portugal* was appointed regent of *Spain*. It is certain, that *Charles* and his son had the *English* match so much at heart, that they expended immense sums in *England* to bring it about. *Philip* landed at *Southampton*, with a retinue composed of the chief *Castilian* and *Aragonian* nobility, and after the celebration of the marriage, he sent to his father in *France*, four thousand *Spanish* troops who attended him.

Marries
the queen
of Eng-
land.

Charles was, at this time, at once the greatest and the most unhappy prince in *Europe*. In *Germany* he had been thwarted in all his schemes, by his own brother and the princes of the empire; the advantages he had gained over *France* had cost him more than they were worth; he saw daily reasons for distrusting the pope and the *Italian* princes; the power of the *Turks* was encreasing; and though he succeeded in the *English* match, yet the articles of marriage were such, that the crown

of

of *England* was to remain for ever independent on that of *Spain*. The busy course of life which *Charles* had led, his bodily fatigues and perpetual application to business, had now rendered him infirm, and what was worst of all, he had lost the vigour of mind necessary for supporting the toils of government. He seldom or never opened himself to his ministers, and his sisters, the queens of *Hungary* and *France*, were his only confidants. To them he proposed to abdicate his crown, and retire from the world. The encreasing disorder of his affairs in *Italy*, and the superiority which the *Turkish* marine had obtained in the *Mediterranean*, confirmed him in his resolution. He sent for his son, the king of *Naples*, to *Brussels*, where, in a full court, on the 25th of *October*, he resigned to him all his hereditary dominions in the *Low Countries* and *Burgundy*, as he did the crown of *Spain* on the 16th of *January* following. Writers are greatly divided concerning the motives of this resignation, and we have already given our opinion in the place referred to.

Charles
resigns his
domi-
nions.
Vol. IX.
P. 122.

In the following *September*, he embarked for *Spain*, having signified his intention of divesting himself of the imperial authority. He had already fixed on the monastery of St. *Justus*, in the *Vera de Placentia*, a most elegant retreat, for the place of his retirement, during the remainder of his life, and so eager was he to reach it, that he set out for it in a rainy day, attended by his sisters, the queens of *Hungary* and *Portugal*. The natural reserve which *Charles* had always maintained, had now risen to a disgust at the world. Therefore it is idle in private historians to pretend to describe his words and actions, during this period of his life, as few could have access to know them. He shut himself up, with a few attendants, in a little house contiguous to the convent, where he often relieved his austere acts of devotion, by practising turnery and other mechanical arts, to which he had a natural genius. It is certain, that the court of *Rome*, during his retirement, thought that he had embraced and practised some of the doctrines of the reformation; and had it not been for the interposition of his son, even his ashes must have undergone disgrace. We are entirely ignorant whether he did or did not repent of his resignation; but it is said, that the pension he had reserved for himself, which amounted only to two hundred thousand crowns a year, was not very punctually paid, and that he was shocked at the little respect that was paid to him by the *Spanish* nobility after his abdication. He died on the 21st of *September* 1558, and we have already given an account of his issue. Before we close his history, we must recount the calamitous events of the female part of his family; for his sister *Leonora*, queen dowager of *France* and *Portugal*, died but a few months before him. His sister, the queen of *Hungary*, died the same month; and his daughter-in-law, the queen of *England*, survived him but two months.

His re-
treat,

Ibid.

and death.
1558.

Ibid. p.
123.

Succeeded by *Philip*. The abdication of the emperor *Charles* was no sooner known in *Spain*, than his grandson don *Carlos* proclaimed his own father *Philip* king, with great formality, at *Valladolid*. *Philip*, upon his entrance on the government, was very pacifically inclined, and he concluded a truce with *France* for five years. He was then on very ill terms with the pope, (*Paul IV.*) who wanted to give the kingdom of *Naples* to a *French* prince, but was over-awed by the *Spanish* viceroy, the duke of *Alva*. The *Spaniards* were, at this time, inclined to have entered into an offensive war with the *Moors*, who had of late taken *Bugia*, and had obtained several other advantages over them; but *Philip* restrained them till he could return to *Spain* in person. Notwithstanding the truce, the pope found means to engage the court of *France* in such practices as broke it; and the queen of *England* took her husband's part. We have already seen the events of the war which ensued in the *Low Countries*, and the almost bloodless victory which *Philip* obtained over the *French* at *St. Quintin*, chiefly by his *English* auxiliaries. The peace of *Chateau Cambresis* followed; and it seems to be pretty certain that *Philip*, who had then lost his wife, *Mary* of *England*, would gladly have espoused her sister queen *Elizabeth*; but after the conclusion of the peace, he married the princess *Isabella* of *France*. Upon his return to *Spain*, he called an assembly of the states of *Castile* at *Toledo*, and soon after he gave specimens of his bloody insensible disposition, by renewing all the terrors of the inquisition, and being present at the numerous inhuman executions of heretics. According to the practice of his predecessors, he presented his eldest son don *Carlos* to the states, and they acknowledged him for his successor, about the time that *Philip's* admiral, the duke of *Medina Sidonia*, was completely beaten by the infidels in attempting to take *Tripoli* out of their hands. *Philip* was then receiving immense treasures from *America*, but he found them insufficient for carrying on the vast projects he had in view, and therefore applied to the pope for power to tax his *Spanish* clergy.

His great expences. *Philip* was the first king of *Spain*, who fixed the residence of his court at *Madrid*, near which he laid out incredible sums in building the *Escorial*. In fact, *Philip* scarce knew any engine of government but money, and he employed it in the most detestable purposes, those of endeavouring to root out what he called heresy, both in his own and other dominions. It is uncertain which he hated most, the infidels or the protestants, but his bloody persecutions fell the most heavily on the latter. Being sensible of the superiority of the *Turks* by sea, he gave orders for equipping a strong fleet, and for disarming his *Morisco* subjects in the kingdom of *Granada*; but a strong squadron of his ships under *Mendoza*, with four thousand men on board, foundered in a storm at sea, as they were proceeding to the relief of *Oran*, which was threatened by the *Moors*.

Moors. After this, *Hassan*, king of *Algiers*, being strongly supported by the *Turks*, invested both *Oran* and *Mazalquivir* by sea and land. The count *de Alcandete* was the governor of *Oran*, and his brother *Martin de Cordova* of *Mazalquivir*. Their defence was such as might have been expected from brave officers and men of honour, but the sieges were pressed so furiously, that one or both of those places must have been taken, had they not been critically relieved by the *Spanish* fleet. It is not improbable that *Philip*, at this time, 1563, had the conquest of *England* in his view. It is certain, that the progress he made in raising a marine, was astonishing; and overawed both the *Turks* and *Christians*. As he was naturally severe, he held progresses through different parts of his kingdom, where he put to death and confiscated the estates of great numbers of people, who were accused of oppressing his subjects; and after receiving vast subsidies from his states, he ordered all his galleys to be ready the beginning of next year.

1563.

The family of *Philip* was then weak, he having no legitimate son but don *Carlos*, who about this time narrowly escaped death by a fall down stairs. He therefore sent for his nephews *Redolph* and *Ernest*, sons of *Maximilian* king of the *Romans*, to be educated at his court. In 1564, he made use of the vast

Affairs of
the Low
Countries.

1564.

superiority he had acquired at sea, in recovering from the *Moors* the strong fortrels of *Penon de Velez*, and about the same time he annexed all his *American* dominions to the crown of *Castile* for ever. But while *Philip* resided in *Spain*, he was ignorant of the true state of his affairs in the *Low Countries*, where the introduction of the inquisition and his cruel maxims of government had thrown every thing into confusion, as we

Vol. IX.

p. 303.

304.

have seen in a preceding part of this work. All that *Philip* could be brought to, was to remove his unpopular minister cardinal *Granvelle*, who governed his *Low Countries* under the dutehess of *Parma*, and even that was done with a view of afterwards scourging the inhabitants more cruelly. Next year the vast maritime preparations of the *Turks*, obliged *Philip* to assemble all his fleets, and we have already mentioned the

Vol. XI.

p. 355.

interview at *Bayonne*, where the destruction of the protestants in *France* was resolved on. It is, however, remarkable that when *Philip* enforced the very unpopular measure of obliging his subjects both in *Spain* and the *Low Countries*, to receive the decrees of the council of *Trent*, he did it by his regal authority alone, which gave great offence to the court of *Rome*.

The storm of the *Turkish* fleet broke, at last, upon the island of *Malta*, to which *Philip* sent very powerful succours; but after the siege was begun, and likely to prove successful,

Vol. VIII.

p. 153.

the viceroy of *Naples*, notwithstanding *Philip's* order to the contrary, withheld the fleet appointed for the relief of *Malta*, *Malta* being apprehensive of the fate of *Sicily* and *Naples*. He ventured, however, at last to sail, and threw such reinforcements into the place, as obliged the infidels to raise the siege.

Siege of

Malta

raised.

State of
Philip's
family.

1565.

1566.

Vol. IX.
p. 304.

His wars
with the
Moriscos.

Philip began at this time to be uneasy in his own family. He had educated at the same seminary his son the prince of *Asturia*, his natural brother don *Juan* of *Austria*, and *Alexander Farnese* the young prince of *Parma*. The first being disgusted with his father's authority, intended to have escaped to the *Low Countries*, but his secret was betrayed to *Philip* by *de Silva*, with whom *Carlos* had entrusted it. Don *John* made an elopement from court, with an intention to serve a campaign against the *Turks*, but falling ill on the road, he was obliged by *Philip* to return; and the prince of *Parma* was sent to his mother in the *Low Countries*. *Philip* continued to act independently of the pope in ecclesiastical matters, and in the year 1565, his inquisition imprisoned the archbishop of *Toledo*; but pope *Pius V.* obliged *Philip* to send him to be tried at *Rome*. Soon after the *Turks* ravaged the coasts of *Naples*, and on the 11th of *August* 1566, *Philip's* queen was brought to bed of a daughter, who afterwards distinguished herself by the name of *Izabella Clara Eugenia*. One *Montigny*, an agent from the *Low Country* malecontents, was then in *Spain*, where he and some of his friends lost their heads for their intrigues with the prince of *Asturia*. This discovery exasperated *Philip* so much against the *Flemings*, that he immediately took the resolution of sending the stern duke of *Alva*, at the head of an army, to root out protestantism in the *Low Countries* with fire and sword.

Philip's tyranny was not confined to his protestant subjects. Ever since the recovery of *Spain* from the *Moors*, the remains of that nation who continued there, went by the name of *Moriscos*, and they embraced to appearance, at least, *Christianity*. The bishop of *Granada* suspected that their conversion was not sincere, and that they corresponded with their *Moorish* countrymen. He prevailed with the pope to lay his suspicions before *Philip*, who immediately adopted them as certainties, and sent *Spinosa*, an inflexible bigot, to force the *Moriscos* to leave off their habit, language and manners, and to conform themselves upon pain of extirpation to those of *Spain*. The marquis of *Mondejar*, *Philip's* governor of *Granada*, in vain interceded for the *Moriscos*, and they seconded him with their most humble representations; but *Philip* was inexorable, and his orders were so rigorously executed, that despair drove the *Moriscos* into a resolution of revolting. This was what *Philip* both wished for and expected, but he did not foresee to what lengths their despair afterwards carried them. The scheme of their revolt was laid down by one *Farax*, *Aben Farax*, and others; and upon enquiry, they found that the country of *Alpujarros*, and the neighbourhood of *Granada* could furnish them with fifty thousand fighting men. Though they proceeded with vast address and caution, yet the government discovered their practices, but it was with some difficulty that the marquis *de Mondejar* prevented *Granada* (the *Moorish* kingdom of which they wanted to revive) from falling into their hands. Upon this disappointment, they proclaimed a

young

young gentleman, don *Ferdinand de Valor*, king of *Granada* and *Cordova*, and he took the name of *Mohammed Aben Humeya*. The excesses which the *Morisgos* were guilty of, after they had avowed their revolt, are beyond description. The reducing them was committed to the marquis *de Mondejar*, and the marquis *de los Velaz*. The former was inclined to have treated them with lenity, because he knew many of them to be sincere *Christians*; but finding that he was suspected at court of favouring them, he proceeded to a contrary extreme, for he put them to death without distinction.

Humeya was twice defeated by the marquis *de Mondejar*, and was disappointed in the great expectations he had formed of support from the *Turks* and *Moors*. The two *Spanish* generals differed in their conduct of the war, and *Philip* ordered don *John* of *Austria* to command in chief against the *Morisgos*. The new general proceeded with great caution, and even admitted of applications from *Humeya*, whose father and uncle were prisoners at *Granada*. This correspondence being discovered, the *Morisgos* began to murmur, at which *Humeya* was so much offended, that he was guilty of several acts of cruelty and imprudence, and his subjects strangled him. They substituted in his room one who took the name of *Muley Abdallah*, who defended himself with great vigour against don *John* and the duke of *Sessa* for many months, so that, upon the whole, the war lasted between two and three years. At last, about the year 1570, the king, by the advice of the moderate part of his counsellors, admitted them to terms, and suffered them to settle in *Castile*, but not before the war had cost above a hundred and twenty thousand lives. We have carried this history forward, in order to preserve the greater continuity in other events.

1570.

The disorders in the *Low Countries* continuing, *Philip* was Don Car-exasperated against his rebels there as he thought them, to a *los* put to degree of enthusiasm. He had discovered that his son's ambi- death- tion, was to go to *Flanders*, either to head the insurgents, or to fight against them; but *Philip* named the bloody duke of *Alva* for his general, nor could he have pitched upon an abler commander. When the duke went to take leave of the prince, the latter was so exasperated at being deprived of the command, that had he not been withheld by force, he would have stabbed him with his dagger; and from that moment we may date the prince's ruin, to which his own perverse disposition did not a little contribute. His real history is however dark. The austere disposition of his father, probably drove him into violent measures, for it is certain that he wanted to form connections both with the *German* princes and the *Spanish* grandees, and the latter laid his letters before his father. It has been said, that the prince was in love with the archduchess *Anne* of *Austria*; but we have not been able to discover how he could have any idea of her person but by report, or from a picture. Be this as it will, it is certain that the prince had made dis-positions

1578. positions to leave *Spain*, when on the 18th of *January* 1578, his father, attended by his guards and some of his nobles, entered his apartment, secured his arms and papers, and put his person under arrest, while the prince exclaimed against his majesty's severity. He immediately laid before the public a detail of what he had done, and the prince died soon after; but the manner of his death is variously related. Some say that by the king's order he was tried by the inquisition, and condemned to death, and that four slaves entering his room, confined his hands and feet, while the fourth strangled him. It has been asserted, that while the prince was struggling for his life, the executioner desired him to have patience; because all he was doing was for his good. Others transfer that saying to his father when he put him under arrest; and some *Spanish* writers affirm, that he died of a surfeit by vast draughts of cold water. The gloomy character of *Philip*, authorizes the severest presumptions. The death of his queen, donna *Isabella*, when she was in the fifth month of her pregnancy, was considered by the public as the effect of *Philip's* jealousy, and heightened their discontents.

Philip re-married. Scarcely was queen *Isabella* dead, when *Philip* entered into a treaty of marriage for *Anne* of *Austria*, whom the emperor, her father, had destined for his son. The emperor took that opportunity to advise *Philip* to moderation, especially in the *Low Countries*; but though all advice of that kind was rejected, the marriage was concluded and consummated, upon the bride's arrival in *Spain*.

Vol. VIII. The reduction of the *Morisicos* in *Spain*, left *Philip* at liberty
p. 160. to enter into the holy league against the *Turks* in the year 1571; and in the places referred to, we have already given a full detail of the glorious victory of *Lepanto*, which his general

Vol. X. don *John* of *Austria* obtained over the infidels. The rejoicings,
p. 279. which were excessive on that account, were increased by the birth of an infant, don *Ferdinand*. The victory of *Lepanto* was more splendid than advantageous to the league. The allies, as usual, differed among themselves; and thus the year

War with the *Turks*. 1572 passed without improving that blow. Instead of that, the new *Turkish* admiral *Uluciali*, repaired his master's marine in a surprising degree. *Charles IX.* was persuaded to withdraw from the confederacy, and *Philip* began to grow tired of the vast expence attending it, while he was daily losing ground in the *Low Countries*. He continued don *John* in his post of admiral; but such were the differences that prevailed among the other officers, that don *John* did not attack *Uluciali*, though they threw the blame upon his backwardness and the apprehensions *Philip* was under, with regard to the designs of the *French* upon his own dominions. The jealousies between the *Venetians* and *Spaniards*, after this, drove the former into a peace with the *Turks*, but *Philip* began now to entertain suspicions of don *John's* intentions.

It never has been certainly known who that prince's mother *Philip* was; but the affection and treatment he met with from the jealous of emperor *Charles*, and *Philip*, make it probable that she must don *John*. have been a personage of high distinction. He had been bred up under a nobleman, *Quixada*, and he had considered him and his wife as his father and mother. The striking resemblance between him and his father *Charles*, (though don *John*'s person was much handsomer) his valour and other great qualifications rendered him highly respected by the *Spaniards*, and he thought that illegitimacy was no bar to royalty, so that he entered into a secret correspondence with the pope for his friendship with *Philip*, for declaring him a sovereign prince either of *Genoa* or *Tunis*. We have already seen in what manner his hopes of the latter were balked. *Philip* suspected his ambition, and that his secretary *Juan de Soto* favoured it; upon which he removed the latter to the superintendency of the fleet, and supplied his place about his brother's person with *ib. d.* *Escovado*, whom he thought to be more tractable. Upon the conclusion of the peace between the *Turks* and the *Venetians*, *Philip* ordered don *John* to take and demolish *Tunis*. Don *John*, after taking it, fortified it, and the pope actually solicited *Philip*, that he should hold it with the title of king, a request which he artfully evaded. It is not easy to account for the indulgence which *Philip* observed to his brother after this flagrant discovery of his ambition. He even hinted his willingness to gratify him, but that he was unable to support him against the whole force of the *Turks*, which was ready to fall upon his new conquests in *Africa*.

The truth is, that *Philip* by this time was in fact a bankrupt, notwithstanding the incredible treasures he received from *America*, and the vast sums he raised in *Spain*. He gave pensions and appointments to the *English*, *Scotch*, and *Irish*, who were disaffected to queen *Elizabeth*'s government. The expences of his *Low Country*, *Italian* and *African* wars, were astonishing; and he in a manner supported the *Austrian* and imperial court in *Germany*, besides paying great subsidies to the *French Roman* catholics and the northern courts. As he had foreseen, the *Turks* in the year 1544, recovered *Tunis*, and almost all that they had lost in *Africa*, where they only kept *Mazalquivir*. Don *Juan* was then in *Italy*, and unable, partly through the bad weather, and partly through the backwardness of the *Spanish* viceroys, to prevent the progress of the *Turks*; so that under pretence of laying before *Philip* the true state of his affairs, he obtained leave to return to *Spain*. He there importuned *Philip* to be declared infant of *Castile*, and his lieutenant general in *Italy*. *Philip* evaded both requests by plausible pretexts, and upon the death of don *Lewis de Requesens*, he appointed him to the government of the *Low Countries*. Don *John*'s remonstrances for an increase of troops and other particulars, before he embarked for his government, disgusted *Philip*; but he dismissed him with great shew of affection,

Vol. X.
p. 286.

Who is
made go-
vernor of
the *Low*
Countries.

fection, and he left him so much at large by his instructions, that he was tied down to nothing, but the not granting liberty of conscience to the protestants.

Don Sebastian
king of
Portugal,
killed in
Africa.

About this time, the famous *Muley Moloch* had driven his brother *Mohammed* from the throne of *Fez* and *Morocco*. *Philip* was so much displeased with the state of his affairs in *Africa*, that when *Mohammed* applied to him for assistance, he refused to be concerned in the dispute; but he privately sent over a dexterous minister to enquire into the state of affairs in *Africa*, and to make his report accordingly. Before that could be done, *Mohammed* had applied in like manner to *Philip's* nephew, don *Sebastian*, king of *Portugal*, a prince of unbounded but inconsiderate courage, who undertook to assist him. *Philip* hearing of his nephew's rashness, endeavoured to dissuade him by laying before him the informations he had received concerning the great power of *Muley Moloch*, who was supported by the *Turks*, and he even gave *Sebastian* a meeting to dissuade him from his purpose; but *Sebastian* told him he had gone too far to retract. Before they parted, however, *Philip* promised that if the *Turkish* fleet did not put to sea that year, he would send him some assistance. Instead of that, being apprehensive that the *Turks* might seize the kingdom of *Morocco*, he concluded a private treaty with *Muley Moloch*, and a truce with the *Turks* for three years, but in the intermediate time, he renewed his instances, but all in vain, with don *Sebastian*, to lay aside his expedition. The unhappy youth proceeded in it, and landing in *Africa*, a battle followed, which was fatal to three sovereign princes. Don *Sebastian* lost the battle, and was killed; as was *Mohammed*; and *Muley Moloch* died of a fever, just as victory had declared in his favour.

Perez secretary of
state arrested.

It appears that *Philip* was, at this time, under a most unhappy state of mind. His natural suspicion was revived and increased by the conduct of don *John*, whose secretary, *Escovado*, after various attempts to poison him, was, by the immediate direction of *Antonio Perez*, but by the express order of *Philip*, murdered in the streets of *Madrid*. This assassination, with the death of don *John* of *Austria*, not without suspicion of poison, created a great ferment in *Spain*. It was thought, and there is some colour for it, from the conduct of queen *Elizabeth*, that don *John* aspired to her hand in marriage, and that *Escovado* managed the correspondence, which was far from being discouraged on her part. It is however more probable, that *Philip's* real ground of displeasure with don *John*, lay in the advances made by the latter to become the husband of *Mary* queen of *Scots*, whom the *Roman Catholic* party in *England* considered as their queen, and who undoubtedly was *Elizabeth's* presumptive heir. Whatever may be in this, the secretary *Perez*, who was a vain weak man, fell himself under *Philip's* suspicion, for having too intimate connections, both personal and political, with the princess of *Eboli*, *Philip's* mistress, and both of them were put under arrest, but were soon after

after set at liberty, and *Perez* was restored to his functions as secretary. But we are now to attend the great scene that opened in *Portugal*.

Upon the death of don *Sebastian*, in 1578, his uncle, cardinal *Henry*, took that crown, notwithstanding the remonstrances of *Philip*, who feared that he inclined to marry, made a party at the court of *Rome* against that event, and having concluded a peace for twenty years with the king of *Morocco*, he took measures for not being disappointed in that succession by the duke of *Braganza*, who was married to the late king of *Portugal*'s sister, and who had a son. Upon the death of the cardinal king, *Philip* resolved to assert his right to *Portugal* by arms, and though the duke of *Alva* was then in disgrace, and a prisoner, he employed him to be his general in that expedition. Don *Antonio*, the prior of *Crato*, natural son of don *Lewis*, opposed him; and a great party among the *Portuguese* proclaimed him king. The duke of *Alva*, though in a manner in chains, entered *Portugal* with an army, and twice defeated *Antonio*, who, notwithstanding some succour he received from *France* and *England*, was obliged to leave *Portugal*, which the duke of *Alva* in a few days reduced to absolute subjection. The infant *Ferdinand* was now dead, and *Philip* causing his eldest son don *Diego*, to be recognized as his successor, proceeded to take possession of his new kingdom; but he lost his queen at *Badajoz*, when she was no more than thirty-one years of age. He soon found that the crown of *Portugal* was lined with thorns. Though he softened the severity of his natural temper, by passing an act of grace upon his accession, he perceived that he could not gain over any one *Portuguese* nobleman, who could be of service to him, but by bribing him with vast sums, and which, though that crown was then rich by the *East India* trade, must have more than exhausted its revenues. The demands of the dutchess of *Braganza*, who pretended to be regent of the kingdom, were still more exorbitant, and the exiled king don *Antonio*, having taken refuge in *France*, the queen mother and her party there furnished him with a considerable armament to put him in possession of the *Azores* islands, and to intercept the *Spanish* plate fleet. The armament was defeated by *Philip*'s admiral, the marquis of *Santa Cruz*, who without any scruple treated all the *French* who fell into his hands as pirates, even men of quality as well as others, there being then no declared war between *Philip* and the *French* king. During this uncomfortable residence in *Portugal*, *Philip* lost his son *Diego*, and the infant don *Philip* was recognized as his successor. His old servant and general, the duke of *Alva*, died about the same time. All *Philip*'s condescension could not render him popular in *Portugal*, and leaving the cardinal archduke *Albert* his regent there, he returned to his magnificent palace of the *Escorial*.

The years 1583 and 1584, were employed in reducing the *Azores*, which the marquis of *Santa Cruz* effected, but exercised great

Affairs of
Portugal,

Vol. IX.
p. 379.

of which
Philip be-
comes
king.

1583.
1584.

He resolves on a war with the *English*,

great cruelties upon *Antonio's* party. The marriage between the duke of *Savoy* and *Philip's* daughter, the infanta *Catharina*, was celebrated with great state. *Philip*, amidst all his seeming glory, remained miserable and unhappy on his throne. He could not bring the states of his kingdom into the subjection he desired, and the pain which his family misfortunes gave him, was the more acute, through the efforts he made to conceal it. He had prohibited the *Dutch* from all commerce with *Spain* and *Portugal*; but he saw them now opening a trade to the *East Indies*, which rivalled that of his own subjects. His greatest mortification, however, arose from the *English*, who intercepted his ships, and ravaged his possessions in all parts of the globe. *Philip* considered it as a point of conscience as well as of interest, to reduce those daring heretics, and he had for some years taken a resolution of employing his credit and power in the conquest of *England*. Before his preparations could be in readiness, he stooped so far from his state, as to suffer his general, the prince of *Parma*, to amuse *Elizabeth's* ministers with various interviews and proposals for peace in the *Low Countries*. Cardinal *Granvelle* is by some, and the prince of *Parma* by others, accused of encouraging *Philip* to invade *England*; but they were both of them men of too great discernment to agree to such an expedition, however they might behave after they found their master absolutely determined upon it. If *Philip* required counsellors on this occasion, it is more than probable that he found them in the *Roman catholic* fugitives, who had been driven from *England*.

1588. After every thing was in readiness for the sailing of the Spanish fleet, orders were given for its rendezvousing at the *Groyne*. By the most moderate accounts, it consisted of the following particulars, viz. nineteen thousand two hundred and ninety soldiers, eight thousand three hundred and fifty sailors, two thousand and eighty galley slaves, and two thousand six hundred and thirty pieces of ordnance. Nothing that could contribute to the success of this expedition, was wanting for the accommodation of this prodigious armament, which some say was much larger than we have represented it, and it undoubtedly cost *Philip* ten millions sterling in equipping it. It was to have been commanded by the marquis *de Santa Cruz*, but he dying just as it was ready to sail, the duke of *Medina Sidonia* was appointed in his stead. The prince of *Parma* was ordered to make preparations for co-operating with the fleet, and for making a descent upon *England*; but he had no opportunity of embarking. The elements early declared themselves against the *Spaniards*, so that it was the last day of *July* before they came in sight of the *English* coast. The second in command was *Ricardo*, an able seaman; but all the courage and skill of the invaders, availed them but little against the superior skill and judgment of the *English* admirals and officers. The latter managed their ships better, especially in stormy weather, which continued all the time of the expedition.

Five different engagements happened, in which the *Spaniards* were defeated, and at last, the elements completed the ruin of this invincible armada, as the *Spanish* vanity affected to call it. They pretended, upon their return to *St. Andero*, that they lost no more than thirty-two capital ships, and ten thousand one hundred and eighty-five men. The loss of the *English* was too inconsiderable to be mentioned, and consisted in little more than a small frigate commanded by one *Cox*.

The behaviour of *Philip*, on this trying occasion, has been and attack variously represented: some say, that it was magnanimous; *Spain*. and others, that it was peevish. However that may be, he generously relieved the wretched remains of his sea and land forces who returned to *Spain*, and even condoled with the duke of *Medina Sidonia*, upon the mortification he had undergone. The avarice of the *English* commanders prevented their making the best of the consternation of the *Spaniards* after this defeat. *Elizabeth* gave leave to *Drake* and *Norris* to assist don *Antonio*, and they took and plundered the *Groyn*; but this occasioned such a loss of time, that they failed in the main object of their expedition, which was against *Lisbon*, where they found the *Spaniards* so well prepared to receive them, that they were obliged to reembark; but they carried off with them immense plunder, and did incredible damage to the enemy.

We have, in the history of *France*, related the great concern Affairs of which *Philip* took in supporting the catholic league there, and *France*. the pains he was at to fix that crown upon the head of his daughter donna *Clara Eugenia*. He was so sanguine in his hopes of succeeding, that he even ruined his affairs in the *Low Countries*, by ordering the duke of *Parma* more than once to march to the assistance of the league. In the year 1590, *Philip* renewed his persecution of *Perez*, on account of *Escovada's* murder, and he is said to have ordered him to be put to the rack. *Perez* was an *Arragonian*, and finding means to escape, he threw himself under the protection of the states of *Arragon*. The inquisition, or rather, the king resented their rescuing him from his hands, and several insurrections happened, in which the *Arragonians* behaved with so much spirit, that he escaped to *Bearn*, and from thence to *France* and *England*, where he lived and died detested and despised by all parties, for that levity and treachery which debased his abilities. *Philip*, however, was not of a disposition to slip that opportunity for extinguishing the liberties of *Arragon*. He ordered don *Alonso Vargas*, to take possession of *Saragossa* with an army, and being favoured by the nobility, he struck off the head of the chief justice of *Arragon*, and put the duke of *Villa Hermosa*, with the count *de Aranda*, under arrest, for having favoured the liberties of the province. The earl of *Cumberland*, and the lord *Thomas Howard*, were then cruising upon the *Spanish* coast, expecting the *Plate* fleet; but it was saved by don *Antonio Bazon* from the hands of the *English*, though it was afterwards wrecked. In 1592, the troubles of *Arragon* broke

1590.

Insurrec-
tions.

1592.

broke out afresh. Many of the natives took refuge in *Bearn*, and were encouraged to make new attempts in favour of their privileges; but being betrayed, the chief of them were capitally punished, and their privileges abolished; so that *Philip* became as absolute there as in any other part of his dominions.

1594.
An impostor claims to be *Sebastian*.

Philip, as we have seen in the history of *France*, was busied till the year 1594, in his intrigues and efforts to procure the succession of that crown for his daughter; but all was to no purpose. The *Turks*, that same year, carried their ravages through the coast of *Calabria*, and *Henry IV.* of *France*, declared war against *Spain*. An incident happened at this time, that though of a very improbable nature, gave *Philip* great disquiet. An *Augustine* friar, one *Michael*, who by his post as confessor about court, had all opportunities of knowing every thing about the royal family of *Portugal*, prevailed with one *Gabriel Spinosa*, a pastry cook, to personate the late don *Sebastian*, who was killed in *Africa*. *Michael* so artfully instructed the fellow, that he imposed upon donna *Anna* of *Austria*, daughter to don *John* and a nun, to furnish him with money to make his appearance in the world in his new assumed character; but in disposing of some jewels she had given him, he was suspected, apprehended, and put to the rack, as was his instructor, and both of them confessing their guilt, suffered death. As to donna *Anna*, she spent the rest of her days in close confinement to her cloister. This imposture was so artfully carried on, that *Spinosa* imposed upon great numbers of the *Spaniards* as well as the *Portuguese*, and many writers since that time, have affirmed that he was the true *Sebastian*.

1595.
1596.
Death of *Philip*.

In the year 1595, *Philip's* *American* dominions suffered greatly from the depredations of the *English* in *America*; and next year, the *English*, under the earl of *Essex* and lord *Howard*, executed their expedition to *Cadiz*, in which they defeated the *Spaniards* by sea, destroyed their fleet, took and plundered that city, and carried off an immense treasure. *Philip* might have prevented that disgrace, had he not now been broken by age, and dispirited by misfortunes; but he repaired his marine under don *Martin de Padilla*, with a view of making another descent upon *England*. This fleet likewise was either wrecked or driven back into the ports of *Spain* by tempests; but *Philip* was favoured by the misunderstandings which sprung up among the *English* officers, both by sea and land, which prevented the *Spanish* fleet, laden with ten millions of dollars, from falling into their hands. We have already mentioned the peace of *Vervins*, which he made with *France*, which was among the last great actions of his life. As he had again and again signified his intention, that the cardinal archduke *Albert* should marry his daughter *Isabella*; that prince resigned his cardinal's hat, and likewise the archbishopric of *Toledo*, and then received the homage of the states of *Brabant* as their sovereign. But *Philip* was now on his death-bed, and he expired on the 13th of *September*,

Vol. XI.
P. 418.

September, at the *Escorial*, in the seventy-first year of his age, and the forty-second of his reign, in 1598. We need not enlarge upon his character in this place, having already exhausted the subject. Somewhat, however, remains to be said of his private character. He could dissemble all his feelings, by appearing untouched at the most calamitous events of his reign. He was much readier to give audience to his peasants than to his nobility, whom he always treated with great statefulness, excepting they were ecclesiastics. He was low in stature, but well made. He considered religion as a great political engine in the hands of a prince; for we find him often differing with the church of *Rome*, when his temporal interests were concerned. With him government was no other than a great machine, which performed all its operations by money and arms, for even religion was to be supported by the latter; of the former he was so lavish, that his wars in the *Netherlands* alone, cost him 564,000,000 ducats. 1598.

Philip II. was succeeded by his son, the third of that name, and one of the earliest actions of his reign, was his raising his favourite, the marquis of *Denia*, to the dignity of duke of *Lerma*, and appointing him his first minister. *Philip* confirmed the cession of the *Low Countries* to his sister the infanta, who had been married to the archduke *Albert*, and ratified the peace of *Vervins* with *France*. Having resolved in his father's life-time to espouse the archduchess *Margaret*, of the *Gratz* branch of the *Austrian* family; she was brought to *Spain* by the archduke *Albert*, with the greatest pomp and magnificence. It was not long after the celebration of this marriage, before the duke of *Lerma* became unpopular by his haughty manners, but in foreign affairs his counsels were moderate, and upon the return of the archduke *Albert* to the *Low Countries*, he received from *Philip* full powers to conclude a peace with *England*. *Philip*, in the mean while, secretly persisted in spiriting up the duke of *Savoy* against the *French* king; and the count *de Fuentes*, then governor of *Milan*, having raised a great army to support the marshal *Biron's* conspiracy against *Henry IV.* all *Europe* was alarmed, till it was undeceived by the execution of that general, which dashed all his intrigues in pieces. This conduct towards *France*, was similar to that which *Philip* held towards *England*. He was weak enough to believe that his father had a right to the crown of *England*, by a real or pretended disposition of *Mary* queen of *Scots* in his favour, by his marriage with *Mary* queen of *England*, and even by his descent from the house of *Lancaster*. *Philip II.* had made over those ridiculous claims to his daughter the infanta *Isabella*, and she transferred them to her brother *Philip III.* who, by the duke of *Lerma's* advice, endeavoured to make them good by supporting a rebellion in *Ireland*. This likewise miscarried, as did also a scheme for *Feria's* surprizing *Marseilles*. Part of *Feria's* army was then put

Vol. XI.
p. 424.
S^d seq.

He supports a rebellion in *Ireland*.

1601. put on board *Doria's* fleet, who in 1601, was unsuccessful in an attempt he made against *Algiers*.

A peace with *Eng-*
land. It was easy to see from the proceedings of *Philip*, that he followed the maxims of his father, though he was far inferior to him in his political abilities. Though he received a virtuous education under the archbishop of *Toledo*, and had naturally no immoral principles; yet he was warped by his minister, and his bigotted clergy made him believe, that it was lawful to obtain good ends by wicked purposes. Upon the accession of *James I.* to the crown of *England*, *Philip's* ministers, well knowing how much it was the interest of *Henry IV.* of *France*, to humble the house of *Austria*, sent a pompous embassy to compliment him, and to assure him of their master's pacific dispositions towards *England*. *James* was far from being inaccessible on that head, and in 1604, the constable of *Castile*, then the greatest subject in *Spain*, was nominated to treat of a definitive peace. By way of preliminary, the *Spaniards* demanded that *England* should have no communication with the *United Provinces*, and that *James* should deliver up the cautionary towns in the *Low Countries*, upon his receiving the sums for which they were pledged. The *English* ministry refused to comply with these demands, unless the *Spaniards* would agree that their master's subjects should have a free trade to their dominions in *America*. Though neither party receded from their demands, yet still the treaty went on, and was concluded in the beginning of *August*, to the great credit of *Philip's* minister, to whom it was necessary, and to the no less reproach of the *English*, who, by standing out, might have obtained much better terms. This peace with *England*, left *Philip* at liberty to continue his differences with *Henry IV.* and while the *Spaniards* were making rejoicings for the conclusion of the treaty with *England*, their queen was brought to bed of a prince, don *Philip*, on the 8th of *April* 1605.

1605. War continued in the *Low Countries.* The war in the *Netherlands* still continued, and the duke of *Lerma* became sensible that he could not maintain himself against the universal odium of the people, without retrenching his master's expences, which in the *Netherlands* alone, amounted annually to above three millions and a half of ducats, in supporting a war from which the crown of *Spain* could in no event derive any advantage, but which yearly multiplied its losses and disgraces. Add to this, that the sums expended upon spies, and to keep up differences in foreign courts, and for the support of the *German* branch of the house of *Austria*, was still very great, and the interest paid for money borrowed in the late reign, was intolerable. Those burdens distressed the finances of *Spain*, though the incomes from *America* exceeded those of the late reign, and it was found expedient to call an assembly of the states at *Madrid*. They sat for near two years, during which time, the person and character of the minister were treated with much freedom; but before they rose,

rose, they made several excellent regulations of the coinage, so as to retain their silver money at home, and the minister before the end of the year 1608, by concluding a truce for twelve years in *April* 1609, laid the foundation of a definitive treaty with the states general. By the treaty of truce, *Philip* acknowledged the states of the *United Provinces*, to be an independent people. This peace, though perhaps necessary to *Spain*, encreased the clamour against the minister, who was forced to turn the attention of the nation to another object.

1608.

1609.

We have already seen that the late king had granted the *The Moors* *Moors* or *Morisicos*, as they were called, of his kingdom a expelled settlement in *Spain*, after the suppression of their rebellion. *Spain*. This indulgence was disagreeable to the clergy, and particularly to the bishop of *Valentia* the minister's brother. *Philip* III. in matters of religion did not adopt the maxims of his father, for with him it was a point of conscience to do whatever his clergy prescribed. They proposed an expulsion of all the *Moors* out of *Spain*, and to give a colour for this cruelty, they were accused of having invited the *Turks* or *Moors* of *Africa* to invade *Spain*, where they were to be joined by fifty thousand *Spanish Moors*. This reason of state, was backed by others of religion, which represented the *Moors* as incorrigible infidels, and as being likely to corrupt the morals and principles of the *Spanish Christians*. The nobility of the kingdom, especially those of *Valentia*, vigorously remonstrated against this resolution, and shewed that no part of the accusation had any foundation, excepting that of infidelity, which they very properly observed, was owing to the indolence and ignorance of the clergy. *Philip* was deaf to those remonstrances, and on the 7th of *September* 1609, he signed an edict for the expulsion of the *Moors* out of *Valentia*, which was followed by other edicts for expelling them out of all other provinces of *Spain*. The wretched people endeavoured to oppose this edict by two attempts they made, but they were suppressed, and the heads they had chosen under denomination of kings, were put to death. By the execution of those edicts, *Spain* lost eight hundred thousand industrious inhabitants, and yet was far from being cleared of the *Moorish* blood. Many infants were retained and bred up in the *Christian* religion, but were declared to be free when they arrived at the age of twelve. Upon the expulsion of the *Moors*, the *Spaniards* lost the important town of *Larach* in *Africa*, through their treachery as was said, and this gave a handle for the clergy to exult for their having advised the measure.

We have already mentioned the murder of *Henry* IV. to Vol. XI. which the ministers of *Spain* are said to have been no strangers; p. 436. but of this, there is no certainty. The duke of *Lerma* seemed & seq. to be greatly concerned at the event, and immediately resumed the proposal of a match that had been made between the eldest infant of *Spain*, and the young *French* king. In this, the minister was in danger of meeting with a strong opposition in the

1610.

the person of the queen consort, on whom the chief hopes of the *German* interest, in *Spain*, then rested; but she died on the 3d of *October* 1610, not without the strongest suspicion of her having been poisoned by her favourite *Calderona*, who was the duke of *Lerma's* favourite likewise. The detestation of the *Spaniards* for this man, arose to the ridiculous charge of his being an enchanter. On the death of the queen consort, the double marriages, which had been long in agitation between the courts of *Spain* and *France*, were declared. The duke of *Maine* demanded, for his master, the infanta at the court of *Madrid*, as did the duke of *Pastrana*, the princess *Isabella*, sister to the *French* king, for *Philip* prince of *Asturia*, and both marriages were celebrated. But however convenient they might have been for the ministers of both kingdoms, they certainly were disagreeable to the people, whose indignation, however, was alleviated by the arrival of a plate fleet from *America*, with eleven millions of ducats.

Arrival of
a rich
plate fleet.

Vol. X.
p. 305,
§ seq.

This immense treasure assisted the *Spaniards* in completing their designs in *Italy*, as the reader will see in the history of that country, where their friendship, or rather their neutrality, was of great service to the pope. The duke of *Savoy*, the *Venetians*, and the great duke of *Tuscany*, saw this with great concern, without being able to prevent it. The duke of *Lerma* outwitted the *French* in another capital measure, which was that of amusing the court of *England*. *Philip* even gave some intimations to *James*, that he would demand his daughter, the princess *Elizabeth* of *England*, in marriage; but that proposition being impracticable, through the difference of their religions, she was married to the elector palatine, and the *Spanish* minister secretly proposed a match between *Henry* prince of *Wales*, and the infanta donna *Maria*, his master's second daughter. The advantages thrown out by the *Spaniards*, as attending this match, entangled *James*, and on the death of the prince of *Wales*, the proposal was renewed in favour of his brother *Charles*. Nothing could exceed the dissimulation of the *Spanish* ministers on this head, if they were not sincere in the match. We have already, in the histories of *France* and *Italy*, given a full account of the conduct of the *Spaniards* in *Italy*, which makes a capital figure in this reign. The unpopularity of the duke of *Lerma* in *Spain*, though he seems to have supported the glory of his master with great spirit, encouraged the duke of *Ossuna*, who was governor of *Naples*, to pursue very dangerous schemes, even to the rendering himself the independent sovereign of that kingdom; for which purpose he held correspondence, both with the *Turks* and the *French* duke *Lesdeguieres*. He, at the same time, was to have supported the marquis of *Bedmar's* conspiracy against *Venice*. The marquis of *Villafranca*, governor of *Milan*, about the same time seized the castle of *Verceil*, and threatened to conquer all *Savoy*; but without giving any umbrage to the *Spanish* ministry, who replaced the duke of *Ossuna* by the cardinal

Conspira-
cy against
Venice.
Vol. X.
p. 313.

dinal *de Borgia*, and recalled the marquis of *Bedmar*. The progress of the marquis of *Villafranca* against *Savoy*, was likewise interrupted by a peace, concluded under the mediation of *France*, between that duke and the court of *Madrid*; which at the same time compromised all differences with the *Venetians*, and disavowed the marquis of *Bedmar*'s proceedings.

A domestic scene, distinct from those foreign ones, we have already represented in other parts of our history, now presents itself. The duke of *Lerma* had strong natural parts, if he was not a first rate genius. He perceived that the king's personal regard for him was apt to be shaken by every public misfortune that happened, and he sought to secure himself in his possession of power by a family interest, which might descend to his posterity. He introduced his son, the duke of *Uzeda*, to the king, with whom he soon became a private favourite, through the similarity there was between the very moderate parts of both. He placed a monk, one *Aliaga*, whom he thought he could trust, about the king's person, as his confessor; but he introduced to the prince of *Asturia*, his nephew, the count of *Lemos*, a man of superior abilities, whom he designed to succeed him as first minister. Those precautions ruined the duke of *Lerma*'s interest with his master. His son and the monk confederated together, and procured the removal of the count of *Lemos*, who was faithful to his uncle, from the post he held about the prince's person, and practised so upon the weakness of *Philip* himself, that he was dismissed from all his employments on the 4th of *October* 1618; but the duke of *Lerma*, to shelter himself from farther persecutions, had before that time procured a cardinal's hat from the pope. His brother, who had been made archbishop of *Toledo*, died soon after, and the king gave that rich bishopric to the infant, don *Ferdinand*, though not ten years of age.

We are now to consider the duke of *Uzeda* as first minister to *Philip*. He advised his master to make a tour into *Portugal*, where great discontents prevailed among the people, who exceeded the *Spaniards* themselves in riches, magnificence and luxury. His behaviour in *Portugal* did him vast service with that nation; but the more he looked into his affairs, upon his return to *Madrid*, he was the more struck with melancholy apprehensions of the consequences, both in *Italy* and *Germany*. The vast supplies of money he received from *America*, enabled him to support the *German* rights of the house of *Austria* against the elector palatine, who was defeated at the battle of *Prague* in 1620, entirely by his means, and the *Spanish* monarchy seemed to be regaining its lustre every where, when the death of its king, don *Philip* the III^d, happened, on the 15th of *March* 1621, aged 43 years; and in the 23^d of his reign. He left the affairs of *Spain* in great disorder; and from the expulsion of the *Moors*, may be dated the internal imbecillity of that country. Instead of applying his treasures to repair the miserable state of his country, which

1618.

Death of
Philip the
III^d.Vol. IX.
p. 145;
§ seq.
1620.

1621.

the states, in an assembly they held two years before his death, represented as falling to the ground, he lavished them upon the affairs of *Germany* and *Italy*, which were of no benefit to the *Spanish* monarchy, and the sums he expended in disputing with the *French* and *Grisons*, the possession of the *Valteline*, were thrown away. Upon his death-bed, he is said to have entertained great horrors of conscience, when he reflected upon his inhuman, as well as impolitic, treatment of his *Moorish* subjects. Of four sons and three daughters he had by his wife, *Margaret* of *Austria*, none survived him but his successor, *Philip*, the infants *Carlos* and *Ferdinand*, and the queen of *France*.

The
prince of
Wales vi-
sits *Spain*.

Vol. IX.
P. 353,
& seq.

During the long illness of *Philip* the III^d, some efforts were made for reinvesting the duke of *Lerma* in his place of first minister; but they were disappointed by the count *de Olivares*, favourite of the new king, *Philip* the IVth. It soon appeared that this prince was deeply infected with that indolence which had been the family failing of his father and grandfather, for though he was not destitute of natural accomplishments, he gave himself entirely up to the guidance of *Olivares*, who banished the duke of *Uzeda*, and the late king's confessor, from the court, and brought *Calderona* to the scaffold, where, by his noble behaviour, under an unmerited charge of being accessory to the death of two *Spanish* gentlemen, he effaced the popular odium he had contracted during his lifetime. The late king had ordered the *Valteline* to be restored to the *Grisons*, but the duke of *Feria* found means to evade the restitution, and after *Olivares* had, in a manner, proscribed all the late ministers and their dependents, and fixed his own creatures about his master's person, he entered upon a new system of government, which proved delusive, however flattering at first it appeared to the glory of *Spain*. This was no other than to protect the people of the *Valteline* in their revolt, to embroil *France*; to amuse *England*, and in the mean while to renew the war against the *Dutch*, whose improved territory and acquisitions in the *East Indies*, were to become accessions to *Spain*. *Olivares*, from an affectation of modesty, placed his uncle, don *Balthazar de Zuniga*, at the head of his master's councils, and though *Zuniga* was a man of parts, he joined with his nephew in renewing the war against the *Dutch*, the truce between them and *Spain* being on the point of expiring. This measure was vigorously opposed by archduke *Albert*, but *Philip* patronized his minister, and we have already seen, in the history of the *Low Countries*, the events that succeeded upon the renewal of the war. *Olivares*, at first, had reason to applaud his projects. The emperor gave to *Philip* the investiture of *Milan*, and all his smaller fiefs in *Italy*, and the divisions that happened between prince *Maurice* and the *States General*, gave the *Spaniards* great advantages in the commencement of the war. All this could not have happened, but by the hopes which the *Spanish* court gave to *James*, of
the

the marriage between the prince of *Wales* and the infanta taking place. Those were so sanguine as to prevail with *Charles* (who thought every thing had been as good as concluded at the court of *Spain*) to undertake the hazardous journey which he performed to *Madrid*, attended by his favourite *Buckingham*.

The reception of *Charles* by *Philip*, was polite beyond expression, and respectful even to a degree of affectation. Nothing sincere however was meant. The infanta herself, hearing of their arrival, protested to the minister, that she rather would go into a convent than consent to the marriage, and *Philip* had sworn that he never would give his sister's hand to a heretic. Notwithstanding this, both of them behaved, to outward appearance, as if the marriage was on the point of being concluded, till *Charles* and *Buckingham* found that the whole was a piece of ceremonious deceit, and *Buckingham* upbraided *Olivares* to his face with dissimulation and treachery. The prince was scarcely suffered to speak to his mistress, and they never had been left alone together. *Olivares* perceiving his master and himself at a loss for farther excuses, when pressed by *Charles*, either to suffer him to depart, or to deliver up to him his bride, charged *Buckingham* with having promised that the prince should declare himself a *Roman* catholic, to which *Buckingham* gave the other the lie. After this, *Buckingham*, in a manner, made his escape to *St. Andero*, where the *English* squadron waited, and was in a few days followed by *Charles* himself. Thus ended that famous negotiation, which was carried on with unparalleled dissimulation on the part of the *Spaniards*, and *Olivares* received thanks from his holiness for having defeated the match.

It must be acknowledged that the *Spanish* court made, at this time, a capital figure in *Europe*. The emperor of *Germany* was entirely dependent upon the will of *Philip*, and rendered him the umpire of the distressed elector palatine's fate, which *James* alledged as an excuse for his negotiations with *Spain*. Affairs in the *Low Countries* continued to be unfavourable, both to the *French* and the *Dutch*, though the latter distressed the *Spaniards* in the *East Indies*, and the *Spaniards* had succeeded in raising cardinal *Barberini* to the papacy. But the haughtiness of *Philip* was inexpressible, and the ambition of his ministers such, that the *English*, the *French*, the *Dutch*, and the *Italian* princes, united against *Spain*. The *English* actually landed at *Cadiz*, but were disappointed in taking the plate fleet, and forced to return home without doing any thing worthy the expence of the expedition. In the *Low Countries*, *Spinola*, the *Spanish* general, took *Breda*; and in *America*, don *Frederic de Toledo* dispossessed the *Dutch* of *Brasil*; but the *Spaniards* were obliged to give up the *Valtelline*, to the great displeasure of the *Venetians*, and the duke of *Savoy*. *Olivares* continued his ministry with lustre till the year 1627, when, upon the death of *Vincent* the 11th, duke of *Mantua*, he ad-

Negotia-
tion with
England
broken
off.

Misfor-
tures at-
tending
the *Spa-
nish* arms.

1627.]

Vol. X.
p. 324.

vised his master to strip the duke of *Nevers*, the lawful heir, of that succession. This war proved unfortunate for *Spain*. Her fleets and armies were every where beat, the *Dutch* plundered them in *America*, where their admirals, *Adrianfon* and *Heyn*, carried off eight millions of florins in silver, with a booty of a still greater value, besides destroying their shipping. They employed the famous *Spinola* to retrieve their affairs in *Italy*, but the inhabitants of the *Spanish Netherlands* made such complaints upon their being abandoned, that the *Conde* duke (as *Olivares* was pleased to stile himself, from a dukedom he had acquired in *Italy*) was in danger of being torn in pieces, when the queen was delivered of the prince, don *Balthazar*, which prevented all disputes and intrigues concerning the succession to the crown of *Spain*.

Bad policy of *Olivares*.

Vols. IX,
X and XI.

Vol. XI.
p. 477,
& seq.

1632.

The *German* and *Spanish* branches of the house of *Austria* continued all this while united, and *Olivares* impolitically aggrandized the *German* emperor so much, that the reduction of that house became now the great object of the rest of all *Europe*, as well as of *France*. The reader, in the preceding parts of this history, will find the particulars of the progress of the *French*, under cardinal *Richelieu*, in *Italy*, where all the schemes of the *Spaniards* were blasted, together with the motives that prevailed on *Gustavus Adolphus*, king of *Sweden*, to put himself at the head of the *Northern* confederacy, which reduced the *German* branch of *Austria* to the brink of ruin, and laid the foundation of that greatness that rendered the house of *Bourbon*, instead of that of *Austria*, the object of jealousy to the rest of *Europe*. In 1630, the *Spaniards* lost their great general, *Spinola*, the rival of the prince of *Parma*'s martial fame. The emperor *Ferdinand* made the peace of *Ratisbon* with the *French*, and *Olivares* was disappointed in all his attempts to renew the war in *Italy*, which was finished by the treaty of *Querasque*, which secured the independency of the *Italian* states. In 1631, the infant don *Carlos*, brother to the king, was sent viceroy to *Portugal*, and his other brother, the cardinal infant, was appointed governor of the *Low Countries*, where the marquis of *Santa Croce* commanded the army, and where the *Spanish* marine was in a manner ruined by the *Dutch*, though the *Spanish* admiral, *Osequendo*, obtained some advantages over them in *America*. It is to the honour of *Olivares*, that at this time he received and protected the queen-mother of *France*, and her son, the duke of *Orleans*, against the persecutions of *Richelieu*. The ill fortune of the house of *Austria* did not end with the life of *Gustavus Adolphus*, who was killed in 1632, for the arms of *Sweden*, *France* and *Holland* prevailed for some years after. All was laid to the charge of the *Conde* duke, whose unpopularity was encreased, by some new taxes laid upon the people; and the infant, don *Carlos*, dying about this time, it was thought that he removed him by poison. The war still continuing to the disadvantage of the house of *Austria*, in all quarters, the treasures of *Spain* were

were sunk in *Germany*. The cardinal infant, instead of going to his government of the *Low Countries*, was obliged to remain in *Italy*, which was actually in danger from the combined arms of *France* and *Sweden*. All means for recalling the court of *Savoy* to its connections with *Spain*, proved ineffectual, though *Olivares* brought off prince *Thomas* and cardinal *Maurice* of *Savoy*; the former taking service under the crown of *Spain* in the *Low Countries*. The republic of *Genoa*, out of hatred to the cardinal infant, shook off her connections with *Spain*, in favour of *France*, and by the advice of the *Spanish* ambassador at the imperial court, the famous *German* general, *Wallenstein*, basely fell, by the hands of *Scotch* and *Irish* assassins. When the most independent of the *Spanish* nobility offered to reason at the council board, upon the ruinous measures pursued by *Olivares*, he defended himself by saying, that by enabling the emperor of *Germany* to subdue the protestants, he would soon be in a condition to assist his catholic majesty in reducing the *Dutch*.

The dissatisfaction at the court still continuing in the *Spanish Netherlands*, the duke of *Aremberg* was sent by the malecontents to represent their case to the king and his minister, but they put him under a close arrest. Upon the arrival of the cardinal infant, he surprized *Treves*, and sent that elector prisoner to *Vienna*, for presuming to admit of a *French* garrison; and this, with other provocations in 1635, produced a formal declaration of war between *France* and the cardinal infant, don *Ferdinand*. The *Spanish* fleet, which was then considerable, beat the *French* on the coast of *Provence*, and reduced the islands of *Hieres*, but were refused admittance into *Genoa*. In 1636, all parties seemed tired of war, and inclined to peace; but such was the pride of the house of *Austria*, that when the city of *Cologne* was appointed for the conferences, the emperor refused to give passports for the ministers of the protestant princes, whom he termed his vassals, and his catholic majesty to those of the *Dutch*, whom he called his rebels. In *Italy*, the duke of *Parma* threw himself under the protection of the *Spaniards*, as did the *Grisons*, who recovered the *Valtelline*, from whence they drove the *French* duke of *Rohan*; but the *Spaniards* lost the island of *Hieres*, and the prince of *Orange* took *Breda*, while the *Spanish* army was defeated in *Languedoc*, by duke *Schomberg*. Count *Picolomini*, at this time, received pay from the *Spaniards*, and by a strange concurrence of *Italian* levity and *French* insolence, the balance of power in *Italy* became once more favourable to the *Spaniards*. Their general, the marquis *de Leganez*, was victorious in *Savoy*, as the infant don *Ferdinand* was in the *Low Countries*, and the admiral of *Castile* beat the *French* under the prince of *Condé*, who had besieged *Fontarabia*. In *Portugal*, the people inclined to the duke of *Braganza*, and in some places he was actually proclaimed king; but the court of *Madrid* was overjoyed that he was so unambitious as to withdraw

draw from the public eye, and decline the honour. In *Savoy*, prince *Thomas*, who continued in the *Spanish* service, and undoubtedly was an accomplished general, took *Turin*, and might have ruined the *French* interest in that duchy, had he not become jealous of the marquis of *Leganez*, and in a manner obliged him to consent to a four months truce, without attempting to take *Casal*. In the *English* channel, the *Dutch* attacked the *Spanish* fleet under *Oequendo*, though it had a nominal protection from the court of *England*, and destroyed many of their smaller ships, but their largest, with a great sum of money on board, escaped into the harbour of *Dunkirk*, while *Picolomini* forced the *French* lines at *Thionville*.

in *Savoy*.

The *Conde* duke made it a capital principle with him to reduce *Casal*, which, from the circumstances of the place, he thought easy; but the *Spaniards* were obliged to raise the siege by the count *de Harcourt*, after losing three thousand of their best troops, after which the count reduced *Turin*, though defended by prince *Thomas* of *Savoy*. The rest of the most important operations of this campaign, may be seen in the preceding parts of this history. On the frontiers of *Spain*, the *Spaniards* recovered *Salses*, and several places in *Roussillon*, which had been taken by the *French*.

The *Catalans* revolt.

The *Conde* duke presumed too much upon those advantages, which were merely the result of accident, or the application of money, and instead of consulting the internal tranquillity and interest of his master's dominions, he breathed nothing but destruction to the states of *Spain*, the *Catalans* particularly, on account of the few remains of liberty they still enjoyed. By his advice, *Philip* had disobliged the *Catalans*, who are said to have shewn too great a contempt of his power, and, in a manner, openly proclaimed war against the *Conde* duke. This brought upon them that minister's resentment, and after the *Spaniards* had recovered *Salses*, their army was permitted to live at free quarters in *Catalonia*. This produced the most horrid enormities, and the complaints of the *Catalans* were not only treated with contempt, but their oppressions were aggravated by their viceroy, the count *de San Coloma*, whom the populace murdered. The pope's nuntio endeavoured, in vain, to reduce them by persuasions, and by offering them pardon, but they were deaf to all his admonitions, seized upon *Barcelona*, and the revolt became general over all the province.

Rise of the revolution in *Portugal*;

Olivares appeared to be glad of that opportunity, that he might have a handle for exterminating the liberties and the chiefs of the *Catalans*. The marquis *de los Velos* was put at the head of thirty thousand men, and instructed to proceed against them with the utmost severity. The *Catalans* called in the *French* to their assistance. The succours they received, were very inconsiderable; but though the jealousy of the court had long deprived them of the use of arms, they forced *los Velos* to raise the siege of *Barcelona*. *Olivares*, instead of soothing the *Catalans*, continued the war against them with the greatest

greatest fury, but chiefly employed the *Portuguese* in reducing them, because he hated them as much as he did the *Catalans*. The *Portuguese* saw through his intention, which was to drain their country of her best troops, that they might fight the cause of the minister, who oppressed them in various other shapes, till at last he brought both the nobles and commons to a determined resolution of throwing off the *Spanish* yoke.

Olivares had some suspicion of their design, and did all he *Portugal* could to surprize the duke of *Braganza's* person, but in vain. *Portugal* was then governed by a vice queen, who was the in- the *Spanish* fanta donna *Maria* of *Savoy*, duchess dowager of *Mantua*, and grand-daughter to *Philip* the IId, but she could do nothing but by the advice of her secretary, *Vasconcellos*, the creature of *Olivares*. In order to inveigle the duke of *Braganza*, he was complimented with the nominal title of general of the *Portuguese* army; but his friends put him so much on his guard, that when the chief nobility of *Portugal* offered him their crown, he thought it safer to accept of it, and to put himself at the head of an open revolt, than to be continually exposed to insidious treachery. The dispositions made for the revolution, though secret, were suspected by the queen regent, and had they not been anticipated, they probably would have been defeated. The revolution that followed is scarcely to be paralleled in history, for the vigour and secrecy with which it was executed. The duchess of *Braganza*, sister to the duke of *Medina Sidonia*, the *Spanish* general on the frontiers of *Portugal*, was the soul of the whole. On the 1st of *December* 1640, 1640. the duke was proclaimed king of *Portugal*, under the name of *John* the IVth, and the vice queen was made a prisoner, and all the dominions of *Portugal* quietly submitted to his government, with the loss of not above three lives. *Olivares*, who always affected singularity, conscious that his own misconduct and oppressions had brought about the revolution, gave his master joy of the forfeiture of the duke of *Braganza's* great estate, which he had incurred by his rebellion, and endeavoured to repair the loss by plots against the life of the new king, which were all of them defeated.

Olivares was equally imprudent in all his other attempts. Vol. II. He forced the *Catalans* to connect themselves more closely than p. 490, ever with the *French*; so that the marquis de los *Velos*, the *Spanish* general, failed in all his operations, but that of reducing *Terragona*. As usual, he had recourse to plots and assassinations, in hopes of removing *Richelieu* out of the world; and the reader has seen, in the history of *France*, how they were defeated. In the *Low Countries*, the cardinal infant reduced *Aire*; but died soon after in the flower of his age, and his successor, don *Francisco de Mello*, took possession of the place. The loss of the cardinal infant was irretrievable to the *Spaniards* in the *Low Countries*, and their misfortunes every day encreased. The duke of *Medina Sidonia*, did nothing against the *Portuguese*, and was suspected of tampering with

Imprudence of
Olivares,

the *Andalusians*, but *Olivares* durst not attack him. The latter found his credit daily sinking, and that he upheld it with the king, by being the minister of his pleasures, rather than of his government. He had prevailed with the constable of *Castile* to give his daughter in marriage to his eldest son, to whom he was to resign his title and duchy of *St. Lucar*; and when he quarrelled with don *Balthazar de Zuniga*, he recovered the king's affections by the most infamous compliances. The fruits of those, at this time, appeared in the person of don *John of Austria*, a youth of fourteen years of age, *Philip's* son, by an actress, and who was placed at the head of an army serving against *Portugal*. In this distracted state of affairs, *Philip* took a resolution of marching in person against the *Catalans*; and the reader, in the history of *France*, will see the reasons that prevented *Richelieu* from carrying the revolt of that country to its utmost extent. When *Richelieu* brought *Lewis* to the frontiers of *Spain*, and laid siege to *Perpignan*, *Olivares*, against the opinion of the best *Spanish* generals, sent a body of three thousand horse to relieve the place; but the difficulties of their march were so unsurmountable, that they were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war, and *Perpignan* was reduced.

Vol. II.
p. 499,
§ 79.

who is disgraced.

In the *Low Countries*, don *Francis de Mello* beat the *French*, under the marshal *de Grammont* and the count *de Harcourt*, and might have marched to the gates of *Paris*, the *French* having no army in the field in those parts to resist him, had not *Olivares* been so much infatuated by the hopes he had formed of his conspiracies with the duke of *Orleans*, *de Thou*, *Cinq Mars* and *Richelieu's* other enemies at the *French* court, that he ordered *de Mello* to stop his march. His schemes proved again successful. The reader has already seen that the two last lost their lives on a scaffold, and the duke of *Orleans* made his peace with *Richelieu*. All the resources of *Olivares* now failed him, and he fell at his master's knees, bewailing their mutual misfortunes. *Philip* endeavoured to give him comfort, but upon his return to *Madrid*, he found a gloom on every countenance, and his court abandoned by his greatest and most independent nobility. The queen had the courage to inform him, that all was owing to the influence which *Olivares* had in his councils, and she was seconded in a memorial from the emperor, presented by the imperial ambassador, accusing the favourite of having, by his pernicious conduct, tarnished the glory of the house of *Austria*. To exasperate him the more against *Olivares*, donna *Margaret of Savoy*, whom, though so nearly related to the crown, *Olivares* had ordered to be brought up in a private station, was produced at court, and made a moving relation to *Philip* of her treatment, and even the queen's nurse was employed in exciting with her tears his pity for his people ruined by *Olivares*. *Philip's* pride was subdued, and he ordered his favourite to retire to *Loches*, to which he escaped in disguise. He there recovered his spirit,
and

and drew up a strong, but turbulent memorial, in his own defence, which occasioned his banishment to *Toro*.

The banishment of *Olivares* removed the disgrace, but not the distresses of *Philip*. He and his ministers were novices in the affairs of government. *La Mothe*, the French viceroy of *Catalonia*, gained footing there, and as we have seen in the history of *France*, *de Mello*, the best general *Spain* had, was beaten by the duke of *Enguien*, who was scarcely of age, at the battle of *Rocroy*. In *Germany* and *Italy*, every thing went unfortunately for the *Spaniards* and imperialists; and in the *Low Countries*, they lost *Graveline* to the *French*, and *Sas van Ghent* to the *Dutch*. In *Portugal*, the *Spanish* army under the marquis of *Torrecusa*, was entirely routed by the duke of *Albuquerque*, at *Badajoz*; and the *French* admiral, *de Breze*, defeated the *Spanish* fleet off *Carthagen*. The state of affairs in *France*, during the minority of *Lewis* the XIVth, did not suffer that ministry to support the *Catalans* properly, and the *Spaniards* there recovered *Lerida*. In *Milan*, the marquis *de Serra*, the *Spanish* general, was too weak to do any thing of importance; and the *Italian* princes set all considerations of treaties and engagements aside, for the pleasure of seeing the *French* and *Spaniards* destroy one another there. In this state stood the affairs of *Spain* in 1644, and 1645, when the armies made a successful stand in the *Low Countries*, under the marquis of *Castel Rodrigo*; but this happened chiefly through the misunderstandings that prevailed between the prince of *Orange* and the *French*. In *Catalonia*, the count of *Harcourt* and the marquis *de Plessis Praslin* took *Roses*, and gained other considerable advantages. A conspiracy had been formed for betraying *Barcelona* to the *Spaniards*, but it being discovered, and its heads punished, disconcerted all the schemes of *Cantelmo*, the *Spanish* general, nor did the marquis of *Leganez* make any progress on the side of *Portugal*, while the count *de Harcourt* took *Balaguer*.

Foreign
affairs in
Spain.

1644.

1645.

Philip was now a widower, and the nephew of *Olivares*, don *Lewis de Haro*, who had been recommended by his queen, was his first minister. It is allowed, that if he was less able, he was a more practicable man than his uncle, who about this time died in the place of his confinement. But while the fame and fortune of *Spain* seemed to be at the lowest ebb, they were suddenly relieved by the civil dissensions which continued to prevail in *France*. That power became every day more and more the object of jealousy among the princes of *Europe*. The pope, and a great party among the *Dutch* themselves, employed every art to thwart the measures of *Mazarine*, and omitted no opportunity of strengthening the opposition against him. He had given orders to besiege *Orbitello*, but the duke *de Breze* was killed in an engagement he had with the *Spanish* admiral, *Pimentel*, who endeavoured to relieve it; so that prince *Thomas* of *Savoy* was forced, with some discredit to himself, to raise the siege. Had it not been for

The
growing
greatness
of *France*.

Vol. X.
p. 316,
& seq.

1647.

Vol. IX.
p. 277.
1648.

Marriage
of Philip.

for the lethargy which prevailed at the court of *Spain*, the minister might have improved this juncture; for her armies in the *Low Countries* were commanded by the duke of *Lorraine*, *Picolomini*, and other able generals, but they were so ill supported that they could only act on the defensive. In *Catalonia*, the *French* viceroy, *Harcourt*, besieged *Lerida*, but was outgenerall'd by *Leganez*, who forced him to abandon his enterprize. We have already mentioned the famous insurrection of *Naples*, under *Massaniello*, with the state of the *Spanish* government there, and shall not resume either here, but observe that, had the duke of *Guise* been properly supported by *Mazarine*, the *Spaniards*, in all probability, must then have lost *Naples*. The peace agreed upon between them and the *Dutch*, was likewise of singular use to them on this occasion, as it left the archduke *Leopold*, who succeeded to the government of the *Low Countries*, at liberty to act against the *French* alone. In the beginning of the year 1647, the prince of *Condé*, who had succeeded to the duke of *Harcourt*'s command, resumed the siege of *Lerida*, but was, like his predecessor, obliged to abandon it, by its governor don *Auterrio Brito*. We have already seen the effects which the peace of *Münster* had upon the affairs of *Europe* in 1648. It was then that his catholic majesty clearly and explicitly first renounced his sovereignty over the dominions of the *States General*, and acknowledged them as independent sovereigns.

The war however went on in the *Low Countries*, where the prince of *Condé* beat the archduke *Leopold*, while *Schomberg*, who succeeded the prince in *Catalonia*, took *Tortosa*; the bishop of which, at the head of his clergy, made a gallant defence, and was killed in the storm. In *Italy*, the marquis *de Carracena*, the *Spanish* general in the *Milanese*, ruined the army of *France*, and forced it to raise the siege of *Cremona*; but the war still languished on the side of *Portugal*. The truth is, a strong party among the *Spanish* grandees, headed by the duke of *Medina Sidonia*, had, since the death of *Philip*'s only son, the infant don *Eusebio*, formed a most important scheme, which was that of joining in marriage the prince of *Brasil*, eldest son to the king of *Portugal*, with donna *Maria Teresa*, *Philip*'s presumptive heir. This project, however plausible, was dangerous. *Philip* had conceived an aversion to the house of *Braganza*, and he was not without hopes of having male heirs of his own body. The duke of *Medina Sidonia*, was discovered to have favoured, if not to have formed, this design, but he bought his life, by giving up all his accessaries. Several persons lost their heads by being involved in the affair, and some were tortured; but *Philip* resolved to marry once more, and pitched upon the archduchess *Mary Anne* of *Austria*, who accordingly became his wife, though she was his own niece.

War with
Portugal
continued.

The court of *Spain* still continued the war with *Portugal* and *France*. His *Portuguese* majesty had, with great magnanimity,
given

given shelter in his dominions to the two nephews of the unfortunate *Charles* the 1st of *England*, and admitted them into his harbours. The *Spanish* ministers meanly made a handle of this, to court the friendship of the *English* republicans, which they obtained, but upon dishonourable terms. The republic sent a fleet to *Portugal*, which forced that king to withdraw his friendship from the *English* royalists, and to dispatch ambassadors to deprecate the wrath of the republic at *Westminster*. Some doubts arose concerning their master's right to be treated as a sovereign prince. They refused to admit the *Portuguese* embassadour in any other character than that of an inferior minister, and obliged him to receive his audience in the *English* house of peers (that of the commons being reserved for ordinary and extraordinary ambassadors) where the walls were hung with the same tapestry that now appears there, and then purposely brought from the king's wardrobe, displaying the defeat of the *Spanish* armada by the *English*. The latter however were never the hearty friends of the *Spaniards*, and affairs took a very different turn under *Cromwell*.

The growing dissensions in *France* continued to favour the *Spaniards*. The *Catalans* found themselves in danger of being sacrificed by the *French* general, *Marsin*, who was the creature of the prince of *Condé*, and the *Spaniards* made a vast progress in the province, without meeting with any considerable resistance. It was with difficulty that the duke of *Merceur* could secure *Barcelona* to the *French*, and the latter must have lost all *Catalonia*, had not some disturbances broken out at *Valencia*, which employed the *Spanish* troops in quelling them. In the *Low Countries*, the viscount of *Turenne* having (as we have already seen in the history of *France*) taken service under the *Spaniards*, was beaten by the marquis *de Plessis Praslin*. The prince of *Condé*, soon after, went over to the same interest, but *Philip* wanted money, and his minister wanted genius, to improve those vast advantages. They gave up all they possessed in the *Piedmontese*, for the sake of the *Milaneze*, and that they might support the operations of the prince of *Condé* in *Guienne*. At last, about the year 1652, don *Lewis de Haro*, by his continual attention to the internal dissensions of *France*, became master of *Casal*, which was given up to the duke of *Mantua*. The archduke took *Graveline*, and *Dunkirk* itself surrendered to his arms on the 16th of September 1652. Even *Barcelona* itself fell into the hands of don *John of Austria*, and all *Catalonia*, excepting *Roses*, was recovered from the *French*, which was in a great measure owing to the professions the court of *Madrid* made of reinstating the *Catalans* in all their privileges. The prince of *Condé*'s interest dwindled in *Guienne*, where the *French* recovered *Bordeaux*, and drove the *Spaniards* out of the province. After this, the irreconcilable difference between the manners of the archduke *Leopold* and the prince of *Condé*, entirely disgusted the latter, and *Spain* lost all the fruits of his services. In *Catalonia*, don *Juan*

Distresses
of the
Catalans.

1652.

Juan of Austria, was forced to raise the siege of *Roses*, as the *French* general did that of *Gironne*.

Cromwell
joins
France
against
Spain.

Vol. IX.
p. 185.

We have already seen how the duke of *Guise*, after his attempt upon *Naples*, had been sent prisoner to *Spain*, where he was set at liberty at the intercession of the prince of *Condé*. The latter could not agree so well with the duke of *Lorraine*, another soldier of fortune, whom the *French* had stripped of his dominions, and who, in 1654, was treacherously sent prisoner to *Spain*, where he remained in captivity till the peace of the *Pyrenees*. But neither this complaisance shewed to the prince, nor the other honour paid him by the *Spaniards*, could retain him in their service. He despised their formality and slowness, and he foresaw that they would be unable to protect him, if *Mazarine* should succeed (as he afterwards did) in bringing *Cromwell* to declare against them. It is now universally agreed, that the *English* usurper acted very impolitically in joining *France* against *Spain*, and that nothing could have induced him to that measure, but the necessities of his government at home. He saw the armies of *Spain*, it is true, ruined on all hands for want of money, and the hopes of their ministers, from the divisions in *France*, daily drawing to a period. Notwithstanding that, he knew that *Philip* had exhausted more money upon his new palace of the *Escorial*, than could have supported the wars he was engaged in for ten years; and that he was hourly receiving prodigious remittances from *America*, which not being protected, might be easily intercepted by the *English* squadrons. The *Spanish* ministry would have made any compliances to have obtained a peace; but all was in vain, for the *French* king had now taken the field in person, at the head of an army which carried all opposition before him. The archduke saw, at the same time, that the *Spanish* general, the count *de Fuenfaldagna*, was a greater favourite at the court of *Madrid*, than he himself. The war was all this while going on in *Catalonia*, where don *John* commanded for the *Spaniards*, and obtained many advantages over the prince of *Conti*, the *French* general.

Don *John* The *Spaniards* having now not much to fear on the side of *Austria*, *Roussillon*, don *John* of *Austria* was appointed governor of the Low Countries, as the count *de Fuenfaldagna* was of the *Milanese*, where he found both the finances and troops of *Spain* in a most miserable situation, and lost *Valenza* to the *French* duke of *Merceur*. The marine of *Spain* was, at this time, dwindled so low, that it could not furnish out a sufficient escort for don *John* to protect him from the privateers, from whom he escaped with the greatest difficulty. On his arrival, he and the prince of *Condé* gained great credit, by obliging the *French* to raise the siege of *Valenciennes*, and their great *Turcotte* to retire under the cannon of *Quesnoy*. But we have already described the operations of this campaign. *Mazarine*, to observe a shew of moderation, offered terms to his catholic majesty, but they stuck at the indemnity required for the prince

of *Condé*, and at some hints which *Lionne*, the *French* minister, dropt of a match between his young master and *Philip's* daughter. In 1657, the prince of *Condé* reduced *St. Guislain* in the *Low Countries*. The *French* took *Montmedi*, *St. Venant*, and *Mardike*, but the prince of *Condé* acquired immortal honour by forcing *Turenne* to raise the siege of *Cambray*. But this and other advantages gained by the *Spaniards* in the *Low Countries*, as well as in *Catalonia*, did not compensate for the blows which their commerce suffered from the *English* in *America*, where they lost *Jamaica*, and the admirals, *Blake* and *Montagu*, destroyed and took five of their richest galleons. In *Portugal*, that king acted on the defensive, and at the time of his death, he left a minor son, but his subjects were all united in their hatred of the *Spaniards*. The *Spanish* general, the duke de *St. Germain*, took *Olivenza* and *Moron*; but *Blake* gave a fresh blow to the *Spanish* trade, by destroying and burning a fleet of their galleons richly laden, in the island of *Teneriffe*.

1657.

The long continuance of the war, disposed the court of *Spain* at last to peace, and *Mazarine*, who affected moderation, dispatched *de Lionne*, with full powers to treat of it at *Madrid*. The negotiation proved ineffectual, because the court of *France* refused to agree to the demands of the *Spaniards*, in favour of the prince of *Condé*; and *de Lionne* found that *Philip* was irreconcilable to the true end of the conferences, which was a marriage between the infanta and *Lewis* the XIVth. This year *Turenne* regained the advantages the *Spaniards* had obtained in the *Low Countries*, for he took *St. Venant* and *Mardike*, which last place was delivered up to general *Morgan*, who commanded a body of *English* auxiliaries in the *French* army. In *Italy*, the duke of *Mantua* left the *French* interest, and the count de *Fuensaldagna* had great difficulty in keeping his footing in the *Milanese*. *Charles*, king of *England*, had thrown all his interest into the *Spanish* scale; and his two brothers, the dukes of *York* and *Gloucester*, served under don *John* and the prince of *Condé* in the *Low Countries*. *Charles* had but little credit with either party, but had such excellent intelligence from *England*, that he informed the *Spanish* ministers and generals, that *Cromwell* threatened to withdraw his troops from the *French* army, if they did not immediately besiege *Dunkirk*. The *Spaniards* were then elevated by having baffled an attempt made by the *French*, under marshal *D'Aumont*, whom they took prisoner, for surprizing *Ostend*, and treated *Charles's* information with neglect, imagining that *Turenne's* object was *Cambray*; but they were strangers to the spirit of the *English* usurper, who was resolved to be obeyed, and who forced both *Turenne* and *Mazarine* to submit to his dictates. *Dunkirk* was invested; don *John* flew to its relief, but without artillery, and was completely defeated by *Turenne*, or rather by the *English* auxiliaries who served under him, though the prince of *Condé*, and the two *English* princes (who behaved remarkably well) served in the *Spanish* army.

Dunkirk

Dunkirk was taken soon after, and it was thought that the *Spaniards* received more blows during this campaign in the *Low Countries* than they had in any of the preceding.

Prelimina-
ries settled
for the
Pyrenean
peace be-
tween
France
and *Spain*.
1658.

The war with *Portugal* was, however, the capital object of the court of *Madrid*, who considered all others as little else than diversions. The *Portuguese* under *Vasconcellos* besieged *Badajoz*, and don *Lewis de Haro*, stung by the reproaches of the public, put himself at the head of twenty thousand men, raised the siege of *Badajoz*, and invested *Elvas*, the strongest place in *Portugal*. His army was attacked by the count *de Castagneda*, the *Portuguese* general, and defeated with the loss of two thousand men, on the 3d of *July* 1658. Through the great efforts made on the side of *Portugal*, the war languished in other quarters, but the *Spanish* general *Mortara* obtained some advantages over the duke *de Mercœur* in *Catalonia*. Those were but temporary events, and the best ministers of *Spain*, particularly the duke *de Fuensaldagna*, represented to *Philip* the danger his monarchy was in, if not saved by a peace. He had now two sons, and he listened to the advice of his ministers and allies, especially the dutchess of *Savoy*, who trembled for that dutchy in case the *French* should become masters of *Milan*, and who secretly intended her own daughter, the princess *Margaret*, as a match for the *French* king. *Pimentel*, a *Spanish* minister, went incognito to *Lyons*, where the *French* court was, and informed *Mazarine* that his catholic majesty had no farther objection to the match between his daughter and *Lewis*, and that he saw no capital objection to settling preliminaries for peace. *Mazarine* agreed, and preliminaries were signed.

Lewis
XIV.

married to
the infanta
of *Spain*.

The *Spaniards* gave up the interest of the prince of *Condé*, and the *Portuguese* were left to defend themselves alone against the power of *Spain*. These preliminaries, as we have already seen, produced the interview between the ministers of the two crowns in the isle of *Pheasants*, where the *Pyrenean* treaty was settled. In consequence of that, the marshal *Grammont* demanded the infanta for his master, and the different renunciations were executed with some difficulty.

The *Spa-*
niards
yield the
preceden-
cy at
France.

Philip and his ministers imagined now the reduction of *Portugal* to be certain; but though don *John* of *Austria* was recalled to *Spain* for that purpose, the campaign continued to languish, waiting for the old *Spanish* regiments from the *Low Countries*. In the mean while, *Philip* had an interview with the *French* king at *Fontarabia*, where all parties behaved in the most affectionate manner; and the prince of *Condé*, who had secretly made his own terms, left the *Spanish Netherlands*, where his troops had behaved very licentiously. Don *John*, at last, took the field against the *Portuguese* with a very fine army, and took *Aronches*, with some other places, but could not force the *Portuguese* to a battle. Notwithstanding the *Pyrenean* peace, the duke of *Schomberg*, one of the most accomplished generals in *Europe*, at the head of six hundred *French* volunteers, continued in the *Portuguese* service, and had brought their army

into

into excellent discipline. Don *John* felt this, and complained that he was ill supported; but the *Portuguese* received a vast accession of strength and credit, by a match set on foot between that king's sister, and *Charles II.* of *England*, soon after his restoration. This nettled the court of *Spain* so much, that they sent a minister, *de Batteville*, to the court of *London*, who entered into dangerous measures with the malecontents there, and whose behaviour produced the famous medal struck by the court of *France*, in which the precedence of the *French* over the *Spaniards* was expressly asserted; and about that time, don *Lewis de Haro* died.

Don *John* succeeded the minister in his credit with his father, and he began the campaign against *Portugal* in 1662, with such success, that it was thought he might have taken *Lisbon* sword Admini- in hand, had it not been for his too great caution. He became stration of master however of many important places, and treated their don *John* commandants as rebels, to strike the greater terror into the in *Spain*. people. In the succeeding campaign, don *John* took *Ebora*, and *Lisbon* must have fallen into his hands, had it not been for the excellent dispositions made by *Schomberg*, who, by the help of some *English* regiments, defeated don *John* in his retreat, with the loss of above three thousand men, and thereby secured the crown of *Portugal* to the house of *Braganza*. The catholic king was much discouraged by this defeat, and endeavoured to strengthen himself, by forming fresh connections with the *German* branch of the house of *Austria*. He gave his daughter in marriage to the emperor *Leopold*; but this was far from relieving him, and the *Portuguese* in the campaign of 1664, recovered almost all they had lost in the preceding ones. 1664.

The *Spanish* ministry was disgusted with don *John*, and sent for the marquis of *Carracena*, their governor in the *Netherlands*, to command against *Portugal*; but, till he could arrive, the *French* count *Marsin* was their general. The latter resigned his commission upon the arrival of *Carracena*, who was fraught with the most extravagant prepossessions, and promised to put the *Spaniards* in possession of *Lisbon* in one campaign. He was at the head of a numerous well appointed army, with which he besieged *Villaviciosa*; but he was defeated in the plain of *Montes Claros*, with the loss of four thousand men killed, and four thousand made prisoners; don *Diego Corrior*, his second in command, being among the latter. The stoic gravity of *Philip* forsook him on his receiving intelligence of this defeat. The letter dropt from his hand, and he fell into a swoon, saying only, "it is the will of God." After all, the *Portuguese* having lost three thousand men in the late battle, made no farther progress on that side during the campaign, but *Schomberg* made an irruption into *Andalusia* to revenge the ravages of the *Spanish* fleet on the *Portuguese* coasts. Defeat of the *Spaniards* by the *Portuguese*.

On the 17th of *September* 1665, *Philip IV.* of *Spain* died, 1665. with the character of having good natural parts, of being Death of wedded to the glory of the house of *Austria*, but of being *Philip IV.* ruined

Accession of *Charles II.* ruined in his education. He left a will regulating his succession, though no part of it was carried into execution, but that of his being succeeded by his eldest surviving son *Charles II.* He left his queen regent of the kingdom, with a council during the minority of his son *Charles*, who was no more than four years of age. She was like her husband, devoted to her own house, that of *Austria*, headstrong and intractable. She had gained her husband's affections so much, that she had prevailed with him to exclude his natural son don *John* of *Austria* from all concern in the government, and she had introduced one father *Nitard*, her favourite and confessor, but a poor groveling wretch, into the council of regency, by procuring for him the place of inquisitor general. The *French* made a treaty with the *Portuguese*, who continued to be supported by *Charles II.* and this forced the government of *Spain*, at last, to make a definitive treaty with *Alonso*, his *Portuguese* majesty, under the mediation of *England*, by which the right of the house of *Braganza* to the crown of *Portugal*, was amply acknowledged on the 13th of *February* 1668. During the dependence of this treaty, the *French* king entered his claim to the dutchy of *Brabant*, in right of his mother, who had renounced it, and not meeting with a satisfactory answer, he took *Tournay*, *Lisle*, *Douay*, *Oudenarde* and *Charleroy*, in right of what he called his devolution. His progress alarmed the people of *England*, and the *Dutch*, who were then at war with each other; but they soon accommodated matters, and formed the triple league in which *Sweden* was the third party, and saved the remainder of the *Spanish Low Countries*. That league, as we have seen in the history of *France*, produced the treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, in which the *Spaniards* made vast concessions to the *French*, but without acknowledging *Lewis's* right of devolution.

Philip governed by his queen. 1668. Peace of *Aix-la-Chapelle*. Sicily revolts from *Spain*.

Don *John* of *Austria*, ever since he had been recalled from his command in *Portugal*, had lived in retirement; but the affairs of *Spain* were now in such a miserable condition, that all the grandees threw their eyes upon him, as the only man who could retrieve them. The queen did all she could to prevent his being restored to credit, by promising him the unlimited government of the *Low Countries*; but he easily discovered she only wanted to get rid of him, that she and *Nitard* might govern more absolutely than ever. Don *John*, who was really a man of abilities, finding the strong support he was like to have against *Nitard's* unpopularity, threatened that if the queen did not banish him from court, he would employ force for that purpose. She endeavoured to maintain her authority, but finding it too weak, *Nitard* retired to *Rome*, where she procured him a cardinal's hat, and don *John* was made lieutenant-governor of *Arragon*, that he might reside at a distance from court. The constable of *Castile* was made governor of the *Low Countries*, and was succeeded by don *Juan de Haro*, count of *Montenay*, second son to the minister don *Lewis*. He proved a brave and an active governor, and had it not been for

a series of misfortunes, the prince of *Orange* and he would have stript the *French* of their chief possessions in the *Spanish Netherlands*. About the year 1672, *Spain* co-operated with *Germany* to save *Holland*, as we have seen in various parts of the preceding history, but they were deserted by *England*, though *Lewis* was obliged to evacuate the *Dutch* provinces he held. In 1674, *Messina* in *Sicily* revolted from the *Spaniards*, and demanded protection from *France*, which sent a strong squadron against the *Spaniards*. The revolters were, at that time, in a most dreadful situation, and before they were thoroughly relieved by the *Spaniards*, they were forced to consent to admit the *French* duke of *Vivonne* as their viceroy. He employed his power in enriching himself; and this gave the *Spaniards* an opportunity of securing the unrevolted places of the island.

Hitherto the queen had maintained herself in the regency, by the respect which the *Spaniards* paid to the mother of their king; but on the 9th of *November* 1675, the king declared himself of age, and put himself under the counsel of the bishop of *Malaga*. The queen endeavoured to retain her power, by being continued at the head of the regency; but the king, who then discovered pregnant parts, declared that he was resolved to govern without one. It was observed after this, that his majesty's spirit and capacity gradually abated, which some imputed to the practices of the queen mother upon his health, because she could not brook a diminution of her authority. It is allowed, however, that the council of *Spain*, at this time, had right notions as to foreign affairs, and entered into all schemes for reducing *France*. The *Dutch* admiral *de Ruyter*, was sent with a squadron to the relief of the *Spaniards* in *Sicily*; but he was killed in an engagement with the *French* admiral *du Quesne*, and the united fleets of *Spain* and *Holland* were defeated and destroyed afterwards at the entrance of the port of *Palermo* in 1676.

The queen mother, in consequence of the advice sent her from the court of *Vienna*, employed every rapacious method of encreasing her riches, and for that purpose she made use of don *Hernando de Valenzuela* as her agent. According to a dispatch from Sir *W. Godolphin*, then ambassador of *Madrid*, to Mr. secretary *Coventry*, this person, whose extraction was very mean, had been employed by the queen as her secretary in a private correspondence she kept up with *Nitard*, and finding him a man of parts and address, she had advanced him through most of the great offices of state, in which he behaved so well, that he incurred no personal envy. According to the authority which we have just now cited, and which is preferable to that of the *Spanish* historians, the queen endeavoured to bribe don *John* by giving him an unlimited commission to be vicar-general of *Naples*, *Milan*, *Sicily*, and all the *Spanish* dominions in *Italy*. His interest with the king was strongly supported by the marchioness *de los Velos*, and other persons who had the charge of his education and conscience, and they

prevailed so far, that just as don *John* was setting out for his government, he received two letters from the king recalling his commission, and commanding his attendance at court, to take upon him the administration. Don *John* obeyed, and without being discovered, appeared in the king's bed chamber. *Charles* received him well, but left him to go into his mother's apartment, hoping he might prevail with her to give him an audience. Instead of that, she employed her ascendancy over her son so effectually, that don *John* received three letters from his majesty, peremptorily commanding him to leave the court, and all who were found to be any way accessory to his journey, were removed from their employments, banished or imprisoned.

who loses
her power.

Upon don *John's* retiring to *Saragossa*, *Valenzuela* was made marquis of *Villa Sierra*, and declared first minister of state, upon which the principal grandees resigned their seats at the council board. This did not daunt the marquis, who applied himself with great vigour to the affairs of state, to which, however, he was very unequal. The grandees unanimously now had recourse to don *John*, who accepted of their invitation to assist them in removing the queen mother and her favourite from the king's person, and he accordingly set out from *Saragossa* for *Madrid* with above six thousand attendants, besides those of the grandees in his party. *Charles* summoned the counsellors together who remained with him, and it was resolved to make don *John* colonel of the royal guards, as a mark of his being entirely in his majesty's favour. The nobility then demanded that the person of *Valenzuela* should be secured, and presented a memorial for that and other purposes. Not being sure that he was proof against his mother's influence, he was persuaded to escape privately in the duke of *Medina's* equipages from *Madrid* to *Retiro*; and thus he got rid of his mother's presence. She was however treated with the greatest tenderness and respect, and the marquis of *Villa Sierra*, with his family, retired to the monastery of St. *Laurence* in the *Escurial*, which was surrounded by four hundred gentlemen under the duke of *Medina Sidonia*, and don *Antonio de Leyva*, the duke of *Alva's* eldest son. Their vigilance was such, that the marquis was discovered, and the treasures which he had amassed there to an immense sum, were sequestered to the king. As to himself, he was degraded from his marquissate, and his grandeeship; but nothing treasonable could be found in his conduct. He bore his misfortunes with great intrepidity, and was banished to the *Philippine* islands, from whence he was afterwards suffered to return to *Spain*. The vast treasures he possessed either for himself or in trust for the queen mother, seem to have formed the chief articles of accusation against him.

Admini- Nothing but an absolute insanity in the king can justify his
stration of grandees for having put him by force under the tutelage of
don *John*. don *John*, and raising troops to be the interpreters of his will.
The

The party in the opposition to the queen went so far, that she was not suffered even to take leave of him, when she left *Madrid* to go to *Aranjuez*; and notwithstanding her high rank, and the numerous creatures she had raised, her court there was a desert, though it was remarkable that the king not only sent one of his chief domestics to visit her, but dropt some expressions as if he intended to surprize her with a visit when she removed to *Toledo*; and to divert him, don *John* carried him to *Aragon*, on pretence of swearing to the observance of the laws of that kingdom. According to Sir *William Godolphin's* Letters account, the king discovered, while upon his journey, great from uneasiness when a simple woman called out in the crowd, Sir *Wm*: "Where is the queen his mother." While don *John* was thus *Godolphin* intent upon re-establishing the internal affairs of *Spain*, the to the lord conferences for peace were going on at *Nimeguen*; but during chamber-the sittings, every thing went against the *Spaniards* in the *Low* lain. *Countries*, and the count *de Monterey*, who was the best gene- *Madrid*, ral they had, was unsuccessful in *Italy* and *Catalonia*. This *Feb. 17*, procured his disgrace with don *John*, who is said to have been *27, 1676*, jealous of the count's great credit with the king on account of his general good character, and his patriotic, as well as military, virtues. The insolence of the *French* in *Sicily*, disgusted the inhabitants of that island, and the *English* and *Dutch* preparing to recover it for the *Spaniards*, the *French* court took a sudden resolution to recall their troops from thence, and to leave the *Messinians* to the mercy of their former masters, who punished them with an impolitic severity. The *Dutch* and the *Spaniards* were now so intimately united in interest, that the *Dutch* steadily persisted to refuse signing the treaty of *Nimeguen*, till a restitution stipulated by it for the *Spaniards* was executed. We have already given the particulars of those restitutions. It is well known that by the treaty of *Nimeguen*, *France* in reality meant only to gain a breathing time.

As the return of peace gave some leisure to don *John*, he *Don John* took measures for establishing his power, and for preventing is disgrac-his being called to an account for the manner in which he had ed and obtained it. He was conscious of many irregularities of con- dies. duct towards the queen mother, and alarmed at the tenderness her son still possessed for her. He therefore established a commission of enquiry into her management and behaviour, in order to plead some excuse for keeping her at a distance from the court. She had proposed the emperor *Leopold's* daughter, though in her cradle, as a match for her son; but *Charles* inclined to *Maria Louisa*, daughter to the duke of *Orleans*, and niece to *Charles II.* of *England*, don *John's* favourite ally. The princess was accordingly demanded at the court of *France*, but don *John* unfortunately for himself, by insisting upon some previous stipulations in favour of the *Spanish Netherlands*, had almost disappointed the match, a conduct which proved so much to his prejudice, that it lost him the king's countenance, upon which he was abandoned by all the friends which his

greatness had made. His disgrace touched him so much, that it affected his health, and he died some say of poison, and others of heart break. He is esteemed to be the last prince of the house of *Austria*, who inherited all the virtues and abilities of *Charles V.* with few of his failings. No personal consideration could make him lose sight of his country's good, and before his disgrace, he restored the count *de Monterey* to his former power and lustre. He was visited by the king his brother, who wept over him while he was expiring; but soon forgot his loss, though he was bewailed by the whole nation.

The queen
mother
regains
her power.

Never was there a more divided poor and despicable kingdom than that of *Spain*, when *Charles* consummated his nuptials with his young queen. Giving way to his natural affection for his mother, he brought her back in triumph to his court, where she wreaked her vengeance on the friends of don *John*, and on all who had been instrumental in her disgrace. The finances of the public were so low, that the king's domestics were obliged to leave the court for want of the common necessities of life, and the *French* who attended the young queen, particularly their ambassador *Villars*, insulted *Charles* so grossly, that he wished for a war, that he might get rid of his person. The most exorbitant demands were every day made by the *French* court, and *Charles* was obliged to comply with them all, because he was in no condition to dispute them. The natural consequence of this was, that *Spain* became more despicable, if possible, in the sight of her allies than of her enemies. The duke of *Medina Celi*, a man of virtue, was then first minister; but his capacity was unequal to the task of remedying the distresses and disgraces of his country, which was insulted by every power in *Europe*. His defects might have been amply supplied by the count *de Monterey*, but he was hated by the queen mother, and both he and his brother were kept at a distance from court. The duke of *Medina Celi* resigned his place of first minister. The *French* continued their conquests, and the *Dutch* submitted. *Spain* found her safety in the ambition of *France*, which disdained all bounds, and united *Europe* against *Lewis*. No tie was so sacred as to check his arms, and while the *Dutch* and *Germans* looked on, his marshal *Crequi* bombarded *Luxembourg*, and other *French* generals invaded *Navarre*. They were opposed by the Spanish duke of *Bournonville*, and to break the force of the gathering storm, a truce was concluded at *Ratisbon*, by which the *Spaniards* gave up *Luxembourg*, but recovered *Courtray* and *Dixmuyde*.

The king
exerts
himself for
the good
of his
people.

In this distressed state of *Spain*, her king, who had hitherto been thought incapable of business, exerted himself to a surprising degree in giving ease to his people. It was found that this could be done only by striking off the unbounded pensions and appointments of his great men, who thereby became as clamorous as the vulgar had been before. The count *de Orpesa* was then first minister to *Charles*, whose vigorous mea-

asures,

tures, though they seemed to be confined to *Spain*, sensibly operated upon all *Europe*. He was well served by his ambassadors abroad, and they, without demanding any favour for their master, answered all his ends by representing the progress of the *French* power. This renewed the connections between the two branches of the house of *Austria*; and on the 20th of *June* 1686, the league of *Augsbourg* was signed by the *Spanish*, 1686. imperial, *Swedish*, *Bavarian*, and other *German* ministers, for defending their respective dominions, and making good the treaty of *Nimeguen*. Had not *James II.* of *England* been at this time infatuated by *Lewis*, this league might have had great effects, but the prevalence of the *French* faction among the states general, rendered it insignificant. *Lewis* sent *d'Étrees* with a squadron into the *Mediterranean*, where he took two galleons, and insulted *Cadiz*. In short, the *French* omitted no kind of violation either of public justice or decency, that could persuade the other powers of *Europe* of the necessity of a general confederacy against them. Vol. IX. p. 197.

The situation of *Charles* at this time, was very particular. Progress He had executed his plan of reformation with such steadiness of the con- and success, that *Spain* began to regain her public credit. He federacy loved his queen, but was devoted to his mother, whose politics against at last fell in with the interests of his country, by connecting *France*, him with the imperial court. She had so much influence, that she even prevailed with him to recall *Valenzuela*; but upon second thoughts, he sent a countermand to his own order. By this time, the court of *Madrid* as well as that of *Vienna* was in the secret of the prince of *Orange's* invasion of *Great Britain*, to which *Charles* largely contributed, as the only means of improving the league of *Augsbourg* into a general confederacy against *France*, which afterwards happened. It is certain, that the designs of *Spain* at this time, were conducted with the greatest wisdom and secrecy, and contributed greatly to the revolution in *England*. While *Charles* was thus recovering his influence, he fell ill, and during his sickness, the power of the queen mother was such, as to exclude his consort from having access to his chamber. She even entered into some intrigues for procuring a divorce between her son and his queen, on account of her sterility, that *Charles* might be at liberty to marry an infanta of *Portugal*; but this scheme proved abortive upon his recovery. A plate fleet, which arrived safe in *Spain* in the year 1688, gave him fresh weight and credit with the enemies 1688. of *France*. About the same time, *Charles* lost his queen, as the Death of *French* alledge, by poison, and in two months after he was the queen married to *Mary Anne*, a beautiful young princess, daughter consort. to the duke of *Newburgh*, afterwards elector palatine, and sister to her imperial majesty and the queen of *Portugal*. The reader, by the hasty conclusion of that match, may perceive that the queen mother had now no rival at court, and soon after a war was declared with *Lewis*, who had now begun to feel the effects of the *Spanish* councils by the defeat of his armies

p. 42, & seq. armies in *Catalonia*, and the defection of the duke of Savoy from his interest. *Lewis*, however, was much better served than the confederates were in the field, as the reader may see in consulting the history of *France*. The marquis of *Gastanaga* was then governor of the *Spanish Netherlands*, and checked the progress of the *French* arms there by the assistance of the *Dutch* and *Brandenburghers*, while the *French* marshal *d'Humières* was beaten by prince *Waldeck*. During those interesting events in *Europe*, some relating to *Spain* happened in *Africa*. There, the *Moors* besieged *Oran*, but the siege was gallantly raised by a body of *Spanish* noble volunteers. *Muley Ishmael*, emperor of *Morocco*, had better fortune, for he took *Larach* after an obstinate siege, and destroyed the *Spanish* garrison there of a thousand men.

Poverty of Spain, and riches of its gran-dees. In *Catalonia*, the people rebelled against their governor, the marquis *de Leganex*, and he was recalled, but the duke of *Villahermosa* would easily have reduced them, had they not been supported by the *French*. The king received his bride with raptures of joy, and the court of *Madrid* soon after published a very strong manifesto, to shew the necessity of a general confederacy against *France*. By this time, *Spain* had raised a considerable marine, which enabled *Charles* to act offensively on the *French* coasts, and every operation in the field demonstrated the decay of the *French* power. The seasonable arrival of another plate fleet, enabled *Charles* to continue his operations with success in *Italy* and the *Low Countries*; but a dangerous illness, into which he fell, alarmed not only *Spain*, but all *Europe*, concerning his succession. Upon his recovery, *Barcelona* and *Alicant* were bombarded by the *French* fleet, and his generals lost ground in *Catalonia*, through a disagreement that happened between the duke of *Medina Sidonia*, commander in chief, and his lieutenant-general count *Pignatelli*. To heighten the consternation of the *Spaniards*, *Mons* was taken by the *French*, upon which *Charles* gave the government of the *Low Countries* to the elector of *Bavaria*, who had married his niece, and with powers that were next to independent.

1692. In the year 1692, upon the arrival of a new fleet from the *West Indies* with prodigious treasures, *Charles* placed the count of *Monterey* at the head of his finances. This was the more expedient, as it was found upon enquiry that prodigious embezzlements had been lately made, not only in *Spain*, but in the government of the *Netherlands*. The marquis *de Gastanaga* was, upon his arrival from *Flanders*, sent prisoner to *Burgos*; and it is agreed on all hands, that while the king was in the utmost distress for money, his nobility were the richest of any in *Europe*; but without contributing a farthing to the public expence. In *Flanders*, the *French* took *Namur*, and beat the allies at *Steenkirk*, but could not conceal their exhausted state, which forced them to apply to the court of *Madrid* for peace. The *Spanish* ministers encouraged by this, executed a project which they had long formed of raising money upon the estates of

See p. 46.

of the grandees and the great officers of the crown. This scheme Care of succeeded, and even cities and corporations contributed their the succes- quotas. Upon the disappointment of the hopes once con- sion to that ceived of the queen's pregnancy, the right of succession came crown. to be agitated in the councils of *Spain*. Different opinions prevailed, but the son of *Lewis XIV.* as descending from the elder sister, undoubtedly had the right of blood; tho' it was barred, not only by the renunciation of *Maria Teresa* the mother, but by the jealousy which all *Europe* must entertain on seeing the crowns of *France* and *Spain* united. The emperor, who was married to the second sister, claimed the whole, because his wife had never made any such renunciation. The electoral prince of *Bavaria* had a third claim, as being the grandson of the emperor's wife. Each had their partizans, but the king himself inclined to the electoral prince, whose interest was likewise supported by the queen mother, and her favourite, the count *de Orapesa*. Cardinal *Portocarrero* was at p. 48. the head of a party for archduke *Charles*, second son to the emperor; but the partizans of *France*, at this time, made very little stir for the princes of *Bourbon*, though they were far from being idle. On the side of *Catalonia*, their operations were successful, for they took *Roses*, and their admiral *Tourville* destroyed the *Spanish* commerce. In the *Low Countries*, *Spain* lost *Charleroy*; but the galleons in 1695, arrived safe at 1695. *Cadiz*, to the great consolation of the court; so that during the next two campaigns, *Spain* began to recover her lustre on all hands, as may be seen in the histories of *France* and *Germany*.

About this time, the queen mother of *Spain*, who had ever since the death of don *John* of *Austria*, directed the affairs of that monarchy, and influenced those of *Europe*, died after having prevailed with the king her son to declare the prince of *Bavaria*, who was not above four years of age, his successor. This was the more extraordinary, as she had always violently distinguished herself for the house of *Austria*; but she is said to have had a quarrel with the court of *Vienna* before her death. We have already given a detail of the peace of *Ryswick*, which was made after the *French* had taken *Barcelona*, and plundered *Carthagena* in the *West Indies* of twelve millions of crowns. By that peace, which amazed all *Europe*, the *Spaniards* re-entered into peaceable possession of *Barcelona*, and all the places they had lost, not only in *Catalonia* but the *Low Countries* during the course of the war. Though by this peace, *Spain* appeared with great lustre, yet it was no more than a stratagem employed by the *French* for disordering the great confederacy against them. It had that effect, and *Lewis* had the address to bring over king *William* to consent to the partition treaties, which we have more than once mentioned. Upon the death of the queen mother, *Charles*, who was now in a declining state both in body and mind, was entirely governed by his queen. The prince of *Hesse Darmstadt*, who had bravely defended *Barcelona*, and done other important

The king makes the electoral prince of *Bavaria* his heir.

p. 47.
Vol. IX.
p. 203.

p. 49, and
Vol. IX.
p. 204.

services to the crown in *Catalonia*, was her favourite, and had so much credit at court, that it gave umbrage to the grandees. Every day threatened to be the last of the king's life, and consequently the affairs of the succession became every day more and more interesting. A party was formed against the queen consort, who was entirely in the *German* interest, and a concurrence of circumstances in a few months abolished the differences that for many ages subsisted between the monarchies of *France* and *Spain*, and for ever disunited the two branches of the house of *Austria*.

Parties at court concerning the succession. *Charles* could never, with any degree of patience, hear mention made of his successor; but when he understood that the emperor, *England* and *Holland*, had partitioned out his territories before his death, he was provoked beyond measure. It is not our province to enter into the dark intrigues of so inaccessible a court as that of *Spain*, nor could any relation of them, however certain, convey much historical information. *Lewis XIV.* had formed such intrigues at the court of *Rome*, that he was sure of obtaining a dispensation for his mother's and his wife's renunciations. He knew that the slowness of the court of *Vienna*, and its haughty manners had disgusted *Charles*, and he sent the marquis *de Harcourt* as his ambassador to *Madrid*. No man could behave better than the marquis and his wife did while they were in that station, and they succeeded so well, that neither the queen nor the count *de Harrache*, the imperial minister, could prevent their forming a strong party in favour of *Maria Teresa's* descendents. When more substantial proofs than mere compliments and professions were wanting, the marquis opened his purse liberally to relieve the necessities of the old *Castilian* families, which had fallen into indigence; and in his master's name he offered a strong squadron to serve *Charles* on the coast of *Africa*, where *Ceuta* was again besieged by the *Moors*. Add to this, he was the favourite of the clergy, who preached up the indefeazible right of the house of *Bourbon*. The death of the electoral prince of *Bavaria*, introduced new arrangements into the affairs of *Spain*, and multiplied the king's difficulties. The extortions and rapaciousness of the court, occasioned a dangerous insurrection on account of the dearness of provisions, and the king's eyes were so far opened, that he removed and banished the count *de Oropesa*, and the admiral of *Castile*; but the queen's favourite, the countess of *Berlips*, who was very deep in their guilt, stood her ground, and procured the disgrace of the count *de Monterey*, the avowed enemy of the *German* administration in *Spain*. The resentment of *Charles* at the treaty of partition, went so far, that his ambassador was sent out of *England* by king *William's* order, and a second partition took place, in which *France* was a party. Cardinal *Portocarrero*, archbishop of *Toledo*, was then a favourite with *Charles*, and entirely in the *French* interest. He had the address to persuade the king to send the countess of *Berlips* out of *Spain*, and that *Lewis* had consented

to the second treaty of partition, only that he might demonstrate his regard for the peace of *Spain*, by preventing any violent measures from taking place, during *Charles's* life time. The second treaty of partition was rejected by the emperor, and the *French* king gratified the court of *Spain* in all its demands, however unreasonable they might have appeared at another juncture.

By this time, the health of *Charles* was to appearance past recovery, and he still retained so much affection for the *Austrian* blood, that he invited the archduke *Charles* to repair to his court. *Blecourt*, who had the charge of the *French* affairs at *Madrid*, suspected this, and presented a strong memorial on the subject; and upon the emperor refusing to send the archduke into *Spain*, cardinal *Portocarrero* proposed to *Charles* the settling the succession by will upon the duke of *Anjou*, second son to the dauphin. Whatever warm writers may have said concerning this destination, it certainly was calculated for reconciling the principles of succession to those of general policy, because it prevented the union of the two crowns in one person, and gave the kingdom to the prince who was the next hereditary heir after that precaution was attained. The king consented, and made his will accordingly, with great formality. Soon after he grew better, but he died on the 1st of *November* 1700, in the 39th year of his age, and the 35th of his reign. He was the last prince of the house of *Austria* who sat on the throne of *Spain*, and had the same indolent disposition as his father and grandfather possessed, though when he exerted himself, he discovered abundance of resolution and abilities. *Spain*, ever since the time of *Philip* the II^d, had been no other than a province for rapacious ministers and favourites. They persuaded their kings, that they were an order of men superior to the rest of humankind, and that it was beneath them to undergo the fatigues of government, while they enjoyed all the state and adoration belonging to it. They were flattered in those ideas by the vast revenues that came from *Mexico* and *Peru*; but *Spain*, at the time it fell to the house of *Bourbon*, was the worst peopled country comparatively in *Europe*, and its inhabitants, though naturally brave, were insolent, proud and indolent.

SECTION V.

From the accession of the house of Bourbon to the crown of Spain to the present time.

THERE is little room to doubt that the information which the *French* king received concerning the will of *Charles* II. of *Spain*, did not surprize him. He affected however

Wise dispositions for the accession

cession of
Philip,

ever an incertitude, but after the form of a debate had passed in his council, the will was accepted of, and the duke of *Anjou* received all the honours due to a crowned head, not only from the *French* court and the foreign ambassadors, but from his grandfather, father, and elder brother. The affair of the succession was managed with great spirit and secrecy. *Philip* was carried to *Spain*, where he was proclaimed king, and *Lewis XIV.* though the emperor and the pope protested against *Philip's* accession, took possession of *Milan*, *Naples*, and the *Netherlands*, which was surrendered to him by the duke of *Bavaria*. When the will was opened, it appeared, that in case of *Philip's* death, he was to be succeeded in the throne of *Spain* by the duke of *Berry*, his brother; and if neither of those princes had issue, the crown was to go to *Charles* archduke of *Austria*, second son to the emperor *Leopold*; and after him, to the duke of *Savoy*.

whose title is acknowledged by the confederates.

The wise measures taken by *Lewis XIV.* entirely disconcerted the members of the great confederacy. They had depended on an insurrection in *Spain*; but *Philip*, though the queen dowager was left with a casting vote in the council, sent her an order with the names of a certain number of places, one of which she was to chuse for the place of her retirement; and she fixed upon *Toledo*. The inquisitor-general, and the confessor to the late king, were confined to their respective cures; and *England*, *Portugal*, and *Holland*, formally acknowledged *Philip's* right to the *Spanish* monarchy. The duke of *Savoy*, flattered with the hopes of what soon after happened, that *Philip* would marry his daughter, followed their example. The indolence of the imperial court during those transactions was so amazing, and its secrecy so impentrate, that the prince of *Hesse Darmstadt*, governor of *Catalonia*, and prince *Vaudemont*, governor of the *Milanese*, though devoted to the house of *Austria*, readily submitted to *Philip*. We have already seen the intrigues and dispositions made by the court of *Vienna*, to place the archduke *Charles* on the throne of *Spain*; but we shall for the sake of connection recapitulate some of the principal events.

Vol. IX.
p. 204.
& seq.
and p. 56.

Makes a campaign in *Italy*.

Though the *French* troops had taken possession of all the passes between *Italy* and *Germany*, yet prince *Eugene* passed the *Alps*, and having with incredible labour carried his artillery and baggage over those mountains, he defeated their army under *Catinat*, at *Carpi*, and obliged it to retreat towards the *Mantuan*, whose duke had declared for *Philip*. Prince *Eugene* then passed the *Mincio*, and attacked and defeated marshal *Villeroy*, who was at the head of the united armies of *France* and *Spain*, near *Chiari*. His progress there and in the *Mantuan*, encouraged the *Neopolitans* in the *Austrian* interest, to form a conspiracy against *Philip*, but it was discovered and punished by the duke of *Medina*, governor of *Naples*. *Philip* was all this while strengthening his party in *Spain*, and forming alliances with *Portugal* and *Savoy*; but receiving intelligence of

of *Eugene's* progress in *Italy*, he resolved, notwithstanding the opposition of his most *Christian* majesty's ministers, to head his armies there in person, which he was the better enabled to do by the arrival of a plate fleet in the port of *Cadiz*, of immense value. Before he set out, he yielded to all the demands of the *Catalans*. Leaving his queen, to whom he had been but a few weeks before married, in *Spain*, he arrived on the 16th of *April* 1702, at *Naples*, where he found every thing quiet, and having confirmed the government there, by gratifying his subjects in all they desired, he went to *Milan*, by the way of *Leghorn*, *Savona*, and *Final*. Leaving *Milan*, he put himself at the head of his army; but the duke of *Savoy* declined acting either with him or under him, having, notwithstanding all his family connections, made his terms with the allies. *Vendosme* was then the *French* general in *Italy*, where it was said that the army of the two crowns amounted to fifty thousand men, while prince *Eugene* was in the *Mantuan*, the capital of which he blocked up; but he was too weak to force the *French* and *Spaniards*.

1702.

On the 15th of *August*, necessity obliged the prince to attack his enemies, who, in the intermediate time, had obtained several advantages at *Luzzara*, where a desperate battle was fought, which continued after midnight. *Philip* exposed himself to the hottest of the fire, and the *French* marshal, *Crequi*, was killed in the division in which he engaged. The advantage, however, fell to *Philip*, who reduced *Luzzara* and *Gueftalla*, before the armies went into winter quarters.

This campaign did *Philip* great honour, on account of the Success of personal courage he displayed; and the administration of his the *English* queen in *Spain*, during his absence in *Italy*, was equally applauded. The confederacy, in favour of the archduke *Charles*, was now formed. Upon the death of king *William* (who had disobliged his parliament by the partition treaty) his successor, queen *Anne*, pursued the measures which he left unfinished, and a fleet was sent to *Cadiz*, for the service of the archduke, who took upon himself the title of *Charles* the III^d. The queen behaved on this emergency with a heroic magnanimity, under the most discouraging circumstances; for though the fleet of the allies did not succeed in surprizing *Cadiz*, yet they destroyed the galleons at *Vigo*, where the *English* made some plunder. Cardinal *Portocarrero*, and the bishop of *Cordova*, seconded the queen's heroism, by raising troops at their own expence; but their party was deserted by the admiral of *Castile*, who retired to *Lisbon*, after he had undertaken the embassy to *France*. Every day producing fresh events that demanded *Philip's* return to *Spain*, he arrived at *Barcelona* on the 20th of *September*, and immediately set on foot the means of defending himself against the storm impending over his head, from the grand alliance. This could not be done without making free with some private property that had arrived in the galleons, and many of the grandees were disgusted at seeing

ing *French* measures alone prevail, and the treasures of their *Indies* squandered in support of his most *Christian* majesty's ambition. The *French* insolence at last incensed *Philip's* best friend, cardinal *Portocarrero*, into a request for liberty to resign his employments, from which *Philip*, with some difficulty, dissuaded him. Nothing is more certain, than that the influence of the court of *Versailles* at that of *Madrid*, was the great source of *Philip's* misfortunes, and formed the party in favour of the archduke *Charles*.

He is de-
serted by
the duke
of *Savoy*.
Vol. IX.
p. 51. &
seq.

1704.

The constable of *Castile* remained still in *Portugal*, and that king declared himself in favour of the allies, and adopted all the schemes proposed by the constable in favour of the archduke. The queen had the mortification to see her father, the duke of *Savoy*, embrace the same party. The *French* king supported his grandson's interest with amazing vigour. His most successful general was the duke of *Vendosme*, who commanded in *Italy*, and preserved the interest of *Philip* there from being desperate; but the vast efforts of *France* were directed against the duke of *Savoy*. The emperor, and the king of the *Romans*, having resigned all their pretensions to the crown of *Spain* in favour of the archduke, that prince was carried to *Portugal* by an *English* fleet; but in 1704, the duke of *Berwick* arrived in *Spain*, to command under *Philip*. The generals under *Charles*, were the duke *Schomberg* and baron *Fagel*; but both of them quarrelled with the *Portuguese*, and *Philip* obtained many advantages in that quarter, through the pride and poverty of the court of *Vienna*. At last the earl of *Galway*, who had been a favourite with king *William*, and was a man of a sound, but limited understanding, was appointed to command under *Charles*. It is hard to say whether *Charles* or *Philip* was worst served. Prince *Eugene*, who commanded for the former in *Italy*, was forced to repair to *Vienna*, to solicit for supplies, and the insolence of the *French* damped the zeal of *Philip's* best friends among the *Spaniards*. The duke of *Berwick* desired to be recalled; cardinal *Portocarrero* resigned all concern in the government; Sir *George Rooke*, the *English* admiral, and the prince of *Hesse Darmstadt*, took *Gibraltar*, which still remains in possession of the *English*; and on the 24th of *August*, a drawn sea fight happened between Sir *George Rooke* and the count de *Tholouse*. Marshal *Tesse* was sent to replace the duke of *Berwick* in *Spain*, and the excessive profusion of honours and employments heaped upon him by *Philip*, increased the number of malecontents there to such a degree as to threaten a total revolution.

War in
Portugal.

Happily for *Philip*, the *Portuguese* hated the *English*, and the army of *Charles* was every day visibly wasting, without performing any service. At this time *Philip* was fruitlessly besieging *Gibraltar*, and the admiral of *Castile* took upon himself the conduct of the war on the side of *Portugal*, where he reduced several places, but the principal service he performed to *Charles*, consisted in his debauching *Philip's* grandees, and multiplying

multiplying conspiracies against his person and that of his queen, to such a degree, as to render his abode at *Madrid* unsafe. The marquis *de Leganez*, one of the greatest, as well as the worthiest man in *Spain*, being suspected of corresponding with the admiral, was sent prisoner to *France*, but in the mean while the admiral died of heart-break, at seeing all his schemes blasted. In him, the archduke lost the best friend he had in *Spain*; but his place was more than supplied by the friendship of the *English*. Sir *Cloudestly Shovel* was their admiral, and the earl of *Peterborough*, a nobleman who would have done honour to the ages of romance, their general. They carried *Charles* into *Catalonia*, where the prince of *Hesse Darmstadt* was killed in besieging *Barcelona*; but that city, with all the province, *Roses* excepted, was reduced by the earl of *Peterborough* to the allegiance of *Charles*. The greatest part of the kingdom of *Valentia* shared in the same fate, but the *Portuguese* general, *Las Minas*, and the earl of *Galway*, were compelled, by marshal *Tesse*, to raise the siege of *Badajoz*.

Hitherto, the personal virtue of *Philip* had recommended him to the affections of the *Spaniards*, but they were shocked by the ascendancy which the princess of *Ursins*, an *Italian* lady, had over him and his queen. It was such as disgusted even the court of *France*, and *Philip* was compelled to send her to *Italy*. Perhaps her chief crime was her having too great a zeal for *Philip's* interest, and giving him advice that was disagreeable to *Lewis*. Upon her retreat to *Italy*, the affairs of *Philip* took so unfavourable a turn, that she was recalled with the consent of the *French* court, which now seemed to double its efforts for supporting *Philip*. His troops besieged *Barcelona*, and the *French* fleet blocked it up by sea. The *French* duke, *de Noailles*, overawed the *Catalans*, as the duke of *Berwick*, who was now returned to *Spain*, did the *Portuguese*. The immense sums which *Philip* furnished to his grandfather, ruined his affairs, because he was disabled from appearing early in the field, nor was the siege of *Barcelona* formed before the 6th of *April*. It was defended by the archduke *Charles* in person, with great valour and perseverance. Both princes staked their reputation on the fate of the place, but by the taking of *Fort Montjoy*, it must have fallen into the hands of *Philip*, had not the arrival of the *English* fleet, with a strong reinforcement of troops, obliged the count of *Tholouse* to leave the coast with his squadron. *Philip*, even after his departure, pressed the siege, but was at last forced to give it over, and to abandon his artillery, magazines, sick and wounded, to the humanity of the earl of *Peterborough*, who treated his enemies with that unparalleled generosity, that distinguished all the other actions of his life.

The raising the siege of *Barcelona*, seemed to give a mortal blow to the interest of *Philip*. He had entirely failed in his attempts to retake *Gibraltar*. His enemies were in possession of *Valentia*, *Alcantara*, and *Albuquerque*. The *Catalans*, by means *Barcelona*, forced to raise the siege of *Barcelona*.

means of the earl of *Peterborough*, had submitted to *Charles*, and almost all *Arragon* was reduced to his allegiance. On the 7th of *June*, the allies took possession of *Salamanca*. Prince *Eugene* conducted the imperial army over the mountains of the *Bressan*, and passed the *Oglio*, but received a check near *Casfano*, upon which the duke of *Vendosme* besieged *Turin*. The affairs of *Philip*, notwithstanding this, seemed so desperate in *Spain*, that *Amelot*, the *French* ambassador at *Madrid*, in a manner threatened the grandees with *Philip's* retirement out of *Spain*, by which they must be left to the mercy of *Charles*, but the duke of *Medina Sidonia* undertook it for the loyalty of *Philip's* party. They were too weak to resist the progress of the allies, who, after the siege of *Barcelona* was raised, took possession of *Madrid* itself, and obliged *Philip*, with his army, to fall back upon *Navarre*.

He is fa- Nothing could have now prevented the ruin of *Philip's* af-
voured by fairs, but the indolence and pride of the *Austrians*. *Charles*
the mis- trilled away his time at *Saragossa*, and in receiving idle com-
conduct of pliments, when he ought to have been strengthening his party
his rival, at *Madrid*. On the other hand, *Philip*, though he lost *Car-*
thagena, *Toledo*, *Alicant*, and many other places, declared
that he never would abandon his party, but with his life.
His spirited conduct revived his cause, while the rapaciousness
and tyranny of the *Austrians* lost *Charles* the affections of
the *Spaniards*. It was in vain for count *Cifuento*, one of his
best friends, to press upon him the necessity of his repairing
to *Madrid*, and there mustering all his force, for he still trilled
away the time, on pretence of receiving the homage of the
states of *Arragon*. The duke of *Berwick* was all this while
strengthening *Philip's* army, and before the allies could unite
their force, he drove them from *Madrid* to *Guadalaxara*.
Philip made a public entry into that capital on the 22d of
September. The earl of *Peterborough* had foreseen and foretold
all that happened to the prejudice of *Charles*; and at last a
junction of the allies, when it was too late, was effected, for
the duke of *Berwick* had penetrated into *Valentia*. The queen
dowager was sent to *Bayonne*, and *Philip* recovered *Alicant* and
Carthagena.

and adopts We have, in other parts of this work, given a detail of
a new plan what happened by the allies gaining the battles of *Blenheim*,
of govern- *Ramilies*, and *Turin*, by which *Philip* lost *Milan*, and like-
ment. wise the islands of *Majorca* and *Ivica*, with almost all the *Low*
Countries. It must be acknowledged, that his conduct did not
deserve the losses and disgraces he met with. By cardinal *Por-*
tocarrero's advice, he struck into a frugal plan, and treated all
the adherents of *Charles* as so many rebels. The confiscations
of their estates augmented his revenue. His clergy opened
their purses for his support, and he casually received large sup-
plies from *America*. The pregnancy of his queen, which
was declared about this time, was likewise of service to his
affairs, and in a visit paid him by the duke of *Orleans*, he
treated

treated him as an infant of *Spain*. It afterwards appeared, that the duke's journey into *Spain* was in order to form a party for the succession to that crown in favour of his own house, the princes of which, as he pretended, had never agreed to any renunciation.

The command of the *French* troops in *Spain* had been given, by *Lewis*, to the duke of *Orleans*, who was popular and well beloved in the army, and it was thought that he intended to make use of them as occasion should offer. Marshal *Berwick*, in the mean while, did wonders at their head, and covered *Castile*, against all the efforts of the earl of *Galway* and *Las Minas*. The two latter at last besieged *Villuna*, after destroying several *Spanish* magazines; and the duke of *Berwick* making a feint to relieve it, drew the confederates into the plain of *Almanza*, where he could fight with great advantages. On the 25th of *April*, a battle was fought, which is well known by the name of that of *Almanza*. The *Spanish* cavalry broke that of *Portugal*, which behaved in an infamous manner, and left the *English* infantry exposed to the enemy, whose ranks they had actually broken. They were, however, unable to stand the dreadful fire of the *French*, who flanked them, and the impression made by the old *Spanish* regiments; so that being surrounded in their retreat under colonel *Hill*, they were obliged to throw down their arms, and left the *French* and *Spaniards* in possession of a most complete victory. Eight thousand of the allies were killed on the spot; two thousand were taken prisoners; their two generals were wounded, and they lost their artillery, with almost all their baggage. The army of the two crowns is said to have lost four thousand men.

The consequences of this victory were more fatal to the affairs of the allies, than even the losses they sustained, great as they were in the battle, seemed to promise. Their best regiments were entirely ruined; no unanimity subsisted among their generals; the archduke *Charles* was in a manner abandoned, that the imperialists might pursue the reduction of *Naples*, and a ridiculous plan they had formed for taking *Toulon*, and which miscarried. Perhaps after ages may see more clearly than the present can, into the reasons why *Charles* was so ill supported. All we know at present is, that the whig ministry in *England*, who formed the soul of the grand alliance, was upon the point of breaking with the imperialists for their backwardness; nor is it improbable, that the heads of the tories of *England* were not displeased at seeing the whole burden of the war thrown upon their antagonists. The duke of *Berwick* lost no time in improving his victory, and was in a few days joined by the duke of *Orleans*. All *Valentia* and *Arragon* submitted to *Philip*, and by way of punishment for their disaffection, their privileges were abolished, and themselves rendered dependent on the crown of *Castile*. The town of *Xativa* was, for its resistance, razed to the ground, and

and a pillar of infamy erected on part of the ground where it stood. The *French* duke, *de Noailles*, took *Lira* and *Puicerda*, as the duke of *Orleans* did *Merida*; and, during the progress of their victories, *Philip's* queen was delivered of a prince, who was immediately recognized as heir to the crown of *Spain*. *Philip* made no immoderate use of his successes; for he released many of the *grandees* whom he had ordered to be imprisoned, and performed many other popular acts of generosity, which endeared him to his subjects.

Vol. X.
p. 372,
375, &
seq.

Ibid. p.
377.

Starem-
burgh
lands in
Spain.

But while matters were thus smiling upon *Philip* in *Spain*, he was losing ground in *Italy*, as we have already seen in the history of that country, where the imperial general, *Thaurin*, became master of the city and kingdom of *Naples*, and was guilty of many excesses. The vast efforts made by the *English*, enabled the *French*, in the year 1708, to make a stand on the side of *Portugal*. The marquis of *Santa Cruz* abandoned *Philip*, by which the *Moors* became possessed of the long disputed fortress of *Oran*, in *Africa*. By this time *Philip* and his queen, through the insinuations of their favourite, the princess of *Ursins*, began to look with as unfavourable an eye upon the duke of *Orleans*, as they did upon the archduke *Charles*, who had been lately married to the princess of *Wolfenbuttel*, and continued to keep his court at *Barcelona*. Upon the duke's return from *Paris*, from whence he carried a large sum to *Spain*, he found the army he had left in a very indifferent situation, through the vigilance of the *English* fleet, which had intercepted their convoys. The marquis *de Baye*, one of *Philip's* generals, had been beaten on the frontiers of *Portugal*; and the *English* admiral, *Leake*, reduced *Minorca* and *Sardinia* to the obedience of *Charles*. Count *Starembergh*, who, next to prince *Eugene*, was thought the ablest of all the imperial generals, landed at *Barcelona*, where he took upon him the command of *Charles's* army, while the duke of *Orleans* was making dispositions for besieging *Tortosa*, which he actually took, as *Asfeldt*, a *French* general, did *Denia* and *Alicant*.

Distresses
of *Philip*.

Vol. X.
p. 55.
& seq.

The archduke, who still went by the name of *Charles* the IIIrd of *Spain*, discovered more firmness than he did activity in his situation; but he was ill served by his ministers and officers, who were intolerably bigotted and rapacious. The immense losses of the *French* in the *Netherlands*, created such demands of money upon *Philip*, as all his returns from *America* could not answer. In short, *Lewis*, his grandfather, was obliged to consent to negotiations, on the footing of abandoning his interest, and withdrawing his troops from *Spain*. We have already given a detail of those negotiations for peace, in which *Lewis* made every concession that reason could require, or nature could admit of, but all was to no purpose, unless he would consent to employ his troops in dethroning his grandson. We are under no difficulty in saying, that these barbarous demands saved the crown of *Spain* upon *Philip's* head; and how-
ever

ever appearances might be to the contrary, it is more than probable that *Lewis* and his grandson acted in concert together. After the conferences miscarried at *Gertruydenberg*, *Philip* published the subject of them to the world in a manifesto, which was attended by a most amazing turn in his favour.

Even since the birth of the prince of *Asturia*, the grandees of *Philip's* party had been very generous in supporting him. They had made him presents of large sums in ready money, and even coined their plate for his service; but no sooner did his manifesto appear, than their loyalty rose even to enthusiasm, which *Philip*, by cardinal *Portocarrero's* advice, wisely improved. He declared, that from thenceforth, he would employ no servants, and pursue no measures but what were truly *Spanish*. He appointed the duke *de Medina Celi* to be his first minister, and the marquis *de Bedmar*, to be his secretary at war. The *French* were very coldly looked upon at court, and the friends of the duke of *Orleans* were treated with harshness. *Philip* renewed his protestations to his people, that he never would abandon them but with his life, and took every opportunity of informing the public of the secret partition which had been made by the allies of the *Spanish* monarchy, to gratify the house of *Austria*, the king of *Portugal* and the duke of *Savoy*. It was about this time that the famous cardinal *Portocarrero*, who had served *Philip* so faithfully, died at the age of 74, and the archbishop of *Saragossa*, inquisitor general of *Spain*, succeeded him in the archbishopric of *Toledo*. It happened luckily for *Philip*, that count *Staremburgh* was so indifferently supplied by the imperialists and the archduke, that he was forced to act upon the defensive, as was *Philip's* general, marshal *Berzons*. *Philip* seemed to take this inactivity amiss, and threatened to deprive the marshal of his command, to the great satisfaction of the *Castilians*. In short, whatever *Philip's* private sentiments might be, he found the only way to be popular with his subjects, was to discountenance the *French*. *Asfeldt* still maintained his ground, and the marquis *de Baye* beat the earl of *Galway* in *Portugal*. *Charles* possessed little more in *Catalonia* than *Barcelona*, *Gironne* and *Terragona*. Upon the arrival of the *Spanish* galleons in 1710, with vast treasures, *Philip*, without being very delicate with regard to that part of them that were *French* property, appropriated very considerable sums to his own use, and took upon himself the command of his army in *Catalonia*, which consisted of twenty three thousand men, the marquis *de Villadarias* serving under him. Before the opening of the campaign, it is said, *Philip* discovered that his first minister, the duke *de Medina Celi*, kept up a private correspondence with the *Austrian* party; but all that is known with certainty is, that that nobleman was put under a strict arrest, and carried to the castle of *Segovia*, and that afterwards he was condemned to suffer death, but his sentence was commuted, by the king's order, into imprisonment. This important affair

who is betrayed by his ministers.

1710,

He is de-
feated at
Almenara
and *Sara-*
gossa.

The duke
of *Ven-*
dosme ar-
rives in
Spain,

and re-
trieves the
affairs of
Philip.

being finished, *Philip* repaired to his army, but was so much dissatisfied with the marquis *de Villadarias*'s military talents, that he sent for the marquis *de Baye*, out of *Portugal*, to command the army under him. The successes of the imperialists in *Italy* had enabled them to reinforce *Staremborgh*, who had a very able coadjutor, in the person of the *English* general *Stanhope*. Through the incapacity of the marquis *de Villadarias*, *Philip* found himself under the necessity of removing, for subsistence, towards *Saragossa*; and a large detachment of his troops were defeated by *Stanhope* at *Almenara*. *Staremborgh* passed the *Segre*, in sight of his enemies, and took *Balaguer*, while *Philip* was seized by a fever, which confined him to his bed. His affairs were then in a most desperate situation. The *Spaniards* had a wonderful opinion of their cavalry, which the *English* had beat at *Alcantara*, and when they retired to *Saragossa*, they fortified themselves in such a manner, that they had no idea of being attacked by *Staremborgh*. They were however deceived, for a general battle was fought on the 20th of *August*, in which the troops of the two crowns were entirely defeated, with the loss of some thousands of their best men; and all that the marquis *de Baye* could do, was to retire towards *Lerida*, with about nine thousand men.

The events that happened in *Spain*, at this time, were particularly rapid; for while the battle was fighting, *Saragossa* declared for *Charles*, who, though he was not present in the engagement, entered it that night. *Philip* was so well recovered, that he returned, but almost unattended, to *Madrid*, to which he was pursued by *Charles*, at the head of the allied army. Though victorious, it was, if possible, in a more deplorable condition than that of *Philip*, who seems to have fallen only that he might rise with the greater velocity. He was obliged to leave *Madrid*, with his queen, and the prince of *Asturia* in her arms, on the 9th of *September*. The grandees of his party, forgetting all former animosities, besought *Lewis* the XIVth to send the duke of *Vendosme*, the most fortunate and the most amiable of his generals, to head them; and it was no sooner known that the duke was upon his march, than the fortune of *Philip* revived, and his army, though not composed of such experienced troops, became in a few days more numerous than ever. It then lay on the frontiers of *Navarre*, and the duke of *Vendosme* assembled them at *Valladolid*.

But *Philip* was favoured, unknown to himself, by the conduct of his enemies. The motions of *Charles* were dilatory, and his party was so much hated, that the native *Spaniards*, to deprive his troops of subsistence, had burnt their corn, and had rendered all the country between *Saragossa* and *Madrid* a desert. *Stanhope*, a man of greater fire and spirit than *Staremborgh* himself, depended upon a junction with the *Portuguese*, and pressed *Charles* to lose no time in taking possession of *Madrid*; but he had not foreseen that the *Portuguese* ministry would

would disagree to the junction, which they actually did; and thus *Charles* and his victorious army were left to starve in *Madrid* and its neighbourhood. They were obliged even to remove from thence for subsistence, upon the approach of *Philip* and the duke of *Vendosme*, whose troops were plentifully supplied by the affections of the inhabitants. It was the 11th of *November* before *Charles* left *Madrid*, on his return to *Catalonia*, which was threatened by the duke *de Noailles*. *Philip* took possession of *Madrid*, while the allies were obliged to divide their army into two bodies; one under *Stanhope* retired to *Brihuega*, where they were attacked by *Philip*, and bravely defending themselves for twenty eight hours, they were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war. *Starembergh* was upon his march to relieve *Stanhope*, but he was attacked at *Villaviciosa* by *Philip* and the duke of *Vendosme*, who were superior to him in numbers. His behaviour was answerable to the great reputation he had acquired; and though his right wing was entirely defeated by *Philip* in person, he made so noble a defence, at the head of the left, that the enemy lost above six thousand men; and he continued his march to *Catalonia*, without being pursued. Though the allies affected to give the action at *Villaviciosa* the air of a victory, yet it certainly proved fatal to the affairs of *Charles*, for *Starembergh* did not carry back with him above seven thousand men to *Catalonia*.

It was the 23d of *December*, when the duke *de No-* Great re-
ailles took *Gironne*, and *Philip* re-established his court at *Sa-* volutions
ragossa, where the duke of *Vendosme* attended him. Upon in his fa-
their reviewing the troops, *Philip* made a present to the duke vour.
of fifty thousand pieces of eight, for his equipage, but the
duke gallantly distributed the money among the soldiers.
The affairs of *Europe* now took a surprizing turn. The
English ministry inclined to put an end to a war, which though
foreign to their interest, they were obliged to support at an
extravagant expence. The emperor *Joseph* died, and his
brother, *Charles* the III^d of *Spain*, became head of the house
of *Austria*, which all *Europe* understood disqualified him from
wearing the crown of *Spain*. Before he left *Barcelona*, he put
his secretary of state, the duke of *Molas*, a *Spaniard*, under
arrest, and shrewdly hinted, that he thought he had been be-
trayed by his *Spanish* ministers. He declared *Starembergh* his
viceroy, and left his queen at *Barcelona*, under his protection.
It was expected that the campaign of the year 1711, would 1711.
have been bloody on the side of *Catalonia*, where *Philip's* ar-
my outnumbered that of *Charles*; but the courts of *Europe*
were so busied in negotiating, that they only sought a colour-
able pretence to avoid fighting. *Starembergh* failed in a design
he laid for burning the *Spanish* magazines, and recovering
Tortosa, and when winter drew on, not only the proposed
conferences for peace at *Utrecht*, but the needy circumstances
of both parties kept them quiet in their quarters. We have
U 2 already

Vol. X.
p. 6c. &
seq.

He is settled on the throne by the treaty of Utrecht.

already seen the various circumstances that operated towards the peace of *Utrecht*, to which we may add the critical arrival of a plate fleet at *Cadiz*, which replenished *Philip's* finances. Upon its arrival, the operations of war were renewed in *Catalonia*, but *Philip* suffered a vast loss in being, in a manner, obliged to disgrace the conde d'*Aguilar*, the ablest of his *Spanish* generals, because he differed with the duke of *Vendosme*. Count *Starckenbergh*, at the head of twenty-eight thousand men, was forced to raise the siege of *Gironne*; but as the negotiations at *Utrecht* for a general peace were at that time almost finished, the court of *England* privately hinted to the *French* and *Spanish* ministers, that the *English* and *Portuguese* would separate themselves from the imperialists, and leave *Starckenbergh* to carry on the war by himself in *Catalonia*. In the mean while, the duke of *Vendosme*, who loved the pleasures of the table, died suddenly, as was thought, of a surfeit at *Vignaros*, and was buried with royal honours in the *Escorial*.

In *November* following, lord *Lexington*, the *British* ambassador, received at *Madrid*, *Philip's* renunciation for himself and his heirs, of all right to the succession of the crown of *France*, in favour of his brother the duke of *Berry*, and the princes of the *Orleans* and *Bourbon* families. This renunciation was ratified in an assembly of the states, who, at the same time, established the succession of the house of *Savoy* to the crown of *Spain*, failing the heirs of *Philip's* body, and excluded the house of *Austria* for ever; but they limited likewise the succession to the *Spanish* monarchy to heirs male. Those regulations opened a fair prospect for *Philip*, but the *Catalans*, though abandoned by the *English*, refused to lay down their arms, though *Philip* offered them an absolute pardon. This was a trying point, and when *Philip* perceived that they could not be reduced without arms, and that the house of *Austria* was obstinate in continuing the war, he, by the assistance of Mr. *Orry*, the *French* minister, put the army and finances of *Spain* under a better regulation than they had ever been before. He then justly considered himself, perhaps for the first time, as king of *Spain*, and resolved to treat the *Catalans* as rebels. He was encouraged, by the grateful sense which his people had of the returning grandeur and prosperity of their country. He published declarations, in which he made a merit of his having sacrificed, even against the sense of his grandfather, all his right to the crown of *France*, that he might restore tranquillity to *Spain*; but it must be acknowledged, that he owed it to the friendship of *Great Britain*. In a few days it was known, that by the treaty with that crown, he had yielded up *Gibraltar*, *Minorca* and *Port Mahon*, and had granted to the *English* the *Assiento* trade for thirty years, with other privileges; but in fact, the *Spaniards* thought they could not purchase the return of peace at too dear a rate. By the mediation of queen *Anne*, *Philip* at the same time gave up the island of *Sicily* to the duke of *Savoy*, but with a right of

of reversion to the crown of *Spain*, failing that duke's heirs. The ministers of *Philip*, who signed this treaty, were the duke of *Osuna*, and the marquis of *Monteleon*; those of *Great Britain*, were Dr. *Robinson*, who was lord privy-seal and bishop of *Bristol*, and the earl of *Stafford*. A treaty was, at the same time, entered into between *Philip* and the duke of *Savoy*, regulating their family successions.

It is not to be wondered at, if some exceptions were found in *Spain*, of men who distrusted the continuance of the peace, especially as *Catalonia* remained still in a state of rebellion, and the *Portuguese* had yet agreed to no terms. *Philip* had not only agreed to an unreserved pardon of the *Catalans*, but to their being entitled to all the privileges of *Castilians*. The empress of *Germany* was still at *Barcelona*, where she had been left by her husband, *Charles* the III^d, who now sent for her. Before she departed, she received a promise of the *Catalans*, that they never would depart from their allegiance to *Charles*; and she assured them, in his name, that he was resolved to keep up his claim to the *Spanish* monarchy. Notwithstanding those reciprocal declarations, *Charles* found himself in such a situation, that he agreed to a convention for evacuating *Catalonia*, and that *Staremborgh*, with his troops, should embark on board the *English* fleet. This convention was very loosely worded, and very imperfectly complied with. The marquis de *Lede*, a *Spanish* general, took possession of *Terragona*, where he was well received, but the inhabitants of *Barcelona* obstinately refused to submit to *Philip's* government. He pretended that their obstinacy had freed him from observing the terms he had already offered them, and they, on the other hand, depended for protection on *England* and *Holland*. Both those powers interceded in their favour, and would have prevailed with *Philip* to have stood by his former terms, had they not again rejected them. This gave the *English* ambassador a pretext for cooling in his intercessions in favour of the *Catalans*; and at last, the tory ministry spoke of them as no better than rebels. We are, however, to observe, that queen *Anne* thought herself in honour bound not to abandon the *Catalans*; but the treaties being now signed, without a farther provision being made in their favour, her intercession hung long in suspense, and without any effect, farther than that a general amnesty should be granted them, and that they should be entitled to all the rights and privileges of the *Castilians*, the most favoured of his catholic majesty's subjects.

The *Catalans*, on the other hand, complained that those offers were fallacious and delusive, unless *Philip* would restore them to their antient privileges, which entitled them to the power of the purse and the sword. This was a demand highly disagreeable to the tory party in *England*, who pretended that it rendered them independent of their lawful sovereign, who offered them the more substantial privileges of trading to the *Spanish West Indies*, and of being entitled in common with the

Castilians, to hold lucrative employments in *America*. Such was the short state of the question between the court of *Spain* and the *Catalans*, which we have been the more solicitous to explain, as it has been generally misunderstood.

who are
reduced.

1714.

When the imperialists evacuated *Catalonia*, the *Catalans* formed themselves into a kind of separate government, and raised an army of the *Spaniards* who had served with the imperialists. It is a matter of doubt what were their real intentions. Probably they still depended on the friendship of *England* and *Holland*, and that a public spirit might rise, which would enable them to become a republic. It is true, they still professed themselves to be subjects to *Charles* the III^d; but it was well known, that at that time he had renounced all thoughts of the *Spanish* succession, and that if the *Catalans* meant any thing, it was that, in the end, he should guaranty their liberties and privileges. Be this as it will, they rejected the summons of the duke *de Popoli*, who commanded for *Philip* in *Catalonia*, to admit his troops, and hostilities immediately commenced, after the *Catalans* had formally declared war both against *Philip* and *Lewis* the XIVth. The spirit they discovered made so great a noise in *England*, that the queen ordered lord *Lexington* to make fresh representations in their favour; but they were so far from prevailing, that he advised the *Catalans* to accept of *Philip's* terms. The house of peers in *England*, notwithstanding that, pressed the queen so warmly in their favour, that lord *Bingley* was appointed ambassador to *Spain*, (though never sent) with fresh representations, and instructions were sent to countermand the operations of the *English* fleet under *Wishart*, who had been ordered to act hostilely against them. Those proceedings disoblged *Philip* and his court, and they disregarded the *British* mediation so much, that they employed *Orry* to treat with the *Catalans*, but they still continued obstinate. At last, on the 1st of *July* 1714, the duke of *Berwick*, the *French* general, opened the trenches before *Barcelona*; and the influence of his court was so strong at *London*, that *Wishart* was again ordered to threaten the *Catalans*. All *Catalonia* was now unmercifully plundered by the *French*, and the duke of *Berwick* was preparing to storm *Barcelona*. In vain the inhabitants appealed to Heaven, and to the honour of the *British* ministry for relief. Being at last obliged to capitulate, they could obtain no other terms than that they should not, upon certain conditions, be put to the sword, nor plundered. No fewer than fourteen thousand bombs are said to have been thrown into the city during the siege, which lasted for two months, and reduced the place to a heap of ruins. The capitulation was ill observed; for many of the brave *Catalans*, who survived their countrymen who perished during the siege, in which their miseries were inconceivable, were persecuted by the unrelenting resentment of *Philip's* government; either suffered death by the forms of justice, or by their confinement in dungeons.

The

The fate of the *Catalans* exhibited an uncommon spectacle to *Europe*, and such as despotic princes can form no idea of. Even the Tory ministry of *England* thought that the privileges they claimed, though obtained at the price of their blood, and confirmed by the most solemn sanctions, were incompatible with a state of subjection. Those ideas were still stronger in the minds of *Philip* and *Lewis*, and other absolute princes; so that the constitutional resistance they made was interpreted into acts of rebellion and despair, and secretly condemned by *Charles* himself, who, notwithstanding all his professions to the contrary, abandoned them in reality.

The emperor remained still discontented, but unable to redress himself, as he was severely pressed by the *Turks*, and abandoned by his allies. He was in possession of *Sardinia*, *Naples*, *Milan*, and the other dominions that had formerly belonged to *Spain* in *Italy*, and the *Netherlands*. At the time of stipulating the evacuation of *Catalonia*, he had agreed to that of *Majorca*; but he still kept possession of that island, on pretence that the *Spaniards* had broken the capitulation of *Barcelona*. Matters were in this situation, when on the 14th of February 1714, *Philip's* queen died; and a few weeks after he made proposals of marriage to *Elizabeth*, who was daughter to *Second Edward* prince of *Parma*, and heiress to other possessions in *Italy*. The marriage was celebrated by proxy on the 16th of September following, and gave rise to the amazing alteration in the system of *Europe*, which has since taken place. The chief agent in the match, was an *Italian* ecclesiastic, one *Alberoni*, who had followed the duke of *Vendosme* into *Spain*, and was rewarded with a cardinal's hat, and by being made *Philip's* first minister. The progress of the *Turks* in the *Morea*, happened to be very favourable to *Philip's* affairs, as it produced a kind of a crusade, in which he obtained great sums by the indulgence of the court of *Rome* from his ecclesiastics, on condition of his employing his fleets against them. A powerful marine was accordingly equipped, and the genius of *Alberoni* seemed more than equal to his great post, for *Spain* soon became so powerful both by sea and land, that she struck terror into the rest of *Europe*. Her naval armaments, instead of serving against the *Turks*, carried fifteen thousand men to *Majorca*, which the imperialists were obliged to evacuate; and soon after *Corfu* and all the islands in the *Mediterranean*, except those disposed of by the peace of *Utrecht*, reverted to *Spain*. The pope, and other powers, complained that the money granted to *Philip* upon his clergy, had been misapplied. He continued his naval preparations, and promised to amend for the future; but in the year 1717, the marquis *de Lede*, landed with ten or twelve thousand men at *Cagliari* in *Sardinia*, which city and island he soon reduced. At last, *Philip*, by his ambassadors, made no secret that he would lay hold of the non-performance of the evacuations to drive the imperialists out of *Italy*.

The emperor continues the war.

Second Edward of Philip.

Alberoni first minister of Spain.

1717.

The *Spanish* marine ruined by the *English* at *Cape Passaro*.

His threats produced the quadruple alliance which was formed by *Great Britain*, *France*, the emperor, and the *States General*. When this alliance was first set on foot, *Philip's* ministers affected a shew of moderation, but without discontinuing their preparations. *George I.* who was at the head of the quadruple alliance, endeavoured to obtain from the emperor, a renunciation of his right to the crown of *Spain*, and likewise to secure the queen of *Spain* and her son don *Carlos*, who was then in his cradle, to the succession not only of her family estates in *Italy*, but to that of *Tuscany*, in case of the great duke's dying without issue. The *Spaniards* rejected those proposals, and king *George* gave orders for equipping a powerful armament to be sent under Sir *George Byng* to the *Mediterranean*, for maintaining the tranquillity of *Italy*. By this time the *Spanish* fleet at *Barcelona* had sailed for *Sicily*, with thirty six battalions, six regiments of horse, four of dragoons, a thousand matrosses, and an incredible quantity of naval and military stores, with a proportionable number of mechanics of every kind. The duke of *Savoy*, who then was in possession of *Sicily*, had about this time agreed to exchange it with the emperor for *Sardinia*, when it should be conquered. Without regard to this, the marquis *de Lede*, the *Spanish* general in *Sicily*, reduced *Palermo*, and was besieging *Messina* when the *English* fleet, having touched at *Naples*, proceeded with two thousand imperialists on board, to relieve the citadel of *Naples*. In his way, he fell in with the grand *Spanish* fleet, consisting of twenty seven sail of the line, besides frigates and fireships, under admiral *Castanata*. It is to this day uncertain which side began the engagement that followed, at about six leagues distance from *Cape Passaro*; but the event was, that the *Spanish* fleet was totally defeated, their best ships being either taken or destroyed. This blow ruined the marine of *Spain*; but did not abate the pride and resentment of that court. They accused the *English* of the most atrocious breach of faith, which the latter retorted upon the *Spaniards*, on account of their infractions of the treaty of *Utrecht*. The *English* trade with *Spain*, at that time, was almost ruined; one of the great objects which *Alberoni* had in view, being to raise the pretender to the throne of *Great Britain*. This was the most exceptionable part of his ministry, because it made the *English* his enemies, the only power in *Europe* whom he had to fear. The spirit of *Alberoni* continued still undaunted; he accused the *English* of having begun the engagement, and pretended that their guaranty for the neutrality of *Italy* had been long at an end; he formed connections with the enemies of the *Orleans* family in *France*, for deposing that duke from the regency; he laid a plan for a partition of the *German* empire, between the king of *Sweden* and the czar of *Muscovy*, and those two powers assisted by *Spain*, were to invade *Great Britain*, in favour of the pretender. All his schemes were blasted while there was the most probable grounds for carrying them

into

into execution. The prince *de Cellamare*, the *Spanish* ambassador at *Paris*, to whose management the *French* conspiracy was committed, was put under arrest, partly upon some discoveries that had been casually made, and partly on account of intelligence given to the regent by *George I.* The king of *Sweden* was killed at the siege of *Frederickshall*, and *Alberoni's* character was blasted by the defeat of the *Spanish* fleet. The regent raised an army of thirty-six thousand men. The fleet that was to have made the descent from *Spain* upon *Great Britain*, was disabled from proceeding by a storm, and king *George* had leisure to provide powerfully against all attempts upon his crown, either at home or from abroad. About three hundred *Spanish* troops, who had been sent to make a diversion in the north of *Scotland*, landed there, but were forced to lay down their arms, and surrender themselves prisoners to the *English* general.

Sir George Byng still continued to be successful against the *Spaniards* in the *Mediterranean*, where the indolence of the continues imperialists gave *Patinho*, that able *Spanish* minister, vast advantages. Count *Merci*, the imperial general, arrived from *Vienna* at *Naples*, and put himself at the head of ten thousand foot, and three thousand five hundred horse, which were transported to *Sicily*; upon which the marquis *de Lede*, who continued to command for the *Spaniards* there, retired from *Melazzo* to *Francavilla*. *Merci*, who was a brave but hot-headed man, mistaking this retreat for cowardice, attacked *de Lede* under vast disadvantages, and was defeated; but the imperialists took *Messina*, and destroyed the remainder of the *Spanish* marine in its harbour. The conduct of the imperialists, however, was so improvident and unadvised, that they must have starved for want of assistance, had they not been relieved by the *British* fleet, and even in the midst of their successes they lost five thousand men.

The court of *Spain* never could forgive the regent of *France Philip* for aspiring to that crown during *Philip's* misfortunes, and disgraces the regent was equally exasperated at the late attempts made *Alberoni*, by *Philip* to ruin him. The duke of *Berwick*, who had so often saved *Philip*, took the command of the *French* army against him, and invaded *Spain*; where he made himself master of *Fontarabia* and *St. Sebastian*, and destroyed all the ships of war that were on the stocks at *Port Antonio*, or elsewhere on that coast. About the same time, the *English* under lord *Cobham*, had formed a design to take *Corunna*, but after taking *Vigo* and *Pontavedra*, returned without making any farther attempt. The court of *London* likewise laid aside an expedition which had been formed against *Peru* itself. This was probably owing to the *French* jealousy of the *English* making such an acquisition; but in fact, all the belligerent powers now shewed a disposition for peace, provided *Alberoni* was dismissed from the councils of *Spain*. The *French* ambassador at the *Hague*, the marquis *de Beretti Landi*, informed his court of their dispositions,

tions, but he was instructed to insist upon terms, that none but an absolute conqueror could propose. They were rejected by the confederates; *Philip's* spirit fell, and *Alberoni*, who had been ungrateful to the queen of *Spain*, was disgraced at that court, and banished out of the kingdom. Upon his removal, the queen got the absolute possession of her husband's inclinations, and pursued the schemes of *Alberoni*, who had certainly chalked out the foundation of her family's present greatness. Her councils led *Philip* to make a peace with *England*, upon the footing of the treaty of *Utrecht*; but all the ships taken from the *Spaniards* by Sir *George Byng* were to be restored, and the undecided differences were to be left to a congress to be held at *Cambray*. This treaty, which was signed at *Madrid*, broke the good understanding that had hitherto subsisted between the courts of *London* and *Vienna*, and it was plain that her catholic majesty's councils had gained an ascendancy with the mediating powers at *Cambray*.

Double marriages between *France* and *Spain*.
 The interests of *England* were undoubtedly sacrificed at this time to foreign considerations. The imperial court's obstinacy now became wisdom, for *George I.* did not chuse to execute his engagements with *France* and *Spain*, who were then intimately united, lest the emperor should refuse him the investiture of *Bremen* and *Verden*. The congress at *Cambray*, broke up without any effect, the emperor refused to grant to don *Carlos* the investiture of his family duchies, and insisted upon that of *Parma* being a fief of the empire, while the court of *Spain*, encouraged by the situation of affairs in *England*, to the amazement of all *Europe*, demanded the restitution of *Gibraltar* and *Port Mahon*. They were encouraged to this by their close connections with *France*. The regent laying aside all former resentments, agreed to a marriage between his pupil king, *Lewis XV.* and the infanta *Maria* of *Spain*, though she was not then four years of age, and the prince of *Asturia* was to marry mademoiselle *de Montpensier*, the regent's daughter; and another of his daughters was to be given to don *Carlos*. The exchanges for the two first marriages were executed; but in *December 1722*, the regent duke of *Orleans* died.

Philip resigns and resumes his crown.
 1720. *Philip* was not insensible of the scandal he lay under, for having laid his clergy under contributions without doing any thing against the infidels. With a view of continuing those exactions, he sent in the year 1720, an army to drive the *Moors* from *Ceuta*; but after a few skirmishes which were exalted into victories, they returned next year without doing any thing of importance. The death of the regent of *France* in *December 1723*, gave a new turn to the affairs of *Spain*, and inspired *Philip* with a resolution of abdicating his crown, which he actually did in favour of his eldest son don *Lewis*. The public easily perceived that he took this step with a view of mounting as a private man the throne of *France*, in case of that king's death, which he could not do as a monarch on account of his renunciations. The duke of *Bourbon* was then first minister

minister of *France*, and was far from being in the *Spanish* in- p. 68 and
terest. In the mean while, the king, don *Lewis*, died, and 69.
Philip re-ascended the throne, after living, during the short
time of his abdication, in a retired state at *S. Ildefonso*, upon a
pension of about a hundred and fifty thousand pounds a year.
It was a doubtful point, whether by so formal a resignation as he
had made, he had not precluded himself from re-ascending the
throne; and whether the crown of *Spain* did not of course de-
scend upon his second son, don *Ferdinand*. Those difficulties
were soon cleared up by *Philip* resuming his crown, upon a
petition from the council of *Castile* for that purpose. When
he remounted the throne, his queen prevailed upon him to
exert himself in the affairs of his government, and especially
in the regulation of his finances and the payment of his army,
which was then on an excellent footing; but the sending back
their daughter, the infanta, who had been betrothed to the
king of *France*, and his marrying the daughter of king *Stani-*
slaus, for the reasons mentioned in our history of *France*, ex- p. 69.
asperated them beyond measure. The congress of *Cambray*
was then renewed, and her catholic majesty prevailed with her
husband to recall his plenipotentiaries from thence, and to of-
fer to remove the mediation of the differences between the
Spanish and imperial courts, from his most *Christian*, to his *Bri-*
tannic, majesty. Mademoiselle *de Beaujolois*, who had been
contracted to don *Carlos*, was sent back to *France*, as was the
queen dowager of *Spain*, who had been married to the late
king *Lewis*.

King *George I.* declined the sole mediation that had been of- The first
fered him, for wise and prudent reasons; and this drove the treaty of
court of *Madrid* into a resolution of reducing all its differences *Vienna*,
with the emperor, who was then on bad terms with *George I.*
without any mediation. The negotiation was managed by the
famous duke *de Riparda*, then first minister in *Spain*, and ter-
minated in what is called the first treaty of *Vienna*, by which
the emperor confirmed the treaty of *Utrecht* in every article
relating to *Philip*. The latter, on the other hand, confirmed
the cession of his dominions in *Italy* and the *Netherlands*, which
had been stipulated in the treaty of *London 1722*, by the con-
tracting powers in the quadruple alliance. His imperial ma-
jesty granted to *Philip* the eventual investiture of the duchies
of *Tuscany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, and *Philip* guaranteed the
pragmatic sanction in favour of the emperor's heirs, either
male or female. *Philip* promised to guaranty the *New Ostend*
company trading to the *East Indies*, and to grant privileges to
the imperial merchants in *Spain*, which were incompatible
with the *European* system of commerce, and after all he was
to pay to the emperor four million of pieces of eight annually.

Nothing but the most furious resentment against the courts and the
of *France* and *England*, could have driven the queen of *Spain* first treaty
into the terms of this treaty; but whether any compromise of *Hano-*
between her and the imperial court, for placing the pretender ver
upon

conclud-
ed.

Disgrace
of the
duke of
Riperda.

upon the throne of *Great Britain*, was entered into at this time, is still a secret to the world, though it is certain that king *George I.* most solemnly affirmed it to his parliament. Neither does it clearly appear that secret articles were agreed upon for the marriage of the two *Austrian* archduchesses. It is certain, however, that her catholic majesty built too much upon the imperial power over the electorate of *Hanover*, and the demands for the restitution of *Gibraltar* and *Port Mahon* to the crown of *Spain*, were renewed. Her schemes, at this time, seem to have been formed upon *Albion's* plan; but they were even farther extended. She made no secret of her engagements with the pretender, who received an invitation to the court of *Madrid*, where all his adherents (the duke of *Wharton* among others) found shelter and support. She co-operated in the disgrace and dismissal of the duke of *Bourbon* in *France*, and contracted with the empress of *Russia* for thirty thousand men to carry the treaty of *Vienna* into execution. The plan of a general history like this, does not admit of entering into the private intrigues of a court; but it is certain that the *English* ministers had so good intelligence of every measure formed to their prejudice by her catholic majesty, that they were early and vigorous in their preparations to oppose her. Powerful fleets were fitted out, and the first treaty of *Hanover* was concluded between *George I.* and their most *Christian* and *Prussian* majesties.

The duke of *Riperda*, who was a warm but weak man, was a fit instrument for serving her catholic majesty's revenge; but she continued to trust him till she discovered his foible, which was, that either through vanity, or corruption, or both, he discovered the secrets of his office to the *British* ministers. This discovery, at first, was little better than surmise, and therefore he was no farther censured, than being dismissed from his office with a pension of three thousand pistoles a year. He looked upon this as a prelude to his utter ruin; he took refuge under the roof, first of the *Dutch*, and then of the *English*, ambassador; but the *Spanish* guards carried him prisoner by force to the castle of *Segovia*. Great complaints were made by colonel *Stanhope*, afterwards earl of *Harrington*, then the *British* minister at *Madrid*, upon this proceeding, and the *Spanish* ambassador left the court of *London* full of indignation and menaces. Great preparations were made by the *Spaniards* for besieging *Gibraltar*, and a camp of twenty thousand men was actually formed at *St. Roche*, under the marquis de *Torres*, who on the 11th of *February* 1727, formed the siege of *Gibraltar*. They had no kind of pretext for this but an indefinite promise, which they produced under the hand of *George I.* for restoring that fortress as well as *Port Mahon*. Promises like these in arbitrary courts, are looked upon as absolute, because they think that a king is to be bound by no conditions. This was not the case with the king of *England*, who could not make the restitution without the consent of parliament.

parliament. An *English* squadron under admiral *Hofier*, was then blocking up the *Spanish* galleons in *America*; and another under Sir *John Jennings*, was upon the coast of *Spain*: but such were the divisions in the *British* councils, that neither of those admirals durst act with vigour, and the tameness of their behaviour served only to encourage the *Spaniards* in their undertakings. They failed in their attempt upon *Gibraltar*, Preliminary- which was weak and ridiculous, though carried on at a vast expense. Her catholic majesty found herself disappointed as peace to the vast projects she had formed in *Germany*, and the north, signed. and she was tired in furnishing the emperor with subsidies, which since the commencement of the treaty of *Madrid*, amounted to a vast sum. *Fleury*, the pacific minister of *France*, undertook a general pacification, in which he was seconded by *England* and *Holland*. The emperor endeavoured to oppose it; but twelve preliminary articles relating to it, were signed at *Paris*, on the last of *May* 1727. The most material part of this pacification regarded the re-establishment of former treaties, and the cessation of hostilities between *England* and *Spain*, both in *Europe* and *America*, with the suspension of the *Ostend* company, for seven years.

This accommodation effectually overturned all the vindictive views of her catholic majesty against *Great Britain*; but her pride did not suffer her to carry the preliminaries into execution with the court of *England*, without starting a thousand objections equally frivolous as unjust. *George I.* at this time was dead, but the *Spaniards* could not trust to cardinal *Fleury*, and the preliminaries were ratified at *Madrid*, on the 6th of *March* 1728.

1728.

Her catholic majesty, from the date of those preliminaries, The queen altered the whole plan of her political conduct; for instead of of *Spain* setting the north in a blaze, and projecting revolutions in alters her *England*, she applied herself intensely, and indeed wisely, to views, the measures for establishing her family in *Italy*. She had left the chief differences between *England* and *Spain* to a future congress, which *Fleury* had the art to fix at *Soissons*; but she was secretly determined that it should be as ineffectual as that of *Cambray* had been, and that she would make the pacific disposition of the *English* ministry, which were equal to those of *Fleury*, subservient to her great design. It happened fortunately for her, that the affairs of *Germany* were then in such an unsettled situation, as to put king *George II.* under some apprehensions for his electoral dominions, and to render him desirous to continue, or rather to purchase, peace at any rate. The duke de *Bourbonville*, the marquis de *Santa Cruz*, and don *Ignatio de Bernachea*, the *Spanish* plenipotentiaries at the congress of *Soissons*, laid hold of the loose wording of the preliminaries to talk in very high terms, and they peremptorily insisted upon the restitution of *Gibraltar* and *Port Mahon*. The *English* on the other hand hinted, that though they could not comply with that demand, yet that they were not averse

to hear what her catholic majesty had to propose concerning her family settlement in *Italy*. The *Spaniards* insisted on their power of searching and confiscating *British* ships, whom they should suspect to be trading with their settlements in *America*, and the *English* seemed disposed to treat even on that head. In short, nothing was done at the treaty of *Soissons*, but the forming private intrigues, which terminated in accomplishing her catholic majesty's views, and in planting seeds of war between *Spain* and the emperor, who had never been sincere in the concessions he had made to her family in *Italy*.

1729. Cardinal *Fleury* secretly wanted to throw the emperor out of the negotiation, which was now transferred to *Seville*, and concludes the treaty of *Seville*. where the marquis *de la Paz* and don *Joseph Patinbo* conferred with colonel *Stanhope* and Mr. *Keene*, the *English* plenipotentiaries, and the treaty of *Seville* was concluded. It was but at best a temporary measure, for answering the purposes of the *British* ministry; for it left their navigation in *America* as precarious as ever. All former treaties between the two crowns were confirmed. Each guaranteed the dominions of the other, and each was to furnish to the other, if attacked, eight thousand foot and four thousand horse, or ships and money to that amount; but the captures and all the commercial differences between *Spain* and *England*, as well as the restitution of the ships and artillery taken by the *English* in 1718, were left to the discussion of commissaries. Her catholic majesty, however, gained her family point, and *Spanish*, instead of neutral, troops, stipulated by the quadruple alliance, were to be admitted to garrison *Leghorn*, *Porto Ferraro*, *Parma* and *Placentia*, in case their succession and that of *Tuscany* should devolve on don *Carlos*. The *French* king was a party in this treaty, and joined with the *English* in guarantying to don *Carlos* the peaceable possession of the above dominions, whenever he should succeed to them. It was in vain for the emperor to exclaim against this treaty, as being inconsistent with the quadruple alliance; but the futility of the whole negotiation was soon discovered. The *English* ministry durst not, for fear of *Hanover*, carry the treaty into execution, and the *British* parliament over-awed them in all their commercial stipulations. The *Spaniards* threatened to commence hostilities, especially as they perceived that the court of *England* was then actually engaged in a treaty with the emperor for guarantying the pragmatic sanction.

1735. The death of the duke of *Parma* in 1730, gave a new turn to affairs, and rendered the friendship of *Great Britain* of the utmost consequence to her catholic majesty. On the 16th of *March*, the treaty between his *Britannic* majesty and the emperor was actually signed, under the name of the second treaty of *Vienna*. It was calculated among other things, to facilitate the accession of don *Carlos* to the *Italian* dominions, which had been for some time a matter of doubt, because the duchess dowager of *Parma*, upon her husband's death, pretended

tended that she was with child; upon which the emperor had filled that capital with his troops. By the third article of the second treaty of *Vienna*, the emperor consented to the introduction of *Spanish* troops into the duchies in question, and at last the duchess of *Parma* declared herself not to be with child. Her catholic majesty and the court of *Spain*, behaved at this time as the dictators of *Europe*, because they knew that the court of *France* had secretly taken umbrage at his *Britannic* majesty, and the *States General*, for having guarantied the pragmatic sanction. The *British* ministry, however, resolved to fulfil their engagements with the utmost punctuality, and on the 14th of *July* 1731, Sir *Charles Wager* sailed with a noble fleet from *England* to *Cadiz*, to introduce the infant into his new dominions. He had an audience of his catholic majesty at *Seville*, from whence he proceeded to *Leghorn*; but the queen of *Spain* had then altered her views, and had entered into secret connections with the *French*. Those were little more than suspected, when the infant her son, instead of trusting himself on board the *English* fleet, had gone by land through *Languedoc* and *Provence*, and had embarked at *Antibes* for *Italy*, where he took an unmolested possession of his duchies of *Parma* and *Placentia*. 1731.

While this great measure was carrying into execution, the Expedition of *Montemar*, the *Spanish* general, retook *Oran*, and the fort of *Mazalquivir* from the *Moors*, at the head of twenty-five thousand men, who were to have been employed in *Italy*, if don *Carlos* had found any difficulty there. The tameness of the *British* court at this time, certainly added to the injustice and insolence of the *Spaniards*, who obstinately stuck to their claim of searching and confiscating *English* ships, and committed the most atrocious depredations on the *American* seas. The *Spanish* ministers, when required to answer the memorials presented to them on that head by Mr. *Keene*, either evaded them, or gave such orders as they knew would not be obeyed, because they were always clogged with the condition that the *English* should not be concerned in trading with their settlements, of which, the *Spanish* governors made themselves the sole judges. During those open infractions of treaties, one *Geraldino*, who was of *Irish* parentage, was minister for the court of *Spain* at that of *London*, and proposed buying off all the stipulations that had been made by the treaty of *Utrecht*, in favour of the *South Sea* company's trade with the *Spanish America*; but the *British* parliament had then taken all those matters out of the hands of the ministry, and were examining into the complaints of the *English* against the *Spaniards*. It was about this time, that the latter opened for themselves a very advantageous trade between *Old Spain* and the *Philippine Islands*, by erecting a new company which had the privilege of trading with their *West Indies*.

The death of the king of *Poland* in *February* 1733, gave a new face to the affairs of *Europe*. We shall confine ourselves to 1733. p. 72.

A new war to its consequences with regard to *Spain*. The violent proceedings of the *Northern* courts, in driving *Stanislaus*, the *French* king's father-in-law, from that throne to which he had been elected, gave a fair pretext for *France*, *Spain*, and the king of *Sardinia*, who complained of the imperial court, to form an alliance for maintaining the liberties of *Europe*; but in reality, for giving *Naples* and *Sicily* to don *Carlos*. His *Sardinian* majesty took the command of the troops raised by the confederates, and had under him the *French* marshal de *Villars*. The war broke out in the *Milanese*, where the confederates before the end of the year became masters of *Pavia*, *Milan*, *Pizzighitone*, *Cremona*, *Novara*, and other strong fortresses. The court of *England* offered its mediation, but his catholic majesty ordered his ambassador at *London*, to declare his reasons why he could accept of none, matters having proceeded too far to admit of any. The court accordingly presented a strong memorial on that subject, and the *Spaniards* continued their preparations for vigorously carrying on the war. Sixteen thousand foot, four thousand horse, ten squadrons of dragoons, were carried from *Spain* to *Italy*, and gave don *Carlos* possession of *Naples*, of which his father declared him king. The *French* entered the *Modenese*, and the *Spaniards* under their general, the count de *Montemar*, beat the imperialists under count *Merci*, at *Bitonto*. On the 29th of *June* was fought the battle of *Parma*, in which the imperialists were routed with great slaughter, and count *Merci* lost his life; upon which, the strong fortress of *Gaeta*, which had been besieged by the *Spaniards*, and the remaining part of the kingdom of *Naples*, submitted to don *Carlos*. By this time, a detachment of *Spanish* troops had landed in *Sicily*, where don *Carlos* found but little resistance. The character of the *Spanish* nation at this time, seemed to have been changed; never was there a more bloody and active war known than that which they had carried on in *Italy*; but her catholic majesty resolved to give a still farther proof of her abilities and ambition.

1734.

reaches
Italy.*Portugal*
saved by
the *Eng-*
lish.

A trifling incident had happened about the franchises of ambassadors, between those of *Spain* and *Portugal* at their respective courts; and this served as a pretext for the *Spaniards* marching a strong army towards the frontiers of *Portugal*, while the *French* and *Spanish* fleets put to sea, as was thought, with a view of intercepting the rich *Brasil Portuguese* fleet. The court of *Lisbon* knew how much the *British* was concerned in its preservation, and represented their danger to the court of *London*, who immediately ordered a considerable armament to be sent under Sir *John Norris*, to the protection of the *Portuguese*. *Patinho* and the *Spanish* ministry affected great resentment at this proceeding, and renewed their threats against *Portugal*, even to the forbidding their subjects, under pain of death, to have any communication with that kingdom. It is hard to say, what the consequences might have been, had not her catholic majesty perceived a coldness

in

in *Fleury* towards the war, and all hostilities against *Portugal* for that time ceased. Her discovery of *Fleury's* dispositions led her into connections with the *French* court, and she found a proper person in *Chauvelin*, the keeper of the seals, but of a very different cast from *Fleury*. The latter suspected this correspondence, and *Chauvelin* was sent into exile. By this time, don *Carlos* had been crowned king in *Sicily*, and *Fleury* being rid of *Chauvelin*, had founded the imperial court, with regard to peace. Several plans of accommodation were proposed, but at last, an armistice was agreed upon, and the preliminaries were signed for a general peace, but greatly to the dissatisfaction of her catholic majesty, who, by refusing the *Milanese* to the king of *Sardinia*, who, in fact, had conquered it, had highly disobliged that prince. So great was the influence A general which *Fleury* had in the affairs of *Europe*, that all the propositions made by *Great Britain* and the *States General*, were disregarded, and his plan adopted. By his preliminaries, don *Carlos* was secured in all he possessed in *Italy*; but the crown of *Sicily* was never to revert to the monarchy of *Spain*. A p. 75. treaty was proposed between *Spain* and the empire; the *Spanish* troops were to evacuate *Tuscany*, which after the death of the then duke was to be given to the duke of *Lorraine*; but the emperor was to keep the *Mantuan*, *Parma*, *Placentia*, and the *Milanese*. Her catholic majesty bitterly reproached *Fleury* with his insincerity during the dependence of this negotiation; but he retorted upon her, her own ambition, with her treatment of the king of *Sardinia*; and the peace was actually concluded. *ibid.*

The death of *Gaston*, duke of *Tuscany*, in 1737, put the duke of *Lorraine* in possession of the duchy of *Tuscany*, to the infinite History of disquiet of her catholic majesty; but she never lost sight of her the famous favourite view, which was to resume not only her hereditary conventi- dominions of *Parma* and *Placentia*, but the duchy of *Tuscany*, on. from their present possessors. She tried how far the court of *England* would second her, but she there met with nothing but vexation and disappointment, through the aversion which the *English* had conceived to the *Spaniards*. She had now no dependence but her multiplying the depredations of the *Spaniards* upon the *English* in *America*; but this was so far from answering her views, that they only widened the differences between the two crowns. Her catholic majesty was too much favoured by the timidity of the *British* ministers, who made great concessions to avert a war, and she mistook the genius of the *English* nation so much, that she gave private orders to *Geraldino*, and her other agents at *London*, to foment the differences between the government and its opposers there, in hopes of forcing the former to agree to all her demands. At last, the *British* ministry had the spirit, in April 1738, to send a squadron, under admiral *Haddock*, to the *Mediterranean*, and continued their other preparations with so much vigour, that the *Spanish* court agreed to a set of preliminaries, which were afterwards formed

into the famous convention, which was important in itself, and attended with such consequences, that we shall explain the whole transaction as succinctly as possible.

During the conferences between the *English* and *Spanish* commissaries in consequence of the treaty of *Seville*, the *English* losses, though their lists were given in for a much larger sum, were reduced to two hundred thousand pounds. The *English*, by the treaties of *Madrid* in 1721, and of *Seville* in 1729, had agreed to indemnify the *Spaniards* for the ships taken by Sir *George Byng* in 1718, which the latter valued at a hundred and eighty thousand pounds; but it was agreed that sixty thousand pounds should be accepted of, and it was likewise agreed, that forty-five thousand pounds should be deducted from the whole balance due to the *English*, for the immediate payment of the remainder, which amounted to ninety-five thousand pounds. But, besides this account, there was another between the *South Sea* company of *England* and the court of *Spain*; and the commissaries had admitted that sixty-eight thousand pounds was due by the former to the latter, which the company, however, denied, and insisted that the *Spaniards* were considerably in their debt. Such was the state of the pecuniary differences between the two nations, at the time the abovementioned convention was signed; but other differences subsisted, for the *Spaniards* pretended that the *English* settlement of *Georgia* belonged to them, and had actually invaded it by force of arms. The convention, instead of finally deciding all those matters, but above all of forming precise rules for commerce in the *American* seas, left every thing undecided. The treaties of the years 1667, 1670, 1715, 1721, 1729, and the *asiento* contract of the year 1716, were made the basis of the new treaty that was to be concluded. The rights of the *British* navigation in *America*, were left to a future discussion; and though the *Spaniards* agreed to pay the ninety-five thousand pounds, yet at the time of signing the agreement, his catholic majesty ordered a protest to be taken, that the sixty-eight thousand pounds, which he pretended to be due to him, should be deducted out of it; and in default, his catholic majesty was to suspend the company's *asiento* of *Negroes*.

Admiral
Vernon
takes *Porto*
Bello.

When this protest, which was in the name of don *Sebastian de la Quadra*, then first secretary of state to his catholic majesty, was produced in *England*, the resentment of the nation was so strong, that war was declared against *Spain*, and vigorous preparations were made to support it. Her catholic majesty, and the *Spanish* ministers, had been so much misled by their agents in *England*, that they could not believe the intelligence they received of the declaration, and thought that *Keene* was only endeavouring to intimidate them, by declaring it to be unavoidable if they insisted upon searching *British* ships on the *American* seas. Their only comfort now was, that they would be befriended by *France*, and they were not deceived in their hopes; for besides the real property which the

French

French had in the *Spanish* galleons and *Plate* fleets, they had a prospect of carrying on the *Spanish American* trade in their bottoms, provided they could keep up a tolerable appearance of neutrality. All *Europe* was now filled with manifestoes, emitted by the *Spanish* court against the *English*; but this did not deter the latter from sending admiral *Vernon* to sea, with nine ships of the line, and from ordering reprisals to the *English* officers in the *West Indies*. *Vernon* for some time cruized on the coasts of *Spain*, in hopes of intercepting the rich *Azogue* fleet, which was then on its return home, but it escaped his vigilance; upon which, the admiral proceeded to *America*, where he took *Porto Bello*, with seven ships only, though the *Spaniards* had deemed it to be impregnable.

Admiral *Haddock* continued all this while cruizing between *Gibraltar* and *Cadiz*, where, besides smaller prizes, he took two of immense value, the cargo of one of them, the *St. Joseph*, being estimated at a hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling. The court of *Spain* continued as inflexible as ever, even after the taking of *Porto Bello*, and their trade was carried on partly in *French*, and partly in *Dutch* bottoms, till at last, through the preparations made in *Great Britain*, it was plain that the *English* intended to attack the *Spanish West Indies*; upon which *France* declared that she could be no longer neutral, and gave orders for her fleet under the marquis d'Autin, to sail for the protection of the *Spaniards* in *America*. He accordingly sailed, but his fleet, through the precautions taken by the *English* ministry, was most miserably ruined, without his having it in his power to do any material service to his allies. About this time, Sir *John Norris* sailed with a strong naval armament to destroy the *Spanish* fleet at *Ferrol*, before it proceeded to *America*; but contrary winds obliged him to lye inactive during the greatest part of the summer off *Torbay*, which defeated that promising expedition. In the mean while, Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, the *British* admiral, sailed with the grand expedition fleet destined against the *Spaniards* in *America*; but lord *Cathcart*, who was to command the *English* land forces, died at *Dominica*, and was succeeded in his command by general *Wentworth*, whose abilities were not equal to the undertaking. *Ogle* having provided himself with wood and water at *Dominica*, discovered four large ships of war, but upon engaging them, they were discovered to be *French*, and having no intelligence of war being proclaimed between *France* and *England*, they were suffered to proceed to join *de Torres*, the *Spanish* admiral.

Ogle landed in *Jamaica*, where having joined admiral *Vernon*, the *English* mustered a fleet and army sufficient, had it been properly commanded, to have conquered all the *Spanish America*. The seamen consisted of fifteen thousand, and the land troops of twelve thousand; but *Vernon*, with great abilities as a seaman, was hot-headed and positive, and *Ogle* had, by some unaccountable conduct of the *British* ministry, been detained

The Eng-
lish repul-
sed at Car-
thagena.

tained too long before he sailed from *Spithead*. The great object of the *British* nation, was the reduction of the *Havannah*; but *Vernon* beat up towards *Hispaniola*, to observe the motions of *d'Antin*, who, before he arrived on that coast, had sailed for *Europe* with the pitiful remains of his squadron. Upon this, *Vernon* set sail for *Carthagena*, which had been prepared to receive him by *de Torres*, who had proceeded to the *Havannah* after leaving a squadron for the defence of *Carthagena*, under the command of *don Blas de Lese*. The *British* fleet and troops destroyed the *Spanish* ships that lay athwart the harbour's mouth, and after conquering incredible difficulties and dangers, entered it, and landed their forces within a mile of *Carthagena*; after forcing seven hundred *Spaniards*, who opposed their landing, to retire. All those promising appearances on the part of the *English* were blasted, through the dissensions that arose between *Vernon* and *Wentworth*. The former reproached the latter for not attacking *Fort St. Lazare*, which he attempted, but was repulsed with prodigious slaughter, which was not however equal to the mortality that otherwise prevailed among the *British* troops and seamen. All parties in the *English* army and navy, though divided in other respects, agreed upon the necessity of returning to *Jamaica*, which they did, and from thence they sailed in *July* to a bay on the south-east part of *Cuba*, where they landed, but consumed their time in useless excursions; and, without attempting any thing memorable against the *Spaniards*, they returned to *J. maica*, where they were reinforced by four ships of war, and three thousand fresh troops; but upon the whole, excepting the taking of *Porto Bello*, and the loss of some ships, the *Spaniards* suffered very little in *America*, while the *English* fleet was commanded there by *Vernon*, and their army by *Wentworth*.

Anson's
expedition.

A great plan for distressing the *Spaniards* was now laid down by the *English* ministry, who gave the command of a squadron of five ships, the largest carrying sixty guns, and a sloop, to captain *Anson*. His destination was for the *South Seas*, to cruise off the coasts of *Chili* and *Peru*, where he was to act against the *Spaniards*, and in case of *Vernon's* success, to open a communication with *Porto Bello*, across the isthmus of *Darien*. The *Spaniards* had some intimation of this expedition, which struck at the vitals of their monarchy, and gave *don Joseph Pizarro* the command of another squadron carrying a force far superior to that of *Anson*, having on board a regiment of old *Spanish* foot. *Anson* escaped *Pizarro* at first, but while the former lay at *Port St. Julian*, *Pizarro's* squadron appeared in sight, which obliged *Anson* to call a council of war, where it was agreed to attack *Baldivia* on the coast of *Chili*. The *English* encountered most incredible difficulties and fatigues in passing the straits of *Le Maire*. Their ships were separated from one another, their crews grew sickly, and so many of them died, that the officers were obliged to do duty with the

common

common men. To complete their misfortune, when the commodore arrived at the island of *Juan Fernandez*, the *Severn* and the *Pearl* were missing, together with the *Wager* another ship of the squadron, on board of which was the artillery which was to be employed against *Baldivia*. After a variety of adventures, it was found, that since the squadron left *England*, it had lost six hundred and thirty-six men, and that no more than three hundred and thirty-five men remained alive. The commodore, notwithstanding this great loss, flattered himself with hopes of *Vernon's* success, and that he should receive such reinforcement as would enable him to attack *Panama*. In this he was disappointed, and all he could do was to cruize in those seas, where he made several prizes, some of them of considerable value. Having intelligence that a considerable treasure was lodged at *Paita*, he attacked and made himself master of that place, where he got a large booty, notwithstanding the vast superiority of the *Spaniards* in numbers, over the small *English* party that landed under lieutenant *Brett*.

On the 28th of *January*, the commodore found himself in the neighbourhood of *Acapulco*; but a rich galleon, which he expected to intercept, had escaped. In the mean while, the *Spanish* admiral *Pizarro* had arrived at the river *Plate* in *South America*, on the 5th of *January* 1740; and from thence he precipitately set sail, in hopes of getting into the *South Seas* before the *English* commodore. In this attempt, the *Spanish* squadron was ruined, with vast variety of miseries. As they had put to sea with no more than four months provisions, their crews were attacked by famine, which brought them into such distress, that four dollars was the common price for a rat. The sailors mutinied against their officers, and at last *Pizarro* bore away for the river *Plate*, after losing the *Guipuscoa* and *Hermione*, whose whole crew, consisting of five hundred men, perished at sea; so that when *Pizarro* arrived at *Monte Vedio*, about the middle of *May*, he found that he had lost in the whole two thousand men, and that his ships were little better than so many wrecks. Notwithstanding those discouragements, he re embarked the remainder of his crews in the *Asia* and the *Estefan*, which he refitted, and attempted again to double *Cape Horn*; but was obliged to return to the river *Plate* with the loss of his masts. By this time *Anson*, who had likewise the most deplorable difficulties to struggle with, was forced to destroy all his ships but the *Centurion*, and in her he bore away for the river *Canton*, where his ship was sheathed. From thence he sailed for the straits of *Manilla*, where he had the fortune to engage and take the rich *Manilla* galleon, called *Nuestra Señora de Cabodonga*, the cargo of which amounted to three hundred and thirteen thousand pounds. It was remarked that the *Spanish* court was so solicitous to defeat this expedition under *Anson*, that *Pizarro's* squadron consisted of their best ships, and was manned with the flower of their

1740.

navy ; so that the destruction of it proved an irreparable loss to their marine.

Activity
of the
Spanish
privateers.

While the national fleets of *England* and *Spain* were watching each other in *America*, the *Spaniards* covered the seas with their privateers, and out-did the *English* themselves in activity, boldness and enterprize. *St. Sebastian's* was the harbour into which they commonly carried their *English* prizes, which were rich and numerous ; so that in a short time the insurance of *English* shipping arose to an amazing height, and even few of their privateers put to sea. The reason of this was soon perceived by the public. Though the *French* were neutral, yet many of their sailors served on board the *Spanish* privateers, and their ports and harbours were always open for their reception : Add to this, that the *English* trade being vastly superior to that of *Spain*, the prizes which the latter made were thereby multiplied. But the capital fault lay in the government and officers of the *English* navy. The former fitted out vast fleets, who sailed in a body, and had appeared under Sir *John Norris* twice on the coast of *Spain*, without either annoying the enemy or serving the nation. Such of the latter, as commanded separate ships, chose those stations in which they were most likely to meet rich *Spanish* prizes ; and thus the commerce of *England* was left exposed and unprotected.

1742.
War is re-
newed in
Italy.

The war soon after became general. The king of *Sardinia* attached himself firmly to the interest of the house of *Austria* ; and the subsidies he received from *Great Britain*, kept him steady to its cause. In *May* 1742, the *Spanish* and *Neapolitan* forces which rendezvoused at *Rimini*, under the duke de *Montemar*, amounted to sixty thousand men ; and the queen of *Spain* had by this time unfolded her great scheme of providing for her second son don *Philip*, another settlement in *Italy*. The duke of *Modena* having joined the *Spaniards*, was driven out of his dominions by the king of *Sardinia*, and count *Tram*, the *Austrian* general, and remained on the defensive at *Rimini*, till he received intelligence that the *Spanish* general, count *Glimes*, who commanded under don *Philip*, had made an irruption into *Savoy* at the head of thirty thousand men. Most of the *Piedmontese* and *Savoyard* militia were employed in guarding the passes, and the king of *Sardinia* not suspecting such an attempt, had left his country exposed, so that don *Philip* met with little resistance, and not only made himself master of *Chambery*, the capital of *Savoy*, but forced his *Sardinian* majesty's subjects to acknowledge him as their sovereign. Though his *Sardinian* majesty was, at that time, victorious in *Italy* against the *Spaniards*, yet he no sooner heard of this revolution, than he set out for *Piedmont*, upon which don *Philip* abandoned *Savoy*, and retreated into *Dauphiny*. At this time, by the vigilance of the *British* fleet, the duke of *Montemar* had been obliged to retreat to *Rimini* ; and the king of *Naples* had been forced by the captain of an *English* ship of war in his

his own capital, to recal his troops from his father's army. The queen of *Spain* grew out of humour with the duke *de Montemar* at so many repeated disgraces, and he was ordered to resign his command to the count *de Gage*, which he did with the following reflection, "That his master, far from wondering he had done so little, ought to wonder he had done so much, with an army so ill provided." *Gage* proved to be of a more enterprizing spirit than his predecessor, and would have taken up his winter quarters in *Tuscany*, had he not been prevented by the vigilance of count *Traun*. *Matthews* was then the *English* admiral in the *Mediterranean*, where he had burnt five *Spanish* galleys in the bay of *St. Tropez*, and destroyed the magazines which had been erected for the *Spaniards* in the territories of *Genoa*, and intercepted a great number of the *Spanish* ships. After this, he took up his winter station in the road of *Hieres*.

Upon don *Philip* being forced to evacuate *Savoy*, the *Spanish* Don *Philip* general, count *Glimes*, fell under the displeasure of his court, and the marquis *las Minas* succeeded to his command. He took the castle of *Apremont*, in *December* 1742, and obliged his *Sardinian* majesty again to evacuate *Savoy*. The distress of that prince prevailed with the court of *England* to order *Matthews* to make him a particular object of his attention, so that that admiral employed so many of his ships in his service, that had the *French* and *Spanish* fleets (which were then lying in *Toulon*) sailed, he could have been in no condition to fight them. The king of *Naples* was sensible of this, and took that opportunity to send some regiments to count *Gage's* army, which he pretended to the court of *London*, was no violation of his neutrality, because they had been lent him by the king his father. Though the *English* seemed to admit of this apology, yet they sent a strong reinforcement to *Matthews*.

Early in the year 1743, count *Gage*, with twenty-four thousand men, advanced to *Campo Santo*, where he fought a battle with count *Traun*, their armies being nearly equal. In this battle the *Spaniards* lost near four thousand men; the loss of the confederates was not so great. Both sides claimed the victory, but *Gage* repassed the *Panaro*, and fortified himself in the strong camp at *Rimini*, while count *Traun* remained inactive in the *Modense*, and resigned his command to prince *Lobkowitz*. By this time, the *Spanish* army, under count *Gage*, had suffered so much by desertion, that it was reduced to seven thousand men, and was forced to retreat before *Lobkowitz* to *Pesaro*. Don *Philip* remained all this while inactive in *Savoy*, probably in hopes that the courts of *Madrid* and *Versailles* would prevail upon the king of *Sardinia*, to detach himself from the *Austrian* and *English* interest. Being disappointed in this, towards the latter end of *August*, he was joined by the prince of *Conti*, at *Briançon*, with twenty thousand *French* auxiliaries. The *Piedmontese* troops were then within their lines at *Chateau Dauphin*, and though they were several times

attacked by the army of the two crowns, they maintained their ground, and *Philip* was obliged to return to *Savoy* for winter quarters. About the middle of this campaign, admiral *Matthews* forced the *Genoese* to sequester the cargoes of fourteen *Spanish* xebecques, that were laden with stores and ammunition for count *Gage's* army. He fortified *Villafranca* with cannon and troops sent from his fleet, and upon some stores being landed at *Civita Vecchia* for the *Spaniards*, he would have laid the place, which belongs to the pope, in ashes, had not the king of *Sardinia*, at the pope's request, prevailed with him to desist. In *America*, the *Spaniards* repulsed commodore *Knowles*, in two attempts which he made upon *la Gueira*, on the coast of *Caraccas*, and upon *Porto Cavallo*.

1744.
Engage-
ment of
Toulon.

On the 9th of *February* 1744, the combined fleets of *France* and *Spain*, the latter under the command of admiral *Navarro*, and the former under *de la Court*, ventured out of *Toulon*, and were attacked by the *English* admirals, *Matthews* and *Rowley*, with great resolution. The two admirals singled out the ships of *de Court* and *Navarro*, who was in the *Real*, which mounted a hundred guns; but not being supported by admiral *Lestock*, who commanded the rear division, and several other captains behaving scandalously; the whole engagement passed in a hurry, without proper orders or signals being either given or answered. The *Real* was reduced to a wreck, and captain *Harcke* took a *Spanish* ship of the line. Next morning *Matthews* continued his pursuit of the enemy, whose chief aim was to escape; but just as *Lestock*, with his division, was come up to support him, *Matthews* gave the signal for leaving off the chase, and bore away to *Port Mahon*, while don *Navarro* sailed into the harbour of *Carthagena*, and *de la Court* anchored in the road of *Alicant*. This miscarriage (for such it was) of the *English* fleet, was owing to a shameful difference that had long subsisted between *Matthews* and *Lestock*, by which a fair opportunity was lost for giving the finishing blow to the marine of the two crowns.

Battle of
Velitri.

Upon the opening the campaign this year, the king of *Naples* published a manifesto to justify his breaking his neutrality, which he pretended had been undervalued by the courts of *London* and *Vienna*; but the most justifiable reason he published was, that prince *Lobkowitz* was ordered to be at hand, to support a rebellion which the emissaries of the house of *Austria* were forming against him in his capital. Having joined count *Gage*, who was encamped at *Monte Rotondo*, near *Rome*, he took possession of *Velitri*, which was surprized by the *Austrian* troops with such quickness, that it was with difficulty his *Neapolitan* majesty and the duke of *Modena*, escaped by a postern. The *Spanish* army must have been ruined on this occasion, had it not been for the courage and presence of mind of count *Gage*, who rallied his troops and dispelled their consternation; upon which count *Brown*, who had the direction of the attack, made his retreat, after killing three thousand

Spaniards,

Spaniards, and making a prodigious booty. This advantage had but small consequences in prejudice of the *Spaniards*; and *Lobkowitz* perceiving his army daily mouldering away, began to retreat by the way of *Rome*, under such apprehensions of being overtaken, that he broke down the *Ponte Molle*, the ancient *Milvian* bridge, after he had passed it. Notwithstanding that, the *Spaniards* pursued him so close, that part of his rear was made prisoners at *Nocera*; and his *Neapolitan* majesty leaving the command of his troops to *Gage*, paid a visit to his holiness at *Rome*.

The *Spanish* arms were equally fortunate in *Savoy*, where Successor don *Philip* was again joined by the prince of *Conti*, and passing the *Span-*
the *Var*, they took possession of *Nice*. After this, they at- niards
tacked and beat the king of *Sardinia*, who was strongly entrenched at *Villafranca*, and they would have passed through the *Genoese* territories into the *Milanese*, had not *Matthews* declared that he would look upon such passage as a breach of the *Genoese* neutrality. Upon this, at the request of the senate, the two princes defiled towards *Piedmont*, and with the loss of four thousand men, they drove his *Sardinian* majesty from his strong post at *Chateau Dauphiné*, took the castle of *Demont*, laid all *Piedmont* under contribution, and threatened *Turin* itself, so that the king was forced to take post at *Saluces*. Upon this, the army of the two princes laid siege to *Coni*, but the king of *Sardinia* was repulsed, in endeavouring to relieve it. The place, however, made a brave resistance, under general *Leutrum*; and though the princes continued the siege with astonishing perseverance, under the most discouraging difficulties, yet they were obliged to raise it; but at the end of the campaign, the *Spaniards* still maintained their footing in *Savoy*.

The campaign of 1745 proved glorious for the *Spaniards* in 1745.
Italy. Count *Gage* passed the *Appennines*, and joined don *Phi-* in *Italy*,
lip's army in the *Genoese* dominions. The united armies were increased, by ten thousand *Genoese* auxiliaries; that republic now thinking itself safe against the threats of *Matthews*. Prince *Lobkowitz* encamped at *Parma*, and being called to serve in *Bohemia*, he was succeeded in his command by count *Schuylenbourg*. The *Spaniards* met with no difficulty in entering the *Milanese*, and divided their army into two bodies, the one of thirty thousand men, commanded by count *Gage*, and another of forty thousand, under don *Philip*. The king of *Sardinia* and the *Austrians* saw themselves obliged to retreat, first behind the *Tanaro*, and next behind the *Po*. The progress of the *Spaniards* after this, was prodigiously rapid. They became masters of *Acqui*, *Tortona*, *Parma*, *Placentia*, the city of *Milan* (the citadel being still defended by the *Austrians*) *Pavia*, and all *Piedmont*, to the very gates of its capital.

This prosperous state of their affairs did not long continue. from
The subsidies of *Great Britain* enabled the king of *Sardinia* to whence
augment they are
driven.

1746.

augment his army to thirty-six thousand men, and to act with more vigour than ever; and the *Austrians* having gained a respite in *Germany*, reinforced their army, which was now commanded by the prince of *Lichtenstein*. In *February* 1746, the *French* general, *Maillebois*, who commanded the army of the two crowns in *Piedmont*, was, by the *Sardinian* general, *Leutrum*, forced to retire to the neighbourhood of *Genoa*, and great part of *Piedmont* reverted to the allegiance of its sovereign. *Maillebois* continued his march to join the *Spaniards* under don *Philip* and count *Gage*, who had been forced to abandon *Milan*, *Pavia* and *Parma*, and to retire to *Placentia*. After the junction with *Maillebois* was effected, don *Philip* found himself at the head of fifty-two thousand men. *Pignatelli*, a *Spanish* general, had beat a large detachment of the *Austrians* at *Codogno*, and the main body of the *Austrian* army lay encamped at *Lazaro*. They were attacked in the night of the 4th of *June*, by don *Philip*, who thought to have surprised them, but he was deceived, for the *Austrians* being prepared, drove the *Spaniards* out of their lines, and attacked them in their turn, defeated them, with the loss of fifteen thousand men, sixty colours, and ten pieces of artillery. Don *Philip* retired behind the *Po*, and entered his quarters in the *Milanese*, where the king of *Sardinia* and the *Austrian* general, *de Botta*, pursued him, and forced him to retreat towards *Tortona*. At *Rotto Freddo*, the *Spaniards* were again beaten by the *Austrians* under *Serbelloni* and *Botta*, with the loss of eight thousand men and eighteen pieces of cannon; upon which the *Spanish* garrison of *Placentia* surrendered themselves prisoners of war; and don *Philip*, after losing half his army during the course of the campaign, retreated to the territories of *Genoa*, and from thence into *Provence*. The queen of *Spain*, as usual, displaced her general, *Gage*, because he was unfortunate, and his place was supplied by the marquis *de las Minas*. The victorious *Austrians* became masters of *Genoa*, upon which they imposed most merciless and mortifying terms, and the king of *Sardinia* was preparing to pursue the *Spaniards* into *Provence*, when he fell ill of the small-pox.

Death of
Philip the
Vth.

In the month of *July* this year, *Philip* the Vth of *Spain* died. No prince of his age was more indebted to fortune than himself, and none, towards the latter end of his reign, deserved it less, being caten up with bigotry, superstition and indolence. He grew so peevish in his disposition, that it was with the greatest difficulty his queen, notwithstanding her ascendancy over him, dissuaded him from resigning his crown a second time. He was succeeded by his eldest son, *Ferdinand*, who was born of the princess *Louisa Gabriela*, sister to the present king of *Sardinia*, and he was married to donna *Maria Magdalena*, an infanta of *Portugal*. The new king's dispositions were very averse to the schemes of his mother-in-law, but he had too much at stake to make a hasty conclusion of the war which she had entailed upon him. The invasion of *Piedmont*, by
marshal

marshal *de Belleisle*, and the expulsion of the *Austrians* out of *Ferdinand* *Genoa*, altered the state of affairs in favour of the *Spaniards*; king of but vice admiral *Medley* blocked up their fleet in *Carthagera*, *Spain*. and *Ferdinand*'s supplies from his *Spanish West Indies* became now very precarious, through the vigilance of the *British* fleet and cruizers. His ally, the king of *France*, was little better than a bankrupt to his own subjects, and had hinted more than once his willingness to enter into a negotiation for peace. *Ferdinand* willingly fell in with his views, and privately sent general *Wall*, a gentleman of *Irish* extraction, to *London*, to sound the dispositions of the *English* ministry, which he found favourable. Upon the meeting of the *British* parliament, in *November* 1747, the public was informed, by his majesty, that a congress would speedily be opened at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, and soon after, the preliminaries of a general peace were actually signed at that city, by the ministers of *Great Britain*, *France* and the *United Provinces*. In the mean while, the *French* duke, *de Richelieu*, commanded the *Spanish* and *French* armies in *Italy*, where the war still continued between the *Spaniards* and the *Austrians*, and the marshal *Belleisle* covered the *Genoese* territories with fifty thousand men.

1747.

In the *West Indies*, rear admiral *Knowles* made an unsuccessful attempt upon *St. Jago de Cula*, and engaged, near the *Havannah*, a *Spanish* squadron, under the command of the admirals *Reggio* and *Spinola*, who lost two of their ships, and retired to the *Havannah*. The plenipotentiaries were still at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, settling the terms of the definitive treaty, which was at last signed on the 7th of *October*. That part of it relating to *Spain* provided that the prisoners on both sides should be mutually released, without ransom, and all conquests restored; that the dutchies of *Parma*, *Placentia*, and *Gualstalla*, should be ceded as a settlement to the infant don *Philip*, and the heirs male of his body; but in case of his ascending the throne of *Spain*, or of the two *Sicilies*, or his dying without male issue, that they should revert to the house of *Austria*. This great work being finished, *Ferdinand* declared his intention of cultivating an inviolable friendship with the court of *Great Britain*, and, at the same time, a good understanding with all his other neighbours. He entered into a defensive alliance with the kings of *France*, *Sardinia* and the two *Sicilies*, the republic of *Genoa*, and the dukes of *Parma* and *Modena*. Having thus secured the tranquillity of his dominions, he applied himself with great assiduity to their internal interests, and ordered his minister, don *Juan de Carvajal*, to confer with the *British* minister, *Keene*, upon the most effectual method to settle all the differences with *Great Britain* that had been left unfinished by the treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle*. This was considered as a very tender point on the part of the *Spaniards*, especially as the article of searching *British* ships on the *American* seas, which had occasioned the late war, remained still undetermined. The *Spanish* minister refused to give up

His pacific conduct.

up the point, and to put the people of *Great Britain* in good humour, he agreed to pay a hundred thousand pounds, to indemnify the *South Sea* company for the claims it had upon the crown of *Spain*, and that the trade between *England* and *Spain* should be continued on the footing of former treaties.

He courts
the Eng-
lish.

Ferdinand's great passion was to revive a spirit of industry among his people, and to induce them to pursue the arts and manufactures practised in other nations, especially in *Great Britain*. For this purpose, he recalled general *Wall* out of *England*, and put him at the head of his ministry. This was extremely disagreeable to the queen mother, who had a strong party at court; but *Ferdinand* protected his minister, and every day gave fresh proofs of his intention to strengthen the bonds of friendship with *England*. Besides the queen mother, the marquis of *Ensenada* joined in the intrigues against *Wall*, as did most of the other ministers at *Madrid*; but *Ensenada* was arrested, and his posts were given to general *Wall*. *Ferdinand* sent a message, desiring his mother-in-law to desist from meddling in the affairs of his government; and the *English* interest was so prevalent at court, that *Keene* was honoured with a red ribband by his master, as being highly instrumental in the disgrace of *Ensenada*.

Observes a
neutrality.

It was natural for the *French* king, when the war broke out between *France* and *England* in 1755, to endeavour to make *Ferdinand* a principal against *Great Britain*; but he stuck to his pacific plan, and continued to improve the arts and manufactures of his country, to retrench unnecessary expences, and to strike off useless pensions, by which he was enabled to put both his sea and land forces upon a most respectable footing; but above all to encourage the building of ships, in which he spared no encouragement to *English* artists. When the *English* made prize of the *French* ships before their declaring war against *France*, the *French* endeavoured to prevail on *Ferdinand* to resent such proceeding, as a breach of the law of nations, and as a common cause among all monarchs. *Boscawen* had destroyed two *French* men of war in *America*, and Sir *Benjamin Keene* presented a memorial at the court of *Madrid*, vindicating his conduct, which had been rendered necessary, by the injustice and violence of the *French* towards the *British* subjects in that part of the world. His representation was so well received, that *Ferdinand* declared that he would do nothing to break his good correspondence with *Great Britain*, and his declaration was reported by his *Britannic* majesty in his next speech to his parliament. An incident that happened soon after on the coast of *Spain*, gave the *French* new matter of complaint. An *English* squadron under admiral *Osborne*, had blocked up a *French* squadron under *de la Clue*, and the *French* sent the *Foudroyant*, the largest ship in their navy, to the assistance of *de la Clue*. The *Foudroyant* was taken by the *Monmouth*; but the *Oriflamme*, another *French* ship, was driven

driven ashore, under the *Spanish* castle of *Aiglos*, and the *French* demanded, in pretty high terms, of *Ferdinand*, to resent this violation of the laws of nations. The *English*, at the request of the *Spanish* ministers, made an apology for what had happened, with which *Ferdinand* was satisfied, and the affair had no farther consequences. About this time, the court of *London* published a reward of five hundred pounds for bringing to justice certain *English* pirates, who had plundered the ship, which was carrying the effects and money of the *Spanish* ambassador, the marquis *de Pignatelli*, to *Dunkirk*.

In the year 1758, *Ferdinand* received a fatal blow by the death of his queen, of whom he was fond to distraction, which threw him into a melancholy, so deplorable that we have hardly an instance of the like in history, especially among crowned heads. It was in vain for his best beloved subjects and friends to offer him comfort; for he shut himself up in a chamber at *Villaviciosa*, where his melancholy, at last, put an end to his life, on the 10th of *August* 1759. His pacific character, the immense sums he spent among his subjects, and the easy manner in which they lived under him, made him adored by his people, who severely felt his loss. In other respects, he is said to have had no great genius, which, perhaps, was a happiness to his subjects, because it tended to promote their tranquillity.

1758.
His death.

1759.

As the last will of a king of *Spain* has always been of great consequence to his successor, and respected with the deepest reverence by his subjects, *Ferdinand* made his before his death, and appointed his brother *Charles*, commonly called don *Carlos*, king of the two *Sicilies*, to succeed him. *Charles* had never ratified the treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle*. He considered it as of no force to bind him, or to give his brother *Philip* a right to mount his throne. He therefore, without any ceremony, very sensibly proceeded, as if no such treaty existed; but his chief difficulty was the disposal of his eldest son, who had in his person and behaviour, all the marks of incapacity for government. To get rid of that difficulty, he ordered that the young prince should be inspected by a committee of physicians, who declared him to be unsound in his intellects, and gave their reasons in writing, which were published by his majesty's orders. He therefore published an act of abdication, and settlement of the crown of the two *Sicilies*, in favour of don *Ferdinand*, his third son, and declared his second son his successor to the crown of *Spain*; but left his eldest son under proper tuition at *Naples*. He at the same time declared the order of the succession to the crown of the two *Sicilies*, but that they never should be united to the *Spanish* monarchy; and that his son *Ferdinand*, for whom he appointed a regency during his minority, was entirely independent of him, both as a king and a father.

By the will of the late king *Ferdinand*, the queen mother whose mediation is of *Spain* was to act as regent, till the arrival of *Charles*, and the

rejected by the first act of her government was to command all officers to continue in their respective posts till farther orders. Though the kings of *Spain* are never crowned, yet the proclamation of *Charles* was very splendid; and having embarked on board a *Spanish* squadron, he landed at *Barcelona*, and arrived at *Madrid* in *October*. The queen, his mother, left nothing unattempted to prevail with him to abandon the pacific maxims of the late reign; but his majesty, notwithstanding the affection he bore to her, declined taking any part in the war, and contented himself with sending the count *de Fuentes* as his ambassador to the court of *London*, with an offer of his mediation between *France* and *Great Britain*, and to bring about, if possible, a cessation of arms in the mean time. In this, however, he failed, though he took a journey to *Paris* to effect it. This disappointment did not prevent *Charles* from pursuing steadily his brother's conduct, and he even exceeded him in the measures he took for regulating his finances and relieving his people, for he ordered his father's debts, amounting to ten millions of rials, to be punctually discharged.

He takes part with *France*. This steadiness did not continue long. Besides the continual teazings of his mother to join *France* in the war against *England*, he was alarmed, when he saw the *French* stripped of almost all their possessions in *America* by the *English* arms, and he grew apprehensive for the fate of his own *American* dominions. In short, he secretly resolved, not only to become a party in the war against *England*, but to enter into a formal family compact with *France*, of which we have already given a full account. Perhaps the haughtiness with which the *British* ministry treated the family of *Bourbon*, did not a little influence him in this resolution. To cover his real intention, he ordered a fleet to be fitted out at *Carthage*, under pretence of chastising the *Algerines*; but in reality, to act against *Great Britain*. The negotiations for peace were then carrying on at *London* between the *French* and the *English* ministers, and we have already seen the manner in which his catholic majesty's name was introduced into the conferences, and how warmly the insolence of *Bussy*, the *French* minister on that occasion, was resented by the *English*. We have, in the history of *France*, given all the other particulars relating to this negotiation, and shall therefore confine ourselves here entirely to what concerns *Spain*. The family compact was no secret, but the particulars of it had not been communicated to the public, and therefore the *British* ministry, in which Mr. *Pitt* now held no part, instructed the earl of *Bristol*, their ambassador at *Madrid*, peremptorily to demand a sight of the treaty that had been made with *France*. It is probable the *French* ministry had, before this, an intimation of Mr. *Pitt*'s having resigned the seals, because he could not prevail upon his *Britannic* majesty and his council to declare war against *Spain*, and that they concluded from thence, that no war would be declared in any event. Mr. *Wall*, who was then the first minister

ibid. &
seq.

nister in *Spain*, all of a sudden talked in that stile to the earl of *Bristol*, and in the mean time a very rich ship arrived from the *Spanish West Indies*. The earl, according to his instructions, threatened to be gone, and Mr. *Wall*, without any ceremony, told him he might begin his journey when he pleased. Mutual recriminations passed between the two courts, from whence each recalled its ambassadors.

On the 2d of *January* 1762, *Great Britain* declared war 1762.
against *Spain*, as *Spain* did against *Great Britain* on the 16th War de-
of the same month. The manner in which the *Spanish* mi- clared be-
nistry behaved since the conclusion of the family compact, tween
sufficiently indicated their belief that *Great Britain* durst not *Spain* and
declare war, and their opinion seemed to be well founded. *Great Bri-*
The continuance and vast extent of the war with *France*, had *tain*.
increased the national debt to an enormous amount. The
finances and armies of *Spain* were in excellent order. Their
ships of war were more numerous than had been known for
an age past, and they had been providing against any attack in
their *West Indies*, where alone they were vulnerable, by rein-
forcing the *Havannah* with thirteen ships of the line, a large
body of land troops, and additional fortifications; but the
great dependence of the court of *Spain*, was upon an inva-
sion they were meditating against *Portugal*, the favourite ally
of *Great Britain*, but without the least means of defending
herself. On the 6th of *March*, the *French* and *Spanish* em- War in
bassadors presented a memorial to his most faithful majesty, *Portugal*,
which amounted to a demand, that he would immediately de-
clare war against the *English*, who reaped great advantages
from the situation of *Portugal*, and that he would admit *Spa-*
nish garrisons into his chief fortresses. This insolent demand
was followed by the arrival of a *Spanish* army under the mar-
quis de *Sarria*, upon the frontiers of *Portugal*. His most faith-
ful majesty, without appearing to be intimidated, continued
firm to his engagements with *England*, notwithstanding the
repeated declarations of *France* and *Spain*; and though the
marquis de *Sarria* had made himself master of *Miranda*. It is
certain, that a party in *Great Britain*, from the defenceless
state of *Portugal*, and the small opposition the *Spaniards* met
with, thought that there was a private understanding between
the courts of *Lisbon* and *Madrid*; and indeed, the greater the
danger *Portugal* was in, the greater was the probability that
England would consent to a peace.

The *English* ministry acted with the most irreproachable where the
good faith. Though they were then plunged in the most ex- *Spaniards*
pensive and extensive war that perhaps any nation had ever are defeat-
carried on, they sent vast supplies of arms, artillery, ammu- ed by the
nition, troops and money to his most faithful majesty; but it *English*,
has been alledged, that had the *French* and *Spaniards* been in
earnest, *Portugal* must have been conquered before those
troops could have taken the field, as a *French* army was at
that very time on the frontiers of *Portugal*, upon another
quarter.

quarter. After the reduction of *Miranda*, *Braganza* and *Moncorvo* fell into the hands of the *Spaniards*. Count *O'Reilly* reduced *Chaves*, the *Spaniards* were masters of the greatest part of the river *Douro*, and almost of the whole province of *Tralos Montes*, so that nothing stood in their way to *Oporto* itself, from whence the *British* merchants removed, with their most valuable effects. Among the other requests made by the court of *Portugal* to that of *Great Britain*, was that of sending them an able general to command their troops, and to revive their discipline, and the *German* count *la Lippe*, who was thought to be the ablest engineer in *Europe*, was sent them. The *English* officers, however, who had before arrived in *Portugal*, had found means to reanimate the courage of the *Portuguese*, who gave the *Spaniards* a check at the *Douro*, and gratified their innate hatred of that nation, by the barbarities which they exercised upon the prisoners who fell into their hands. Notwithstanding this, a division of the *Spanish* army entered the province of *Beira*, and having joined the troops who had subdued *Tralos Montes*, they laid siege to *Almeida*, which capitulated on the 25th of *August*, and the whole of their army marched towards the *Tayo*, seemingly with a design to reduce *Lisbon* itself. To render this blow more effectual, a third division of the *Spanish* army entered *Portugal*, by the way of *Estremadura*, and formed magazines at *Alcantara*. Count *de la Lippe* was just landed in *Portugal*, when this division prepared to enter the province of *Alentejo*. A small body of *English* and *Portuguese* was likewise in the field, who gave the *Spaniards* great interruption, by intercepting their convoys and cutting off their parties.

Under
count de
la Lippe.

Count *la Lippe* sent brigadier *Burgoyne*, at the head of four hundred of his own regiment, all the *British* grenadiers, and a party of very ill appointed *Portuguese* soldiers, to surprize the *Spaniards* at *Alcantara*. This the brigadier effected, after a most astonishing march. The *Spaniards* imagining themselves in security, gave way, upon the very first alarm, and the *English* made themselves masters of the town sword in hand, the bravest of the *Spanish* troops being cut to pieces in defending it. So great was the consternation of the *Spaniards* at this surprize, that an *English* serjeant with no more than six men, killed as many of a party of dragoons, consisting of twenty-five, commanded by a subaltern, and brought in the remainder prisoners, with all their horses. This expedition, by which one of the best regiments in *Spain* was entirely cut off, saved *Portugal*, if the *French* and *Spaniards* were really in earnest to have conquered it. The *British* officers after this, found the military discipline of the *Spaniards* to be as contemptible as that of the *Portuguese*. A division of them remained at *Castel Branco*, and might have cut off the *English* and *Portuguese* army, but instead of that, they themselves were defeated. Brigadier *Burgoyne* and colonel *Lee* surprized and defeated a large body of their cavalry at *Villa Velha*, and destroyed

destroyed their magazines, with scarcely any loss. In short, the whole conduct, both of the *French* and *Spaniards*, in this expedition, was wretched beyond expression; nor is it easy to conceive what the views of their respective courts could be in sacrificing their troops to the *English*, who were undoubtedly in earnest, whatever collusions there might be among the courts of *Versailles*, *Madrid* and *Lisbon*. The *Spaniards*, when the winter came, found the rain set in, the roads broken up, their cavalry starving, and themselves without magazines; nor had they even a fortified place which they could retire to for winter quarters. In this distress they returned to *Spain*; and thus the valour of a few *British* subjects, disconcerted the ambitious and unjust projects of two of the greatest powers in *Europe*. But we are now to attend the operations in *Spanish America*.

The command of the expedition undertaken by the *English* against the *Havannah*, was committed to the earl of *Albermarle* by land, and to the admiral Sir *George Pocock* by sea. The excellent dispositions made by the latter, and the careful observations that had been made by the officers under him, carried the *British* fleet through the old straits of *Bahama*, a passage that till then had been thought impracticable for a great fleet. On the 6th of *June*, the whole fleet brought to, and Sir *George Pocock*, with twelve sail of the line, some frigates, and all the store ships, bore away for the mouth of the harbour, to block up the *Spanish* men of war that were there, and next day the army landed between the two forts, *Bacarans* and *Coxemar*, both which they reduced. On the 8th, a skirmish happened between a body of *Spaniards*, who were said to have been about six thousand in number, and a party of *English*, to the disadvantage of the former, and next day the *English* discerned the enemy dismantling their ships in the harbour. The *Moro* castle was the principal defence of the city, and the hill on which it stood was called the *Cavannos*, where there was a post from which colonel *Carleton* drove the *Spaniards*. Preparations were then made for besieging the fort itself, which was very difficult to be reconnoitred, and the operations of the siege continued till the 1st of *July*, when two batteries of cannon were opened. Don *Lewis de Velasco*, captain of the *El Bayna* of 70 guns, commanded in the *Moro* castle, but his fire, though his guns were more numerous, was inferior to that of the *English*. About ten o'clock (says lord *Albermarle's* journal) the *Cambridge* of 80 guns, the *Dragon* of 74 guns, and the *Marlborough* of 66, went in and lay against the fort; the *Cambridge* lay within grape shot. They continued firing for about three hours, which the fort received and returned with great steadiness: At length the ships were ordered off. The *Cambridge* and *Dragon* suffered much, particularly the former. The attacked front of the fort did not seem to suffer much from their fire, it was so much above them; but they still did us a considerable service in taking up

The *Havannah* taken by the earl of *Albermarle*.

the enemy's attention for that time, which gained us a superiority in the number of guns. We shall not presume to judge whether there might not have been a more easy and expeditious method than that pursued by the *British* general, for reducing the *Havannah* after landing his troops; but it is certain that his batteries on the 3d of *July* caught fire, and destroyed the seventeen days labour of five or six hundred men, which was all to do over again. This accident threw a great damp upon the besiegers, but by the indefatigable labours of the engineers, new batteries were erected; and while the people of *England* were despairing of seeing this great conquest brought about, on the 30th of *September* letters from the earl of *Albermarle* and Sir *George Pocock*, arrived at the secretary of state's, and the *Admiralty* office, dated *August* 21, with an account, that the *Moro* fort was taken by storm, on the 30th of *July*, by his majesty's troops under major general *Keppel*, who commanded the attack. "Our mines (says the earl of *Albermarle*, in his letter to the earl of *Egremont*) were sprung about one o'clock, and a breach made just practicable for a file of men in front. The enemy was drawn up on the top of it in form, with a seeming determination to defend it. The attack was so vigorous and impetuous, that the enemy was instantaneously drove from the breach, and his majesty's standard planted upon the bastion. I did not send a particular express with this good news to your lordship, because I flattered myself, that what has happened would soon be the consequence of our success at fort *Moro*. On the 11th in the morning, by a signal from the fort, we opened our batteries against the town and *Punta* fort. The guns and mortars were so well served by the artillery and sailors, and their effect so great, that in less than six hours, all the guns in the fort and north bastion were silenced. The governor hung out the white flag, and beat a parley, and, at the same time, sent out an officer to propose a cessation of arms for twenty-four hours, in order to prepare the articles of capitulation."

The vast loss which the *Spanish* monarchy sustained by the reduction of the *Havannah* was not attended with the consequences that were expected; and we have already seen the terms of the treaty of *Fontenbleau*, which brought back tranquillity to *Europe*. After the conclusion of the peace, the *Havannah* was restored to his catholic majesty. The independency of *Portugal* was secured, and his catholic majesty again applied himself to the duties of his government. It was not long before the effects of the family compact were seen in the partiality shewn at the court of *Madrid*, in favour of the *French*. This was by no means agreeable to the old *Castilians*, and the less so, as the king's first minister, the marquis de *Squillace*, was an *Italian*, and a professed partizan of the house of *Bourbon*. The return of the public tranquillity rather increased than lessened their taxes, and some of them were of a

P. 129.
A peace
concluded.

most

most disagreeable nature. An order, which was emitted by the court prohibiting the use of the old *Spanish* hat and cloak, blew the popular discontent into a flame ; and in *March* 1766, the populace rose in arms, and surrounded the royal palaces. His majesty is said to have ordered his *Spanish* guards to fire upon them, but he was disobeyed, and calling the *Wallon* or foreign guards to his assistance, several were killed on both sides. We are as yet uncertain of the true state and motives of this insurrection, farther than we have already mentioned, only it is certain that his catholic majesty thought proper to fly from his capital, and to dismiss his *Italian* minister.

1766.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
P O R T U G A L.

S E C T I O N I.

1080.
State of
Portugal.

PORTUGAL comprehending the greatest part of the *Roman Lusitania*, fell early under the *Moorish* power. About the year 1080, *Alonso VI.* king of *Leon*, in an expedition he made against the *Moors*, had under him a volunteer officer, called *Henry*, a prince probably of the house of *Burgundy*, younger brother to duke *Robert*, and grandson to *Hugh Capet*, king of *France*. His valour recommended him to *Alonso*, who gave him his daughter, whether natural or legitimate is uncertain, *Teresa*, in marriage, together with the title of count, with all that part which belonged to the *Christians*, which comprehended the provinces of *Entre Minho, Douro*, and *Tralos Montes*, with part of *Beira*, with permission to conquer for himself as much of the remainder as he could, from the *Moors*. The count and his court resided in the town of *Guimaraez*, and according to the *Portuguese* historians he held all his possessions in absolute sovereignty. In those days, this was so desirable a circumstance, that the *Christians* who had been dispersed by the *Moors* united under him, and he reduced his tributary the *Moorish* king of *Lamego*, who had rebelled. Some writers say, that count *Henry* was tributary to the king of *Leon* for all the country beyond the *Guadiana*,
and

and that he was obliged to serve in his armies with three hundred horse. It happens unfortunately for the history of *Portugal*, that the *Moors* and *Christians* were so blended together at this time in that country, that literature in a manner was abolished. The *Moors* were not the offspring of the polite subjects of the califate ; but a barbarous unlettered race, who had revolted from the califs, and lived under tyrants, who led them to seek foreign settlements. The *Christians* on the other hand, retained little but the name to entitle them to that denomination, being commonly at war with the infidels, with whom however they intermarried during their short intervals of peace, and the two people mutually adopted part of each other's religion. Those intermixtures encouraged that vein of romance to which the *Moors* are naturally inclined, and which has rendered the history of *Portugal* so very uncertain at this period, late as it is. It is said, with some shew of probability, that the wife of count *Henry* took the title of queen of *Castile* and *Leon*, as being her father's eldest daughter.

Count *Henry* died in an advanced age, in the year 1112, and his memory for his valour and virtues is still dear to the *Portuguese* nation. His wife, *Teresa*, entered upon the administration of the government, her son, *Alonso*, being then but three years of age. Her regency, or rather her reign (for she pretended to be sovereign by inheritance) proved auspicious to *Portugal*, as the *Moors* were too much divided among themselves, to give her any disturbance. She quarrelled however with her sister *Urraca*, the reigning queen of *Castile* and *Leon*, who invaded her territories with a large army ; but without any effect, because her troops refused to obey her, on account of her ingratitude to the archbishop of *Compostella*. Queen *Teresa* had afterwards a variance with the pope, and with her nephew don *Alonso Raymond*, who succeeded his mother *Urraca* in the kingdoms of *Castile* and *Leon*. When young *Alonso* grew up, he was knighted in the church of *Zamora*, according to the superstition of those times, and being offended at the intimacy between the count of *Traстамара* and his mother, he took the reins of government into his hands, and defeated her troops, by the assistance of his governor *Egas Munitz*. *Teresa* applied for assistance to her nephew, the king of *Castile*, whose troops *Alonso* likewise beat ; but the *Castilian* recruiting his forces, bade fair to subdue all *Portugal*, had not *Munitz*, in his pupil's name, prevailed on him to make peace, on condition of *Portugal* becoming tributary to *Castile*. *Alonso* refused to ratify the treaty, and the war continued. We have already seen in what manner *Alonso* treated his mother after he had made her prisoner, by putting chains upon her legs, in which condition she lived till her death, which happened in the year 1130. The rest of *Alonso's* reign was distinguished by a series of successes against the *Moors*. He joined in a league with the king of *Navarre*, against the emperor *Alonso*, on pretext that the latter detained from him some estates in *Galicia*,
that

that had belonged to his mother. The emperor, on the other hand, considered him as his vassal, and the war was carried on with various success on both sides. Both of them, however, joined in opposing the *Moors*, from whom *Alonso* recovered a number of places, till the emperor became jealous of his successes, though their common danger from the infidels soon reunited them about the year 1137. The religious frenzy that raged then among the *European* princes, prevailed with count *Alonso*, to take the shameful measure of rendering his crown tributary, by paying four ounces of gold annually to the holy see, which was then filled by pope *Lucius II.* About a year after, his dominions were invaded by the united force of all the *Moors* in *Portugal*, who were supported by a numerous army from *Africa*. This invasion threatened the absolute conquest of all *Portugal*, the infidel army being composed of about three hundred thousand men; but it was completely defeated by the count, whose army did not exceed thirteen thousand. This wonderful victory is embellished with so many romantic circumstances, as detract from its merit. It is certain, however, that five *Moorish* kings were killed on the spot, and *Alonso* was on that occasion hailed king of *Portugal* in the plains of *Ourique*, where the battle was fought.

1137.
whose son
Alonso de-
feats the
Moors,

and is re-
cognized
king.

Among the numerous captives made at the battle of *Ourique*, were a thousand *Mozarabic Christians*, who with their wives and families, served to repeople those parts of *Portugal* which had been depopulated by the *Moors*, and his other captives were reduced to a state of slavery, and sent to different parts of his dominions. After *Alonso* was declared king, he entered into a league with *Raymond*, count of *Barcelona*, whose wife was queen of *Arragon*, against the emperor *Alonso*, whose territories they invaded in different places at the same time. This invasion proved unfortunate for *Alonso*, who was defeated and wounded, while the *Moors* in his absence were busied in demolishing the fortrefs of *Leyria*. Upon his return, he continued the war against the *Moors*, from whom he took *Santaren*; and in an assembly of his states, which he called at *Lamego*, he was solemnly recognized king of *Portugal* in 1145, and invested with the ensigns of royalty. This recognition was attended with several circumstances which did great honour to the spirit and sagacity of *Alonso*. *Laurence de Viegas*, one of his chief nobility, and the archbishop of *Braga*, were the chief agents in the ceremony, and they managed so wisely, that every step that was taken, was at the desire and request of the people. The king produced a code of laws, to which they assented. They declared the crown hereditary in his family, with certain modifications in the succession; and when *Viegas* demanded whether the king should do homage to the king of *Leon*, every man in the assembly answered in the negative, drew his sword, and all of them proclaimed their king and themselves to be free and independent; upon which, the new king solemnly declared that any descendent of his
who

1145.

who should submit to be tributary, should forfeit his right of succession to the crown of *Portugal*. Next year, *Alonso* married *Matilda*, daughter to the count of *Maurienne*, predecessor to the duke of *Savoy*, and laid siege to *Lisbon*, which was then *Lisbon* in possession of the *Moors*. The place being defended by an incredible number of infidels, he was about to have raised the siege, when fortunately for him, a strong party of crusaders, most of them *English*, happened to arrive at the mouth of the *Tago*, and assisted him in reducing the place. *Alonso* did not fail in his gratitude to his seasonable auxiliaries, and the conquest of *Lisbon* raised his reputation to such a pitch, that not only his own subjects, but foreigners crowded to his standards; so that he recovered almost all *Portugal* from the *Moors*. *Alonso* took care to have his title, and all his other proceedings confirmed by the see of *Rome*; and approved himself in every respect a wise and magnanimous prince. He waged continual war against the infidels. He married his eldest daughter, *Matilda*, to the king of *Aragon*; his second, *Urraca*, to the king of *Leon*; and his third, to the earl of *Flanders*. In the history of *Spain*, we have already mentioned his being taken prisoner by his son-in-law, the king of *Leon*, and of his having the misfortune of breaking his leg. Being restored to his liberty, he joined the king of *Castile* against the king of *Leon*, who defeated his son don *Sancho*, in the year 1178.

1178.

After this, both he and the infant *Sancho* directed their arms against the *Moors*, whom they completely defeated. The infidels were joined by an army from *Africa*, and destroyed the *Portuguese* fleet, after they had been defeated at land. About the year 1180, the *African Moors* renewed their invasions of *Portugal* with more fury, and in greater numbers than ever; but don *Sancho* had the glory to kill their miramomalin, or head king, with his own hand, and totally to defeat the infidel army at *Santarem*. This was the last event of *Alonso's* illustrious reign. After it, he retired to *Coimbra*, where he spent the remainder of his life in providing for the safety and happiness of his people, and died on the 6th of *September*, 1185, having governed *Portugal* fifty-seven years as count and king. As to his age, authors differ; but it is probable he was near eighty at the time of his death. He was undoubtedly a

1180.

1185.

prince of vast accomplishments, and of knowledge far superior to the barbarity of the age he lived in. We cannot be surprized at the romantic accounts we have of his prowess and bodily strength, after being told from the best authorities that his stature exceeded seven feet.

His death.

Alonso was succeeded in the throne of *Portugal* by his son don *Sancho*, who had in his father's life-time married *Dulcia*, the count of *Barcelona's* daughter. *Sancho*, upon his accession to the crown, entirely altered his manners into a most pacific conduct, and became the father of his people, by cultivating the arts of peace, repeopleing his territories, and rebuilding his cities. His endeavours were so successful, that he brought

Sancho
king of
Portugal.

- his people from a state of barbarity into happiness and civilization. He gave his daughter *donna Teresa* in marriage to the king of *Leon*, and, like his father, he was fortunately assisted by a squadron of *English* and *Flemish* crusaders in reducing *Silves* in *Algarve*. The rest of his life was chiefly spent in his wars with the *Moors*, in which he was assisted by his son-in-law the king of *Leon*; but in 1190, the *Moors* recovered all *Algarve*. Don *Sancho* drew upon himself and his kingdom the thunder of the *Vatican*, on account of his daughter *Teresa's* marriage with the king of *Leon*, to whom she was related, and *Sancho* was obliged to receive her into his dominions after her divorce. *Sancho*, before his death, recovered *Silves* from the *Moors*, and reduced *Elvas*. He died in 1212, with the character of a just and a wise prince, and of never having oppressed his subjects by taxes, though he left behind him immense riches.
- Alonso II.* His son don *Alonso II.* at the time of his accession, was twenty-seven years of age, and was surnamed the Fat. He quarrelled with his brothers and his sisters, on account of the large appointments that had been left them by their father; but they appealed to the neighbouring princes, particularly to the king of *Leon*, and to the pope, by whom he was excommunicated; but matters were at last compromised between them. It is here proper to observe, that it was no uncommon thing for such of the crusaders of those days, as found it inconvenient to go to the *Holy Land*, to commute their service into expeditions against the infidels in *Spain* and *Portugal*, and this is the reason why we find so many services performed by foreigners in that country; not to mention the vast plunder which they commonly carried off. *Alonso* was fortunate in this respect, and a fleet of crusaders putting into the *Tago*, part of them accepted of *Alonso's* invitation to serve against the *Moors* in the reduction of *Alcassar*, which they accordingly took, and defeated an army of fifty thousand infidels, with miracles, as usual, attending the victory. After this, a quarrel broke out between the clergy and the king, who wanted to oblige them to contribute towards the expences of the war. This dispute terminated in the king's excommunication and death, which happened in the twelfth year of his reign, on the 25th of *March*, 1223.
- Sancho II.* He was succeeded by his son *Sancho II.* who was twenty years of age, and at the time of his accession, found himself and his dominions under an interdict of the pope, and at variance with his aunts. By his submissions to the archbishop of *Braga*, the interdict was removed, and he obliged his aunts to do him homage, but with a reservation of their appointments. He was harassed during the rest of his reign by his clergy on the one hand, and by the *Moors* on the other. He had the good fortune to make head against the latter; but his nobility taking advantage of the pope's authority, brought the people into a revolt against their king, who was entirely governed

governed by his wife, donna *Mencia*, daughter of don *Lopes dias de Haro*, and was hurt by the irregular conduct of his son, don *Ferdinand*. Notwithstanding this, his general, don *Pelayo*, was successful against the *Moors*, till he removed himself to the service of the king of *Castile*. Upon the departure of that great general, the factions in *Portugal* joining with the clergy, prevailed with pope *Innocent IV.* to suspend don *Sancho* from the exercise of the government, and to give the rency of *Portugal* to his brother, don *Alonso*. After this, *Raymond Portocarrero* murdered or carried away the queen donna *Mencia*; upon which the king, don *Sancho* himself, retired into *Castile*, where he was hospitably received. Notwithstanding his exile, many of his principal nobility remained firm in their duty, even though the pope by his bulls and fulminations, befriended the regent *Alonso*. All *Sancho's* efforts, however, proved ineffectual for his restoration, and he died at *Toledo* in *January 1248*. The

1248.

He was succeeded by his brother *Alonso III.* count of *Boulogne*, *Alonso III.* the late regent. He gave, at his accession to his government, a specimen of the sense he had of true loyalty, by neglecting those who had been the instruments of his ambition, and preferring those who had continued faithful in the worst of times to his brother. He took from the *Moors* their two most considerable towns in *Portugal*, *Faro* and *Lisule*, and proved a most accomplished prince both in peace and war. He kept well with the popes, who accommodated some differences between him and the king of *Castile*, occasioned by the latter protecting a *Moorish* king, who was his tributary. He married the natural daughter of don *Alonso*, the famous astronomer, king of *Castile*; and though he had a wife alive, the marriage was rendered valid by the see of *Rome*. The bridegroom was forty-three, and the bride scarcely ten years of age; but her father, who doted on her, gave her in dowry all that belonged to him of the kingdom of *Algarve*, and the city of *Silves*. Pope *Alexander IV.* succeeding to the holy see, pronounced this marriage illegal; but the *Portuguese* stood by their king, who kept his wife, and she bore him a son and a daughter. After this, he had some quarrels with his clergy, whom he wanted to contribute to the expences of the state, and he gained so far upon the affections of the king of *Castile*, that he released him from all obligations of homage for *Algarve* and *Silves*. Before his death, the pope threatened to lay him and his kingdom under an interdict, but his nobility continued so firm in their allegiance, that his menaces had no effect. He died in friendship with the church, on the 16th of *February*, 1279, after living sixty-nine years, and reigning thirty-one. 1279.

Alonso III. was succeeded by his son *Denis*, who obtained *Denis* the glorious appellation of the Father of his country. His king. mother

mother, pretending to a greater share in the government than he was willing to allow her, retired to her father, the king of *Castile*, and he married donna *Isabella*, the king of *Arragon*'s daughter, a princess so accomplished, that the match diffused universal joy through all *Portugal*. Under him his family differences with the clergy revived, on account of the exemption they pleaded from taxes. He gave refuge to don *Nunez de Lara*, who has been mentioned in the history of *Castile*, and quarrelled with his brother, don *Alonso*, to whom he thought his father had assigned too large appointments, and who pretended to the crown, because his elder brother, the king, was born during the lifetime of *Alonso* the Third's first wife, the countess of *Boulogne*. The infant was however obliged to submit, upon his receiving from his brother an annual revenue, equivalent to forty thousand pounds sterling. The prudence of *Denis* maintained him against all the attacks of his clergy, and he lived at the same time in good terms with the court of *Rome*; though he enacted many laws in the nature of the *English* mortmain, to prevent the ecclesiastics from engrossing lands or property. He was the most munificent patron of learning of any prince in *Europe*; and though he took the part of the *de la Cerda* family, against *Sancho* king of *Castile*, yet he at last concluded the double match we have already mentioned, between *Ferdinand*, king of *Castile*, and his daughter, the infanta *Constantia*, and between his son, *Alonso*, and the infanta *Beatrix* of *Castile*. Those matches tended to the crown of *Portugal*'s recovering from the queen dowager, donna *Beatrix*, those places belonging to it, which she continued to possess. His brother, *Alonso*, not being in the secret of the agreement, took part with his mother *Beatrix*, and a fresh civil war broke out, which terminated entirely in favour of *Denis*, who obtained a large portion of territory in *Galicia*. *Denis*, in imitation of his predecessors, joined in all expeditions against the *Moors*, even when they were undertaken by princes with whom he was at variance, and though he abandoned the interest of the *de la Cerda* family, yet it was not till after he found it impracticable to put its head on the throne of *Spain*, and obtained for them better terms than they had reason to expect.

See p.
187.

p. 189.
Ibid.

His prosperous
reign.

Upon the death of his son-in-law, *Ferdinand* king of *Castile*, he supported his daughter, the queen dowager, and her son, against the uncle of the latter, and was assisted in his most important transactions by his queen, to whom the *Portuguese* historians have ascribed a great part of his merit as a king. His son, don *Alonso*, was influenced by his wife *Beatrix*, to form cabals in his court. He was likewise instigated by his mother-in-law, the queen dowager of *Castile*, and notwithstanding all the prudent measures which *Denis* took to reclaim him, a most cruel civil war broke out, in which the prince behaved in a most ruffian like manner, and though often defeated, was pardoned by the clemency of his father,

father. Queen *Isabella* interposed, and brought about an accommodation, on the prince throwing himself at his father's feet, and imploring forgiveness. *Denis* soon after that, fell ill, and the prince laid hold of that opportunity to renew his practices, but he and his father were again reconciled by the queen. *Denis* however, continuing his kindness to his natural son, *Alonso Sanchez*, the prince was seconded by some of the great lords, demanding that he should be stripp'd of his employments, which *Sanchez* voluntarily and magnanimously resigned. *Denis* being again reconciled to his son, died on the 30th of *December* 1324, in the forty-fifth year of his reign, and the sixty-fourth of his age. He was the first monarch of *Portugal* who understood the true interest of that kingdom, by taking advantage of its situation, to render it a commercial state, for which purpose he maintained a great fleet, which protected the vast trade of his subjects. His frugality upon himself and his court, enabled him to amass prodigious riches, which he spent so liberally, that his generosity is to this day proverbial in *Portugal*. Besides a military order, he founded two universities; and the spirit of commerce which he had introduced among his subjects, produced those effects, which entitle the *Portuguese* to be considered as the fathers of modern discoveries and navigation.

Denis was succeeded by his son, don *Alonso* the IVth, who, soon after his accession, reformed his conduct, and called those who had abused the royal authority while he was a prince, to a severe account. He could not, however, lay aside his hatred to his natural brother, *Alonso Sanchez*, whom he proscribed and proclaimed a traitor, and who being driven to take up arms in his own defence, defeated the royal troops. The queen dowager interposed, and reconciled the two brothers. He wanted to marry his daughter to *Alonso*, king of *Castile*, who had been already contracted to donna *Constantia*, and the marriage very irregularly took place. *Alonso* treated her ill, which produced a most bloody war between the two crowns; but their differences were compromised, by the infant of *Portugal* marrying *Constantia*, and the king of *Portugal* assisted *Alonso* in the glorious victory he obtained over the *Moors* at *Salsedo*. No sooner, however, was a good understanding established between the two courts, than a dreadful event broke out in *Portugal*.

We have already mentioned donna *Constantia*, daughter to don *Juan Emanuel*, and her having for some time borne the title of queen of *Castile*, upon account of her contract with that king. After her marriage with don *Pedro*, prince of *Portugal*, who behaved to her with great tenderness, she saw that her husband entertained a passion for a beautiful lady, *Agnes de Castro*, and the discovery is said to have occasioned her death. *Agnes* was the daughter of a *Castilian* nobleman who lived in exile at the court of *Portugal*, and she expressed a true and unfeigned grief for the death of *Constantia*. Notwithstanding this,

1324.

Alonso the IVth.

p. 194.

p. 195.

History of *Agnes de Castro*.

this, *Alonso* had a suspicion of his son's attachment to *Agnes*, and took all the measures he could to prevent their being joined together in marriage; but the nuptials were privately performed and consummated. After this, the infant seems to have cohabited publicly with *Agnes*, but without declaring their marriage, and her relations (her brothers especially) had almost an absolute sway at don *Pedro*'s court. The king and the courtiers of *Portugal*, being ignorant of the match, pressed don *Pedro* to a second marriage, which he declined, but without having the courage to own his marriage with *Agnes*, though it is said that the king, his father, offered to give her the honours of a princess of *Portugal*, if they actually were married. *Alonso* had three counsellors, *Alvaro Gonfalez*, *Diego Lopez Pacheco*, and *Pedro Coello*, who advised him to put *Agnes* to death, for the good (as they said) of his subjects, to which, after great hesitation, he unadvisedly consented. *Pedro* then resided at *Coimbra*, to which *Alonso* repaired, when *Pedro* was absent on a hunting match. *Agnes*, who, during her husband's absence, lived in the monastery of *St. Clara*, suspected her father-in-law's bloody intention, went out to meet him, threw herself, with her three children, at his feet, and implored his compassion. *Alonso* was melted, but his three wicked counsellors wrought so effectually upon his pride and passion, that he consented to their executing the horrid deed, which they performed with every circumstance of barbarity.

Death of
Alonso.

Don *Pedro* no sooner heard of his wife's melancholy murder, than he flew to arms, and a civil war was beginning to desolate *Portugal*, when the queen and the archbishop of *Braga* brought about a reconciliation between the father and the son, who swore that he would forgive the murder of his wife. In all other respects, don *Alonso* behaved as a good sovereign, but distrusting the sincerity of his son's forgiveness, he gave a large sum of money to each of his three worthless favourites, and he died at the age of sixty-seven, in the thirty-second year of his reign, *May* 1357.

1357.
Pedro
king.

He was succeeded by his son, don *Pedro*, who partook too much of the character of don *Pedro* the Cruel of *Castile*. He renewed his treaties with that court, and it was agreed that his son, *Ferdinand*, should marry donna *Beatrix*, who was daughter to the king of *Castile*, by *Maria de Padilla*, and that her two sisters, *Constantia* and *Isabella*, should marry the infants *Juan* and *Denis*, the sons of his *Portuguese* majesty by *Agnes de Castro*. The two monarchs of *Portugal* and *Castile*, agreed extremely well in their politicks that tended to revenge. *Pedro* of *Castile* delivered up the murderers of *Agnes de Castro*, who had taken refuge in his dominions, and *Pedro* of *Portugal* did the same by such of the *Castilians* as were obnoxious to his cruel ally; each of them thereby gratifying his natural thirst for revenge. The murderers of *Agnes* were put to death at *Santaren*, under the most exquisite tortures; and *Pedro* had

the

the meanness, not only to be present at their execution, but to insult them. To justify his excess, on this occasion, he solemnly swore that he was married to *Agnes de Castro*, by virtue of a dispensation he had received from *Rome*, and he ordered her body to be carried from *Coimbra* with the most extravagant pomp, and to be interred in the sepulchre of the royal family. After this, he legitimated the children he had by *Agnes*, and detached himself as much as he could from his connections with *Castile*. He then applied himself to a strict, perhaps a too severe administration of justice; but it was the more defensible on account of his people's degeneracy, and of the king's observing no respect to persons, but he behaved affably and mildly to all, even in the exercise of his severest acts, which in another prince would have been deemed cruelty.

Upon the revolution which happened in *Castile*, in favour of the count of *Transtemara*, *Pedro* the Cruel sought for refuge in *Portugal*. Don *Pedro* was so far from granting it, that he sent home the *Castilian* monarch's daughter, who was affianced to his son, don *Ferdinand*, with all her fortune, which was very considerable. He behaved, however, with great decorum towards the *Castilian*, by granting him a safe conduct to *Galicia*, which still adhered to him. Don *Pedro*, who is by some named the Justiciary, and with great reason, died in 1367, in the tenth year of his reign, and the forty-seventh of his age. p. 202.

Ferdinand, *Pedro*'s eldest son by his first marriage, succeeded him when he was twenty-seven years of age, but proved in every respect the reverse of his father, who may be considered as the great pattern and reformer of his people. At his accession to the throne he was immensely rich, but he soon dissipated his treasures. His levity led him to befriend sometimes don *Pedro* the Cruel, and sometimes his rival the count of *Transtemara*, and sometimes he even laid claim to the crown of *Castile* himself; so that he opened his court as an asylum to all the discontented *Castilians* of either party. He formed a league with the kings of *Arragon* and *Granada*, against *Henry* count of *Transtemara*, who was then king of *Castile*, and who took *Braga*, in revenge of an unsuccessful attempt that *Ferdinand* had made upon his dominions. While *Henry* was employed in that expedition, *Castile* was invaded by the king of *Granada*, who was repulsed by him. *Ferdinand* was then in treaty for marrying the infanta *Leonora*, daughter to the king of *Arragon*, and he had actually remitted to that court a vast sum of money by way of subsidy for carrying on the war against *Castile*. p. 202. But when every thing was ready for the marriage, even to the equipment of six magnificent galleys for carrying his bride to *Portugal*, the unsteady *Ferdinand* abandoned all his connections, and concluded a peace with *Henry* of *Castile*. *Ferdinand* having sent all his ready money to *Arragon*, where it was seized by that king, became in a manner a beggar, and though he had, by a second engagement, promised to marry *Isabella*, his daughter, he was obliged to retract the conduct.

p. 202.

A peace.

p. 178.

p. 203.

the infanta *Leonora* of *Castile*, yet he fell desperately in love with donna *Leonora Tellez*, wife to don *Juan Lorenzo da Cunha*, one of his principal nobility. It was in vain for the lady's sister to endeavour to dissuade him from the prosecution of his amour, for the king obtained a divorce, on pretence of consanguinity, of the lady from her husband, and privately married her. The match was so distasteful to his subjects, that *Ferdinand* was obliged to disown it, in order to appease an insurrection which happened at *Lisbon*, headed by a tailor, whom he afterwards put to death. He then publicly married *Leonora*, with vast pomp, and being apprehensive of the reigning king of *Castile*'s resentment, he entered into an alliance with the *English* duke of *Lancaster*, who had assumed the title of king of *Castile*. Upon this, don *Henry* invaded his dominions, and penetrating as far as *Lisbon*, he became master of all the *Portuguese* fleet, excepting four gallies. *Henry*, however, was unable to reduce *Lisbon*, and upon the arrival of the pope's nuncio, both parties accepted of his mediation, which took effect. *Ferdinand* obliged himself to force the *Castilian* exiles to leave *Portugal*, and to assist the *French* and the *Castilians* against the *English*. *Henry*'s brother, don *Sancho*, married the king of *Portugal*'s sister, as the natural son of *Henry* did the natural daughter of *Ferdinand*. This ruinous war being finished, by those and other family alliances, *Ferdinand*'s queen, *Leonora*, became as much mistress of her husband's court and revenues, as of his affections. Don *Juan*, *Ferdinand*'s brother, had secretly married her sister, donna *Maria*, the widow of *Alvaro dias de Suza*, with whom he was desperately in love. Queen *Leonora* was provoked at this marriage, and gave the infant so ill an opinion of his wife's virtue, that he murdered her, and took refuge in *Castile*, with his sister *Beatrice*, don *Sancho*'s widow. Don *Juan*, king of *Castile*, who had succeeded his father *Henry*, concluded a marriage between his son and heir, and donna *Beatrice*, *Ferdinand*'s only child, and the marriage was agreed to by the states of both kingdoms, with the singular circumstance, that failing issue of the marriage, the survivor was to enjoy both kingdoms. Queen *Leonora*, who disapproved of this match, found means to break it, in the manner we have seen in the history of *Castile*. It is said that *Leonora* was influenced, on this occasion, by *Andeyro*, her lover, a *Castilian* nobleman, but greatly in the duke of *Lancaster*'s interest. The king of *Castile* was too well informed to be surprized. He invaded *Portugal*, defeated *Ferdinand*'s fleet and army, took the town of *Almeyda*, and laid siege to *Lisbon*. Upon the arrival of a fleet and army from *England*, under the command of the earl of *Cambridge*, the king of *Castile* was obliged to retire. The eldest son of the earl of *Cambridge* was married to donna *Beatrice*, though he was no more than six years of age, and they were publicly bedded.

Scarcely

Scarcely was this mock-marriage celebrated, when it was dissolved, by a misunderstanding which broke out between the *English* and the *Portuguese*, and the former were sent back to their own country. *Beatrix*, who had been contracted to the *Ferdinand Castilian's* eldest son, was now contracted to *Ferdinand*, his second son; but the father becoming a widower, *Ferdinand* offered her to him. This match was favoured by the queen of *Portugal*, who still continued her scandalous intrigues with *Andeyro*. Don *Juan* accepted of the proposal, and the marriage was celebrated at a time when *Ferdinand's* infirmities drew him towards his end. The ceremony was performed at *Badajoz*, in the presence of the queen of *Portugal*, whose equipages were excessively magnificent, *Ferdinand* being confined at home by his illness. During their absence, the king's brother, the grand master of *Avis*, so far opened his eyes, that *Ferdinand* signed a warrant for *Andeyro's* death, but suppressed it, upon reflecting that his brother was already too powerful in his dominions. *Ferdinand* was then upon his death bed, and he expired in the year 1383, being aged no more than 34 years. His levity and self-sufficiency spoiled his natural abilities, and by an over refinement in politics, he more than once brought himself and his kingdom to the brink of ruin. It is thought, however, that had he lived longer, he might have proved an excellent prince, and it is certain that he died greatly lamented by his people. By *Ferdinand's* will, and by the treaty with *Castile*, queen *Leonora* was to be regent of *Portugal*, till her daughter, the queen of *Castile*, had a son; but in the mean while, the king of *Castile* demanded that his wife should be proclaimed queen in *Lisbon*, where the queen regent's authority had been recognized. The union between *Castile* and *Portugal* was extremely disagreeable to the *Portuguese*, who were generally in the interest of her uncles. The king of *Castile* perceiving how averse they were to his wife's government, assembled an army on its frontiers, upon which the grand master of *Avis* and his confederates, who disliked the *Castilian* government, assassinated *Andeyro*, who had been created count of *Ourem*, and seized upon the government. The grand master offered to marry the queen mother; but she refused to give her hand to the murderer of her lover, and though she knew that the king of *Castile* was advancing to seize upon the government in right of his wife, she joined him with all her party. The king of *Castile* and his queen, resolving to engross all the power to themselves, treated her with great indifference, and even obliged her to divest herself of the regency. He next advanced with an army to besiege *Lisbon*, which was defended by the grand master, under the title of protector; and he discovered great abilities for government.

The right of the queen of *Castile* was so incontestible, that *Lisbon* besieged. the *Castilian* must have prevailed, had it not been for the errors of his own conduct. He had treated the *Portuguese* nobility

bility with vast reserve, and he had exasperated his mother-in-law to such a degree that she caballed against him, and is even said to have formed a scheme for taking him off by assassination, but the plot being discovered, she was put under confinement, and sent into *Castile*. The *Castilian* then besieged *Lisbon*, and proceeded, with a very impolitic severity, against all the adherents of the protector. The latter, notwithstanding all the great courage and abilities he exerted, must probably have sunk under the superior power of the *Castilians*, had not an infection attacked their army. This produced a negotiation, which the protector carefully protracted, till the mortality among his enemies obliged them to raise the siege, and retire to *Castile*. The protector's conduct, and above all, the piety and modesty of his behaviour upon his successes, won him the hearts of the *Portuguese* in general, and the *Castilian* interest daily lost ground. An attempt was made, by the king of *Castile*, to form a conspiracy for assassinating the protector, but it was discovered and punished, though with a moderation that did great honour to the protector.

As *Portugal* was then actually in a state of anarchy, an assembly of the states was called. The disputes were long and violent, a great party having been formed in favour of don *Juan*, son of don *Pedro* of *Portugal*, by *Agnes de Castro*, whose marriage was taken for granted by all the assembly. This don *Juan* was then a prisoner in *Castile*, and the protector himself declared in his favour; but as the *Portuguese* looked upon themselves to be entitled to chuse for their king the person who had shewn the greatest abilities for government, the election unanimously fell upon the protector himself.

SECTION II.

The History of Portugal, from the election of don Juan the 1st, to the death of don Sebastian.

Reign of
John the
1st.

p. 204.
who de-
feated the
Castilians.

DON *John* the 1st, was the son of don *Pedro*, whose reign we have already described, by a *Galician* lady, and had great experience in affairs both civil and military, when he came to the crown. He was then about twenty-eight years of age, but before he entered upon the exercise of government, the states thought proper to bind him up by some additional restrictions, which they added to their own laws, and to which he swore. It was not long after, that the *Castilians* invaded his kingdom with thirty thousand men, but they were completely defeated by king *John*, whose army did not exceed seven thousand, in the plains of *Aljubarria*. In this battle, where don *John* manifested great generalship, the *Castilians* lost ten thousand men; after which, the *Portuguese*, in their turn,

turn, invaded *Castile*, and defeated the grand master of *St. Iago*. Other successful incursions into *Castile* were made by the king in person, and after being firmly fixed on the throne, he married *Philippa*, daughter to the duke of *Lancaster*, whose wife, *Constantia*, still kept the title of queen of *Castile*. The *English* prince proved but an inauspicious ally to his father-in-law, whose affairs took an untowardly turn, notwithstanding some successes met with upon the landing of the *English*. After losing almost his whole army in an invasion of *Castile*, he married his eldest daughter, *Catherine*, to *Henry*, the heir apparent of *Castile*, renounced all his own rights upon that crown, and after concluding a treaty, returned to *France*, leaving his other son-in-law, don *John*, king of *Portugal*, in a deplorable condition. The consequences shewed that the duke of *Lancaster* acted a wise and an honourable part, for the double marriage proved to be the basis of a treaty between the two crowns of *Castile* and *Portugal*, which was the point which don *John* principally aimed at. This prospect of peace was likewise so agreeable to his people, that they gave him large subsidies to enable him to continue the war, or obtain the better terms. Their liberality had the desired effect, for don *John* thereby made himself master of several places in *Portugal*; and, in order to recover them, the *Castilian* agreed to a truce. His death, which happened soon after, without his leaving any issue by *Beatrix*, the heiress of *Castile*, confirmed don *John* on the throne of *Portugal*, and being on good terms with the court of *Rome*, he obtained a prolongation of the truce for fifteen years, and the pope agreed that his capital of *Lisbon* should be erected into an archbishopric. After this, *John*, by his prudence, reconciled some differences among his great men; some of whom he had rendered too powerful, and others fled to *Castile*, which renewed the war between the two crowns. Upon the young king of *Castile*'s death, and the accession of his infant son, don *Juan* the III^d, his mother, whom he the *English* queen regent, changed the truce into a peace, which deprived all the discontented *Portuguese* nobility of farther shelter in that kingdom. Peace being once more restored to *Portugal*, the king applied himself to the improvement and reformation of his people, and went as far in easing them of their taxes, as he could have done had they been a burden upon himself. He retained the same affability and simplicity of manners, as he practised when a private man. He lost his queen, *Philippa*, just as he was upon a glorious expedition against the *Moors* in *Barbary*, where he took *Ceuta*, by the assistance of his three brave sons, *Edward*, *Henry* and *Pedro*. Some difficulties were started with regard to the expence of keeping *Ceuta*, and *John*'s other conquests in *Africa*; but *John* resolved to preserve them, because the pope obliged his clergy to pay for maintaining them; and they served as a proper curb upon the *Moors*.

Charac- *John* was happy in three sons. His son *Henry*, whom he
 ters of his made duke of *Viseo*, and who was his substitute in *Africa*, was
 sons, one of the most illustrious characters of his own, or any other,
 age, for the discovery of the navigation to the *East Indies*
 was owing to him. He bought the *Canary* islands from the
 king of *Castile*, and employed all his revenues, which were
 very considerable, in making discoveries for the good of man-
 kind. His brothers, of whom he had five, were equally pub-
 lic spirited in their several spheres of life, and what is very
 extraordinary, after they were grown up to man's estate,
 none of them discovered the least tincture of unlawful ambition
 or emulation, but who should contribute most to the glory and
 good of his country. This was not the only happiness of *John*,
 for his clergy served and obeyed him in so exemplary a manner,
 that they preferred his will to that of the pope. He lived in
 good terms, during all his reign, with the neighbouring
 princes, the court of *Castile* particularly, nor would he suffer
 any temptation of dominion to get the better of his pacific
 and mini- disposition. He was fortunate in the marriage of his children,
 sters. and his own good sense directed him in the choice of able
 counsellors and ministers, particularly *Nugno*, *Alvarez de Pe-*
reyra, and *Regas*, his counsellor. He was seventy-six at the
 1433. time of his death, which happened on *August* the 11th, 1433,
 His death. after reigning forty-eight years. No greater encomium can
 be given of this prince, than saying, that without having the
 least title to the crown, he owed it to his courage and wisdom,
 and he deserved it by his equitable, moderate and patriot ad-
 ministration. We scarcely have an instance in history, of a
 prince who reigned over so turbulent a people as the *Portu-*
guese were at the time of his accession, with so much internal
 tranquillity and unanimity as he did.
Edward *John* was succeeded by his eldest son, don *Edward*, so
 king of called after the favourite ally of his father, *Edward* the IIIrd
Portugal. of *England*. He was the patron of a new code of *Portuguese*
 laws, which tended to the welfare of his people, by enabling
 them, through their moderation in dress and living, to answer
 the large demands made by his government for the discovery of
 Vol. X. foreign coasts and countries. We have already mentioned the
 p. 176. defeat and capture of the king of *Arragon*, by the duke of
Milan. Don *Henry*, brother to *Edward*, was made prisoner
 at the same time, but the victor nobly dismissed them all, af-
 ter entertaining them as if they had been royal guests. In
 1436, *Edward* undertook an expedition against *Tangier* in
Africa, in which his brothers, *Henry* and *Ferdinand*, served.
 Unsuc- It proved unfortunate, for they were not only unable to take
 cessful ex- *Tangier*, but they were obliged, by the king of *Fez*, to agree
 pedition to to deliver up *Ceuta*, and don *Ferdinand* was left a hostage for
Africa. the performance of the capitulation. Reasons of state did not
 permit it to be fulfilled, and don *Ferdinand* died in the hands
 of the infidels, in the odour of sanctity (to speak in the terms
 of

of his religion.) Prince *Henry* was so much ashamed of his defeat, that he retired to his town of *Sagrez*, which he had founded in the most advantageous situation of any in *Portugal*. The public demands for money, on account of the vast discoveries which were making, but which did not immediately defray their expence, obliged the king to countenance a project formed by his chancellor *Regros*, to resume a great part of the crown lands, which had been granted by the father for services. The captivity of don *Ferdinand*, who bore it with astonishing firmness and magnanimity, interested all the powers of *Europe* in his favour; and a large armament was prepared in *Portugal* for his deliverance, when *Edward* died of the plague, in 1438, after a reign of five years and a month. 1438.
He was a mild and beneficent prince, and always bewailed the His death.
necessity he was under of suffering his heroic brother to remain in the hands of the infidels. He was learned and eloquent, and the author of several books, and particularly one upon horsemanship, which he understood beyond any of his contemporaries.

Edward had left his queen regent of his dominions, during the minority of his son, *Alonso* the Vth. Her regency was Succeeded
disputed by the infant don *Juan*, but she was supported by by *Alonso*
his brother, don *Pedro*. The latter was so popular, that the the Vth,
states of *Portugal* appointed him regent, instead of the queen mother. He found that post so troublesome, through the intrigues of the queen, that he often wanted to retire from the affairs of government, but the voice of the people forced him to resume them. The queen regent having lost all credit with the *Portuguese* nation, retired to *Castile*, after having in vain endeavoured to raise several disturbances against the regent. The king of *Castile* still continued to support the queen mother (though without her prevailing upon him to declare war against *Portugal*) but stripped her of her jewels; upon which she most earnestly requested the regent to readmit her into *Portugal*; but though he was extremely well disposed in her favour, notwithstanding all the provocations she had given him, she was carried off by poison at the court of *Castile*. When *Alonso* the Vth arrived at the age of fourteen, he took the reins of government into his own hands. The regent, in an assembly of the states, most solemnly, but gratefully and affectionately, divested himself of his power, and the young king accepted of his resignation, in a manner that alarmed all who were present. As a reward for his services, the cortes or states, voted a marriage between the regent's daughter and the king, which accordingly took place, and from thenceforth we are to call the regent the duke of *Coimbra*.

The king was young, and too susceptible of flattery, but who is
after his accession, he trusted the duke of *Coimbra* for two missed.
years with the affairs of his government. The severity of the duke's manners formed a strong party of the new nobility against him, and it was headed by his own brother, the duke
Z z of

p. 211
and 212.

1455.

His wars
with the
Moors.

Expedi-
tion into
Africa.

of *Braganza*. His enemies were so assiduous, that in time they shook his credit with the young king, and though he was befriended by the wisest and worthiest part of the *Portuguese*, he was proclaimed a rebel, obliged to leave the court, and killed in battle, as were several of his brave friends. His death manifested his innocency, for notwithstanding the rigorous treatment which his friends and family underwent, his conduct appeared to be so irreproachable, that his memory was cleared from all suspicion of treason, and held in the highest veneration by the people. *Alonso*, perceiving that he had been imposed upon with regard to his uncle, don *Pedro*, was desirous to wipe off the stain of his murder (for such it was) and expressed a desire of entering into an expedition against the *Moors*, which had almost embroiled him in a quarrel with the king of *Castile*. Don *Alonso*, without minding the *Castilian's* menaces, prosecuted the views and schemes of his uncle, don *Henry*; and upon the death of don *Juan* of *Castile*, his successor, don *Henry* the IVth, married donna *Juanna*, *Alonso's* sister. In 1455 died donna *Isabella*, queen of *Portugal*, and left an infant son, *John*. In the mean while, the war, but without any great events attending it, was still continued between the *Moors* and the *Portuguese*, in *Africa*, and pope *Calixtus* the IIId, published a crusade against those infidels. His zeal was seconded by don *Alonso*, who began anew to taste the sweets of his uncle's discoveries on the coast of *Guinea*, from whence the gold came, that, being coined for the support of the crusades, is to this day called cruzadoes. Having equipped a very strong fleet, consisting of two hundred ships, carrying twenty thousand soldiers, by the assistance of his uncle, don *Henry*, *Alonso* carried the war into the heart of *Africa*, where he took *Alcazar*, and beat the *Moors*. Upon his return home, *Alonso* created his general, *Meneses*, count of *Viana*, but he lost his incomparable uncle, don *Henry*, as he did several of his great men and generals, who died of diseases contracted in their *African* expedition. It is to the honour of king *John's* memory, that he not only cultivated the great genius of don *Henry* for navigation and discoveries, but gave him a large independent revenue, which enabled him to carry his schemes into execution, insomuch that he may be called the father of modern navigation, and of the *European* commerce with *Africa* and the *East Indies*.

The first breathing time that don *Alonso* got, after his return from *Africa*, was employed in preparing another expedition to revenge the disgraces of his family's arms before *Tangier*. He was attended by his brother, don *Ferdinand*, who had succeeded don *Henry* in the title of duke of *Viseo*, and by his greatest nobility; but the *Portuguese* had now, by fighting with the *Moors*, improved those infidels in the art of war, so that the success of this expedition was but indifferent. It was, however, of so much consequence for *Alonso* to obtain a firmer footing in *Africa*, that he lost no time in sending over a fresh army,

army, under the duke of *Viseo*, whom he created constable of *Portugal*. The duke acted so successfully in this command, that he was followed by *Alonso* himself, who carried over with him his son, don *Juan*, and twenty-five thousand men. This happened in the year 1470: But though the *Portuguese*, their king and their princes, behaved with the most intrepid heroism, their successes were not at first answerable to their vast expences and preparations. At last, he made himself master of *Arzilla*, after a bloody siege, in which he lost some of his best generals; and his successes were such, that he carried with him to *Lisbon*, the body of his uncle, don *Ferdinand*, who, as we have already seen, died in his captivity. The loss of *Arzilla*, put *Alonso* in possession of the important and long disputed fortrefs of *Tangier*, and the many glorious exploits he performed, before he returned to his own kingdom, gained him the title of *Alonso the African*.

1470.

England was still the favourite ally of the *Portuguese*. The *Alonso* is late don *Henry* and his father had been knights of the garter, unfortunately *Alonso* had cultivated a strict friendship with *Edward* the late in IVth. During the absence of *Alonso* in *Africa*, a commotion prosecuted happened in *England*, which shook *Edward* on that throne; ing his and the famous bastard of *Falconbridge*, who had for some claim time subsisted at sea, by piracy, had committed terrible depredations upon the *Portuguese* trade; which might have been attended with a breach between the two nations, had not fortune fixed *Edward* on the throne, by which his good understanding with *Alonso* was renewed and improved. We have already mentioned the concern which *Alonso* took in the succession of his niece to the crown of *Castile*, notwithstanding the strong suspicion of her illegitimacy. This was the most unfortunate incident in his reign, which in other respects was glorious. His loss of the battle of *Toro*, drove him to have recourse for assistance to *Lewis* the XIth of *France*, with whom he had an interview; but the insincerity of the *French* monarch, during all the negotiation, convinced *Alonso* that he had been but his dupe; and when he understood that *Lewis* was in treaty with *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, with whom he was at war for the crown of *Castile*, having obtained a dispensation from the pope to marry his niece, it was with the utmost difficulty he could be dissuaded from abdicating his crown, and retiring to the *Holy Land*. He went so far as to write several letters to his great subjects, signifying his abdication, and particularly one to his eldest son, don *John*, desiring him to take upon him the government, and be proclaimed king; which he accordingly was, with the consent of the states. *Alonso* being persuaded to resume the government, he appeared at *Lisbon*, where he was received with the greatest affection by *John*, his son, who, during his father's absence, had behaved with sufficient abilities, both as regent and king, and reinstated in his regal dignity. *Alonso*, notwithstanding his unfortunate war with *Castile*, still retained his desire to marry his niece, donna

p. 213.

- p. 223. *Joanna*, that he might make good his claim to that crown. This ambition was by his son very justly treated as chimerical and impracticable, and though the war was renewed, it terminated in a peace, by which the title of *donna Joanna* was, in fact, sacrificed. *Alonso* renounced all his claims on the crown of *Castile*, as *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* did theirs upon *Guinea*, and *donna Joanna* retired into a convent.
1479. His death. *Portugal* being restored to tranquillity, *Alonso* again resigned his government to his son, but was carried off by the plague, in *August* 1481. He was a fortunate prince, till he was seized with a desire of becoming king of *Castile*; but being over-matched by the genius of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, and the policy of *Lewis XI.* the latter part of his reign was clouded.
- Succeeded by *John II.* Don *John II.* was a prince of greater abilities, but perhaps of fewer virtues, than his father. At the time of his accession, the great out-lines of the grandeur of *Portugal*, which afterwards manifested itself, were chalked out, and his father had left him in the undisputed possession of the trade to *Guinea*, which was then the most gainful of any in the world. As riches multiplied in *Portugal*, the spirit of enterprize encreased, and with it that of faction. The arts of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* had made a strong party in *Portugal*, and the duke of *Braganza* was at its head, for which he suffered death on a public scaffold; and his widow, who was sister to *John's* queen, fled with her three sons to *Castile*. This did not put an end to the faction, for *Braganza's* practices were continued by the queen's brother, the duke of *Viseo*, and so powerful a number of the nobility, that the king not thinking it safe to bring the duke to a public trial, killed him with his own hand. *John* however gave his estate to his next brother, don *Emanuel*, who succeeded to the crown, and acted with so much courage and address, that he not only extinguished the remains of the *Castilian* faction, but made *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* his friends.
- His wars in *Africa.* After this, *John* rendered himself master of the town and district of *Azemor* in *Africa*, assisted the *Castilians* in their conquest of *Granada*, cultivated the friendship of the *Venicians*, who were then the only rivals of the *Portuguese* trade, and erected many works of magnificence, use and conveniency, in his own kingdom. Understanding that the *Moors* were divided among themselves, he continued his armaments against them, and was liberally assisted by the pope's bulls, to the great discontent of his clergy, upon whom the chief burthen lay. He gave a commission to *Covillan* and *Payea*, two of his subjects, to penetrate by land as far as they could into the *East Indies*, the passages by sea being not as yet thoroughly ascertained. The great *Columbus* applied to him before he made his discovery of *America*, and *John* has been condemned by some for rejecting his suit. As his affairs were then circumstanced, he acted wisely. The discoveries which *Columbus* afterwards made, were looked upon as very uncertain; but those which had

had been made by *John* and his predecessors, had become the sources of immense wealth to *Portugal*, and every day increased the probability of their being improved. *John*, therefore, very prudently declined to engage in any doubtful projects that might clash with, or retard the schemes which he and his predecessors had already realized. All his foresight could not prevent his receiving many severe checks in *Africa*, where the infidels were daily improving in the art of war; but he was not deterred from continuing his armaments to make himself master of that coast. He concluded a match between his son *Alonso*, and the infanta, donna *Isabella*, of *Castile*; but a few days after the marriage had been celebrated with prodigious magnificence, the bridegroom was killed by a fall from his horse. The melancholy which the king conceived, had almost proved fatal to his life; but his affection for his legitimate, was fixed on his natural, son, *George*, whom (though he was but a boy) he endeavoured to nominate his successor, instead of *Emanuel*, duke of *Beja*, whom we have already mentioned, and who was next heir to the crown, being grandson to king *Edward*, the nephew of *Alonso V.* and cousin to king *John* himself. The opposition made by the queen, who was sister to the duke, by the states, and by the pope, obliged him to drop his design, and all he could do was to load *George* with honours and preferments. The reigning principles of *John's* reign, were to secure the coasts of *Africa*, in which he succeeded but in part, (though he built *Fort St. George de la Mina*, on the coast of *Guinea*) to complete the discovery of the *East Indies*, in which he was more fortunate, and to bring down the dangerous powers of his nobility, which are thought to have cost him his life. The history of *Portugal*, at this period, late as it is, is far from being clear, and there is good reason for believing that some terrible convulsion of the state might have happened, through the king's partiality for his son *George*, had he not died, as was thought, of poison, in *October 1495*.

He loses his son.

His death.

1495.

John II. from his inflexible adherence to justice, and the fundamental maxims of government, was called the Perfect. His passion for altering the succession in favour of his son *George*, was so strong, that it continued with him to his last hours, for he had prepared a will with a blank for the name of his successor, which his secretary refused to fill up with *George's* name. The king applauded his honesty, and consented to his inserting that of the duke of *Beja*.

Emanuel, deservedly called the Fortunate, was the greatest prince that ever sat upon the throne of *Portugal*, and he had virtues to recommend him to that of the first in the world.

Succeeded by Emanuel.

The emperor *Maximilian* disputed his succession, because both of them stood in the same degree of consanguinity to the late king; but *Maximilian* descending by the female line, his mother being sister to don *Alonso*, his claim was treated with the utmost ridicule, and he had nothing to support it, but

His man-
ner of go-
vernment,

his high sounding titles, and a greater experience in matters of government, than *Emanuel* had. It seems to be pretty evident that *Emanuel*, at the time of his accession, was a kind of a voluntary exile from court, not daring to trust his person with the king. After the high character we have given him, it is scarcely necessary to add, that he early applied himself to the reformation of the laws, and the internal regulations of his kingdom. His maxims in two respects differed from those of the late reign, for he thought that the power of the nobles had been brought too low, and that the *Jews*, who had been driven out of *Spain*, and had settled in *Portugal*, were too harshly dealt with, by being detained there in a state of slavery. He therefore gave them a farther term of residence there, as a free people. As he was twenty-six years of age at the time of his accession, his two powerful neighbours, *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, knew his character, and courted his alliance, by offering him their daughter *Mary* in marriage; but his affections were fixed upon her elder sister *Isabella*, the princess dowager, whom he actually married. His love for her, however, could not prevail upon him to abandon his family alliance with *France*; but carried him so far, that out of complaisance to her, he treated the *Jews* in his dominions with an impolitic severity. He ordered the children of such of them as would not turn *Christians*, to be taken from them and made slaves. Finding that this barbarous edict rendered them desperate, and that to prevent its execution, they murdered both their children and themselves, he prolonged the time of their departure for 20 years, on pretence of giving them time for their thorough conversion to *Christianity*. This favour had a dreadful effect, for the *Jews* who accepted it, pretending to become *Christians*, remained still infidels in secret, and by mingling their blood with the best in *Portugal*, the introduction of the inquisition has subjected their descendents, whether real or pretended, to the most shocking barbarities.

and wife
conduct.

1499.

Soon after *Emanuel's* marriage with the infanta *Isabella*, she became heiress of *Castile*, by the death of her elder brother. This did not divert *Emanuel* from prosecuting the wise scheme of his predecessor, in the discovery of the *East Indies*. This met with a strong opposition in his council, but the practicability of sailing thither being now ascertained, *Emanuel* gave the command of four ships to the famous *Vasquez*, or *Vasco de Gama*, which carried no more than a hundred and sixty men, who actually doubled the *Cape of Good Hope*, and returned in September 1499, with the loss of a hundred of his men. He was received by *Emanuel* with a profusion of honours, and besides his pecuniary considerations, he was honoured with the title of count *de Vidigueira*. This discovery having put the possibility of a voyage to the *East Indies* out of all dispute, another armament was equipped, consisting of thirteen sail, and carrying fifteen hundred regulars, under the command of don *Pedro Alvarez de Cabral*. This commander, in his voyage to the *Cape of Good*

Good Hope, discovered and took possession of *Brasil*, which is still the fairest jewel in the crown of *Portugal*. In doubling the *Cape*, *Cabral* lost all his ships but six, but the voyage proved prosperous in the main. *Cabral*'s success, though purchased at the expence of many brave men's lives, encouraged *Emanuel* to fit out another fleet under the command of don *Juan Callica*, whose voyage likewise proving fortunate, *Lisbon* was filled with adventurers, foreign as well as *Portuguese*, and the king gave the command of a third expedition, consisting of twenty sail of ships, to *Vasco de Gama*, who in the second voyage he made to the *East Indies*, gained immortal honour to himself and his country, besides an immense booty. After defeating the *Zamorin* of *Calicut*, and rendering some of the most considerable princes in the *East Indies* tributary to *Emanuel*, he returned with the immense riches he had acquired, to *Lisbon*.

The domestic affairs of *Portugal* were then in a state equally prosperous. A new code of jurisprudence had been introduced by *Emanuel*, for the more equal distribution of justice, and his queen had been recognized heiress of *Castile*, by the states of that kingdom; but no sooner was that ceremony over, than she died in child-birth of a son, don *Michael*, at *Saragossa*. Soon after *Michael* died likewise. Those blows rendered *Emanuel*, to divert his melancholy, more attentive, than ever, to the affairs of government. He created *George*, whom we have mentioned, duke of *Coimbra*, and married him to a rich heiress of the royal blood, and he made his nephew, don *Alonso*, son of the duke of *Viseo*, who had been stabbed by his predecessor, constable of *Portugal*. He lavished his favours upon the duke of *Braganza*, who since the death of his son *Michael*, was the next heir, and reclaimed him from a natural melancholy, which had almost put an end to his life. In the year 1500, he laid aside an important expedition he had planned against the *Moors*, that he might assist the *Venetians* and other *Christian* powers, who were ready to sink under the arms of *Bajazet*, the *Turkish* emperor. As *Emanuel* was possessed both of a true and a false spirit of devotion, he had the courage to reprehend pope *Alexander VI.* for his inhumanities, and the infamous life he led, and he laid the foundation of the famous hospital of *Bethlem* or *Belem*, besides bestowing vast presents on other religious houses. When in the year 1502, a very expensive armament, which he had fitted out against the *Moors*, returned from *Africa* without doing any thing, his subjects, instead of murmuring, applauded his good intentions, and he requited their affections by dispatching ships to all the ports where he could buy up corn for their subsistence during a famine, which was then raging in *Portugal*.

Emanuel continued to be without an heir of his own body; His second marriage, but the proper dispensations being obtained, he married donna *Maria*, the younger sister of his former queen, who this year brought him a son. This happiness increased *Emanuel*'s devotion,

- tion, which reached as far as *Congo*, where he sent missionaries to labour for the conversion of the king and the natives, and they succeeded so far, that that prince sent over his two sons to be educated in *Portugal*. A fresh attempt, which *Emanuel* made against the *Moors* of *Africa*, miscarried, and it seems from the general strain of the *Portuguese* historians, that his finances, notwithstanding the vast remittances they received from the new discoveries, were but in an indifferent situation. His subjects and vast prosperity knew, that this was owing to his unbounded generosity, and to the zeal he had for their prosperity, and the states supplied him amply. In 1504, *Emanuel* encountered an enemy, whom he had not dreamed of. This was no other than the famous *Campson*, the sultan of *Egypt*. This prince declared himself the head of the *Indian Mahometans*, who pretended to resent the invasion of their countries by the *Portuguese*. He was secretly instigated to this by the *Venetians*, who could not with patience see all the vast trade of the *East* carried into *Portugal*. Pope *Julius II.* likewise favoured the *Venetians*. *Emanuel* not only disregarded his admonitions, but prohibited hospitals and other religious houses from purchasing lands. In 1505, the zeal of the people of *Lisbon*, led them to massacre numbers of the *Jews*, for which they were punished by *Emanuel*, by the degradation of their magistrates, and the loss of their privileges.
1506. In 1506, the *Portuguese* nation was at the height of its glory and prosperity. *Emanuel* became master of *Saffir* in *Africa*, a place of vast importance, and the riches of all *Europe* seemed to center in *Lisbon*. They were, however, hardly sufficient to defray the immense expences of his *African* expeditions, which were far from being successful. He lost the town of *Arzilla* to the king of *Fez*, who would have taken the castle likewise, if it had not been relieved by don *Pedro Navarre*, the *Spanish* general, in *Africa*. This happened about the year 1508, while don *Francisco Albuquerque*, one of the ablest men that *Portugal*, or any other nation ever produced, was giving laws to the *Zamorin*, the king of *Cochin*, and other *East Indian* princes, or in other words, was making them and their subjects slaves, on pretence of their being allies. In 1509, don *Duarte Pacheco*, one of *Emanuel's* brave admirals, fought, defeated, and took prisoner a famous free-booter, one *Mondragon*, who under *French* colours, had committed vast depredations upon the *Portuguese* trade; nor must it be forgotten, that the same year gave birth to *Lewis de Camoens*, the greatest, if not the only, poetical genius that *Portugal* ever produced.
- His wars in *Africa*, All *Emanuel's* splendor scarcely compensated for the depopulation his dominions suffered to maintain, and extend his acquisitions. The great *Albuquerque* had stretched the *Portuguese* empire from *Babelmandel* to the straits of *Malacca*; but the truth is, that this age produced in *Portugal*, very extraordinary commanders both by sea and land. *Albuquerque* was a complete political as well as military genius, and both he

he and other *Portuguese* commanders, supplied, by their amazing abilities, the vast disadvantages they laboured under from the want of hands to execute their enterprizes. It is probable, that at this time not only the *Venetians*, but the *Spaniards*, were jealous of the power and riches of the *Portuguese*, and that they privately assisted the king of *Fez* and the *Moorish* princes in *Africa*, where the war was incessantly carried on by *Emanuel*, but without his making any very important acquisitions. The *Portuguese*, on the other hand, were equally jealous of the *Spaniards*, and disappointed *Ferdinand* in a design which he had formed for conquering the empire of *Morocco* itself. *Emanuel's* intention, ever since his accession to the crown, had been to strike some decisive blow in *Africa*, in which he had always failed; but in the year 1513, his general, the duke of *Braganza*, took *Agamor*, and probably would have reduced the city of *Fez* itself, had he not been diverted by the difficulties of the march, and the consideration that such an enterprize might have united all the *Moorish* princes in the common cause against *Portugal*. *Emanuel's* fame had even reached *Ethiopia*, from whence an ambassador arrived at *Lisben*. He owed this and many other honours to *Albuquerque*, who, in his own lifetime, obtained the epithet of the Great; yet his enemies were so successful, in instilling a jealousy of his power into *Emanuel*, that he displaced him from his government, and the disgrace broke his heart.

1513.

Upon the death of *Ferdinand* king of *Spain*, *Emanuel*, who not fortune was quite chagrined with the expences and misfortunes attending his *African* wars, appointed don *Pedro Mascarenhas* to be his general in that country, and he somewhat resettled his affairs there, though *Emanuel* perhaps would have acted more wisely, had he followed the design he once had formed of entirely abandoning *Africa*, excepting a few places on the sea coast, that lay most convenient for his own dominions; but he probably was deterred from that, by the consideration of the vast advantage which his neighbours, the *Castilians*, would have made of such an evacuation. While he was meditating on those matters, he received an ambassador from the shah of *Persia*, who offered to enter into an alliance with him against the *Turks*, and the *East Indian Mahometans*. Soon after his queen, *Maria*, died, but he was awakened out of the melancholy which her death threw him into, by certain intelligence that the *Turks* had conquered *Egypt*. *Emanuel's* fears, however, proved groundless, for they made no attempts against his *East India* settlements. In the year 1517, his subjects opened a passage from *Malacca* to *China*, and made a settlement on the isle of *Java*, but *Emanuel* found that his loss of discovery the great *Albuquerque* was irreparable. In fact, the great men who had served *Emanuel* so successfully in the beginning of his reign, were now wearing out, and their descendents were so proud, luxurious and factious, that the best planned enterprizes of *Emanuel* in *Africa*, miscarried, through the mean jealousies

1517.

His great

jealousies which his generals had of each other. *Emanuel* saw this with secret discontent, and that his nobility were making their court to the prince, his son. Indignation stopt him from executing a project he had formed for resigning his crown, and he married the infant donna *Leonora*, sister to the emperor *Charles* the Vth. After this marriage, *Emanuel's* affairs wore a better aspect. His near connection with *Charles*, and the vast love of his subjects, enabled him to curb the influence of his nobility, who were now no longer protected by the *Castilians*. This made him still more considerable at *Rome*, and through all the *European* courts; but a small difference in point of wages this year, lost him the services of the famous *Magellan*, who entered into that of *Spain*. In 1519, *Emanuel* banished from his court *Silveyra*, who was thought to be a bad instrument between him and the prince, his son; by which the harmony of the royal family was entirely re-established.

1520.
1521.

Upon the breaking out of the troubles of *Castile*, the malecontents offered that crown to *Emanuel*, who generously refused it, but offered them his protection, if they would throw themselves at the feet of *Charles*. Some of them accepted of this offer, and *Emanuel* liberally supplied the regency of *Castile* with artillery, provisions, money, and even troops, to reduce those who continued in arms. *Emanuel's* affairs in *Africa* began now to mend, but still they were far from being successful. He formed, however, a project for penetrating through *Congo* into *Ethiopia*, where the king and people professed a species of *Christianity*; but it came to nothing, through the secret practices of his nobility. Among the last actions of his reign, was his giving his daughter, donna *Beatrix*, in marriage to the duke of *Savoy*, and his checking, by sea, the piratical states of *Africa*; but he was cut off by the plague in the middle of his glory, when he was no more than fifty-three years of age, and in the 27th of his reign. Every incident of this prince's life, confirms the high character we have already given of him.

1521. At the time of the accession of *John* the IIIrd, *Portugal* is succeeded said to have been in its golden age. The wise conduct of by *John Emanuel* had defeated the united efforts of the *Egyptians* and the IIIrd. *Venetians*, who had till then enjoyed the sweets of the eastern trade, and *Lisbon* became the great emporium of *Europe*. The *Portuguese* were then in possession of *Ormuz*, in the gulph of *Persia*, of *Malacca*, *Cochin* and *Goa*, which was the seat of their *East India* government. All their settlements were well provided with forts; they had nothing to fear in *Africa*, where their coasts were well secured, and their revenues from *Brasil* began to be very considerable. Among the first acts of don *John* the IIIrd's government, was his recalling *Silveyra* to his court. *John* was yet unmarried, and a large party at his court were for his espousing his mother-in-law, donna *Leonora*, who was still young, beautiful and rich; but the match not

The in-
quisition
introduc-
ed into
Portugal.

not taking place, she retired to his brother in *Spain*. Don *Antonio de Ataide*, a very worthy man, was then *John's* first minister, and he advised him to compromise certain differences which he had with the emperor concerning the *Moluccas*, and they became *John's* property, upon his advancing a sum of money, and his marrying the emperor's sister, donna *Catharina*. *Charles* soon after being a widower, married *John's* sister, donna *Isabella*, with whom he received a million of ducats. The memory of the year 1525, is stained by the establishment of the inquisition in *Portugal*, under pretence of its being necessary for preventing and punishing the practices of the *Jews*, who were nominally *Christians*. *John* zealously assisted the emperor, *Charles* the Vth, in his glorious expedition to *Africa*, and his brother, don *Lewis*, served in the same expedition, and proved one of the ablest generals that *Charles* had; but the *Moors* in *Africa* being now united, the *Portuguese* lost some of their best settlements upon that coast. The truth is, *John* had been at vast expence in supporting his governors in the *East Indies*, against the *Turkish* emperor, *Solyman* the Ild, and the *Mahometan* princes there, whose vast armaments were defeated; but it was owing to the dissentions which broke afresh among the *African Moors*, that the *Portuguese* were not entirely driven out of that country. In 1539, *John* lost two of his sons, and two of his brothers, and three years after, the infant, don *Philip* of *Spain*, espoused *John's* daughter, donna *Maria*. This cemented his union with *Charles* the Vth more closely than ever, and left *John* at liberty to attend the internal concerns of his kingdom, which were run into great confusion. To remedy them, he established a militia, and erected several boards for the dispatch of business; but corruption had got such hold of his great men, that they were far from answering his expectation. When pope *Paul* the IIIrd died, *John* made great interest, tho' to no purpose, to raise his brother, cardinal *Henry*, to the popedom.

1525.

p. 237.

1539.

In 1552, a marriage was concluded between *John's* eldest son, the prince of *Portugal*, and donna *Joanna*, the emperor's daughter, notwithstanding the various degrees of consanguinity in which they stood to each other. The prince was then no more than seventeen years of age, but of so amorous a complexion, that his marriage shortened his life in less than nine months after it was consummated. The princess, upon this, retired to *Spain*, after being delivered of a son, who was afterwards the unfortunate king *Sebastian*. Don *John* the IIIrd died of an apoplexy, on the 11th of *June* 1557. He was a prince of great virtues, and the worthy representative of his father. If the lustre of the crown of *Portugal* was diminished while he wore it, it was owing entirely to the corruption and factions of his court.

1552.

1557.

Death of
John III.

Sebastian was but three years old when his father died, and the care of his education was committed to his grandmother, who being a *Castilian*, was so unacceptable to the *Portuguese*,
Succeeded by *Sebastian*.

Portuguese, that she retired to a convent, and resigned her charge to cardinal *Henry*, the young king's uncle. During the short time of her regency, the *Moors* had been repulsed in *Africa*, and when she resigned it, the pacific genius of the cardinal improved the riches and commerce of his country. He left the care of the king's education to don *Alexius de Meneses*, and *Gonzales de Camera*; but they tinctured him at once with a spirit of conquest and enthusiasm, which rendered him intractable, and led him to destruction. His education being thus neglected, or rather perverted, he threw himself into the hands of worthless favourites, particularly *Jesuits*, from whom he was rescued by don *Alvaro de Castro*, a young nobleman, who endeavoured to open his eyes to his true interest, and persuaded him to recall his secretary, *Alcaçova*, whom he had discarded, through the influence of the *Jesuits*. In 1574, he made a slight and ill-concerted expedition into *Africa*, and upon his return, he gave himself up entirely to martial madness, and to his desire of becoming the conqueror of the *Moors*. For this purpose he adopted the cause of *Muley Hamet*, king of *Fez*, *Morocco* and *Tarudant*, against his uncle, *Muley Moloch*, who had deposed him. We have already mentioned the zeal with which *Philip* the 11th of *Spain* endeavoured to dissuade *Sebastian* from being concerned in the quarrel, in which he was seconded by the queen mother, and cardinal *Henry*. We know of no particular resentment that *Sebastian* expressed towards *Philip*, but the queen mother died of grief, and the cardinal retired in disgust from court. Soon after, *Alcaçova*, by *Sebastian's* orders, exhausted all the oppressive means of raising money for the expedition, and the king declared his intention to invade *Africa*, to an assembly of his nobles, but without suffering them to make any remonstrances against it. He was equally deaf to those, which *Philip* and the wisest part of his subjects poured in from all quarters; and his obstinacy seemed to grow with the difficulties it had to encounter. Even *Muley Moloch* did him the friendly office of laying before him the madness of the attempt, and the almost impossibility of success. *Philip* finding that his nephew was determined upon the expedition, sent him two thousand *Castilian* foot as auxiliaries; and this has given room for some historians to suggest that his opposition to the expedition was no more than a pretence, and that he secretly wished the destruction of *Sebastian*.

who is de- Every thing being ready for the expedition, *Sebastian* settled
feared and his regency, which had been refused by the cardinal, his uncle,
killed in and embarked with his army, which consisted of *Italians* and
Africa. *Germans*, as well as *Castilians* and *Portuguese*, and did not
1573. upon the whole exceed sixteen thousand men; but among
them was the flower of his nobility. Upon their landing
in *Africa*, he was joined by *Muley Hamet*, whom *Sebastian*
treated with the utmost rudeness, for endeavouring to dis-
suade him from marching into the heart of the country. Un-
for-

fortunately for *Sebastian*, *Muley Moloch* was a general, as well as a politician, of consummate abilities, and at the head of sixty thousand horse, and forty thousand foot, but he was seized with a fever as he was advancing to give *Sebastian* battle. The two armies came within sight of each other, near *Alcazarquivir*, on the 3d of *August*, 1578, and nothing but frenzy itself could have determined *Sebastian* to have ventured a battle in his situation. *Muley Moloch*, sensible that he could live but a few hours, and that in case of his death, his army would declare for his rival, precipitated the engagement, in which, as we have already observed, the army of *Sebastian* was defeated and cut in pieces. *Sebastian* himself probably fell in the field, but some doubts arose concerning his fate, which encouraged several impostors to assume his personage long after his death. Authors who look upon courage, especially when opposed to infidels, as the capital qualification of a king, have celebrated this prince, who was killed when he was no more than twenty-five years of age, as a prodigy of virtue and valour; others appeal to facts and circumstances, and think him an enthusiast and mad man.

Portugal was in a most wretched situation after the battle of *Alcazarquivir*, when cardinal *Henry* mounted the throne in about the the seventy fifth year of his age, with many virtues of the succession monk, but few of the monarch. He resented the treatment he had received in the late reign, by disgracing *Alcaçova* crown, and the other ministers. Upon the escape of the prior of *Crata* from *Africa*, though he was the nephew of *Henry* only in an illegitimate sense, he began to cabal for the crown, in case of *Henry's* death; but the taste of royalty had given that prince new sensations; for it was with difficulty that *Philip* the IId of *Spain* defeated an application which his agents made at the court of *Rome*, for a dispensation for him to marry. The point of succession to the crown of *Portugal*, became now to be very interesting. The prince of *Parma* claimed it, as descending by the eldest daughter from don *Duarte*, brother to the late king *John* the IId. It was claimed by the duchess of *Braganza*, who was a second daughter to that prince, and therefore her title was favoured by the civil law, as she stood in one degree nearer to don *Duarte* than the prince was. *Philip* the IId of *Spain*, claimed from his mother, donna *Isabella*, who was don *Duarte's* sister; and the duke of *Savoy* in right of his mother, *Beatrix*, who was his younger sister. The prior of *Crato* pretended that his mother had been married to the duke of *Beja*, son to *Emanuel*, and that therefore his title was best founded, which it certainly would have been, had he been able to make good the allegation. Other pretenders, particularly *Catharine de Medici*, who claimed as being descended from the son of don *Alonso* the IId, by his first wife, *Maud*, started up, and the pope pretended that the crown of *Portugal*, in case of *Henry's* demise, was at the disposal of the holy see. Of all those competitors, the

the duchess of *Braganza* was most favoured by *Henry* and the nobility, and the prior of *Crato* by the common people; but *Philip* had more power than both.

Death and
character
of *Henry*.

The perplexities of *Henry*, when the states of the realm pressed him to declare his successor, were very great. He had not resolution enough to come to any determination in favour of the duchess of *Braganza*, lest he should kindle a civil war in his kingdom; he consulted none who could give him sound advice, and he proposed that the decision should be deferred till after his death, and that five noblemen should exercise the government during the interregnum. He, however, reserved the power to himself, to examine the pretensions of the candidates, but his judgment was not to be known till after his decease. Though this arrangement was submitted to, yet it threw all *Portugal* into confusion. The prior *Antonio* was declared illegitimate, and though banished the kingdom, he made a progress through its different provinces, to strengthen his popularity. *Philip* filled the court of *Henry* with intrigues, and corrupted his ministers, who were all of them weak men, with money, to such a degree, that *Henry* was inclined to have declared him his successor, under certain restrictions, had he not been deterred by the representatives of the great cities, who hated the *Castilians*, and in fact, the spirit was so great against *Philip*, among the nobles themselves, that the sense of the states was for declaring that person king whom they should think most worthy to wear the crown. During those altercations, *Henry* died in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and the seventeenth month of his reign, in 1580. In him, the male line of *Alonso*, first king of *Portugal*, was extinguished. He was a weak, well meaning prince, extremely charitable, but ill fitted to reign at such a juncture.

1580.

The Spaniards be-
come mas-
ters of
Portugal,

During the lifetime of *Henry*, *Philip* of *Spain* had been perpetually intriguing with the court of *Rome*; to oblige him to retire to his cloister, and it is thought that if *Henry* had lived a few months longer, he would have employed force for that purpose. On the death of *Henry*, the kingdom of *Portugal* was in a most wretched condition, and a majority of the five noblemen who had been appointed regents during the interregnum, were in *Philip's* interest. His professions were plausible; he offered to accept of all the terms proposed in the late reign, for securing the independency of *Portugal*, and to employ all his power to restore her glory. The aversion of the *Portuguese* towards the *Castilians*, led them to reject all his offers. Don *Antonio* was tumultuously proclaimed king, and received at *Lisbon*, but the count of *Vimieiro* was the only nobleman of consideration who declared in his favour. By this time, the duke of *Alva* had entered *Portugal*, with a veteran army, and carrying all before him, he beat the few undisciplined troops, which *Antonio* had assembled at *Alcantara*, and took possession of *Lisbon*. *Antonio* escaped in disguise, and suffered prodigious hardships before he reached *France*, where he took

took refuge. His flight being known, *Portugal* and all its dependencies, both in *Africa* and the *East Indies*, excepting the *Azores* islands, which the *French* queen pretended to seize, declared for *Philip*.

That prince appeared ready to fulfill all his engagements in favour of *Portugal*, but upon his entering *Lisbon*, he refused to agree to the law which had been promised by his ambassador, the duke of *Ossuna*, that if he did not observe his capitulations, his subjects should be free to oppose him by arms. This gave a melancholy presage of his government; but he thought that every thing might be effected by the force of money, and lavished incredible sums in endeavouring to reconcile the *Portuguese* to his person and title, even to the impoverishing his own hereditary dominions. He heaped vast honours on the duke of *Braganza*, who, with his son, recognized his title; but the duchess continued still dissatisfied. Finding, by experience, that the avarice of the *Portuguese* nobility was insatiable, that the importunities of the people were endless, and that the aversion of both to the *Castilians*, however it might be disguised, was invincible, he had recourse to his natural severity. He passed a pardon, but it was with an exception to *Antonio's* party, many of whom suffered death, and all of them confiscation. Vast numbers died in prisons, and many were sent in chains to *Castile*. When *Philip* left *Portugal*, he appointed the archduke *Albert* his viceroy in that kingdom.

No sooner was *Philip* returned to *Castile*, than *Antonio's* party revived, and we have, in the history of *Castile*, shewn See p. in what manner it was destroyed. When his hopes were blast- 249. ed, he returned to *England*, where, being no longer useful to *Elizabeth*, he was but little considered, and he died in *France*, poor and indigent. It was about this time that the impostor *Sebastians* gave some disturbance to *Philip's* government; but they were soon suppressed and punished. *Philip*, notwithstanding the immense sums he had lavished in *Portugal*, did not make amends for the men and shipping of which he drained it, to support his numerous expeditions, especially that unsuccessful one against *England* in 1588. The *Portu- 1588. guese*, after *Philip* left them, still found many of the sweets of the acquisitions made by *Emanuel*, don *John*, and their other patriot kings; and at the time of the accession of *Philip* the III^d to the crown of *Spain*, they began to recover those and oppress it. sources of their wealth; but so unprincipled were they in matters of government, that they gave *Philip* the III^d, when he visited *Lisbon*, a magnificent, if not an affectionate, reception. This display of the *Portuguese* riches, gave the *Spanish* ministry false ideas of the riches of *Portugal*, and they considered it now to be no other than a subdued province, that might be harrassed and plundered with impunity. The capitulation of *Philip* the II^d was violated in every article, and no circumstance was omitted that could tell the *Portuguese* they were

were no better than slaves to the *Castilians*. It is needless to repeat what we have already said on that subject. The *Portuguese*, degenerated as they were, began at last to feel their miseries under their vice-queen *Mary*, and turned their eyes on the *Braganza* family for relief. The head of that house was don *John*, son to don *Theodosius*, whose father don *John* had been the competitor with *Philip II.* and *Antonio*, for that crown. He was married to donna *Louisa*, sister to the duke of *Medina Sidonia*, a woman of an heroic active spirit; but he himself had always affected the character of a plain hospitable country gentleman, even at the time when he firmly resolved on the great measure he afterwards executed. His dissimulation was so profound, that he was proof against very flattering appearances, and by discovering them to the court of *Spain*, he had credit enough to obtain favour for some of his over zealous friends.

The duke When the project we have already mentioned for employ-
of *Bra-* ing the *Portuguese* against the *Catalans*, broke out; when,
ganza pro- from the letters of *Vasconcellos*, there could be no doubt that
claimed the court of *Spain* was determined to give the finishing hand
king *John* to the ruin of *Portugal*, and when the spirit of the people could
the 14th. not be mistaken, the *Spanish* count *Olivarez*, though he had
no direct proof against the duke of *Braganza*, and though the
latter was then actually general of the *Portuguese* troops,
laid several schemes for becoming master of the duke's person;
but they served only to accelerate his acceptance of the crown
from the *Portuguese* lords, who had associated themselves in his
favour. The measures of his party were so well taken, that
1640. on the first of *December*, 1640, they assembled without the
least suspicion at *Lisbon*, disarmed the *German* and *Spanish*
guards, and the duke of *Braganza* was unanimously pro-
claimed king of *Portugal*, with the loss only of three lives,
one of which was that of the detested *Vasconcellos*, who was
stabbed in his apartment, and his body thrown out of the
window. The heads of the conspirators, who were *Juan*
Pinto Ribeiro, don *Antonio de Meneses*, don *Miguel de Almeida*,
don *Stephen da Cunha*, and don *Carlos de Noronha*, seized upon
the person of the vice queen, who at first affected to despise
the insurrection, and to act with great authority. When the
conspirators advised her to retire to her room, and they would
defend her from the fury of the people, "What (said she)
"can the people do to me?" "Nothing (replied one of the
"conspirators coolly) but throw you out of the window."
The vice-queen thought proper to submit; in a few hours all
the *Spaniards* were secured without resistance, and *Lisbon* ap-
peared to be as tranquil under the regal government of *John*,
as if he had been king for years.

Progress of that re- Two great ecclesiastics distinguished themselves by the dis-
volution. ferent parts they acted in this revolution. The archbishop of
Lisbon had been the soul of all the measures taken in favour
of the duke of *Braganza*, and the archbishop of *Braga* was a
violent

violent partizan of the court of *Madrid*. The *Spaniards* still held the citadel, but it was delivered up by an order of the vice-queen to the conspirators, who threatened, if she refused, to put all their *Spanish* prisoners, who were numerous and of great quality, to the sword. During those important events, the new king was at *Villaviciosa*; but receiving the news of what had happened, he came to *Lisbon*, took possession of the throne, and the allegiance of his subjects. Orders had been already given by the archbishop of *Lisbon*, who till *John's* arrival had acted as president of the council chosen by the conspirators, for proclaiming the king through all the provinces, which was performed without the smallest disturbance, and nothing was to be heard through the whole country, but the acclamation of, "Long live *John* the IVth, the Father and Deliverer of his country."

The coronation of *John* was performed with all possible solemnity, and most of the great *Portuguese* nobility assisted at it. His title was recognized by the assembly of the states; he declared that the public treasures should be reserved for public uses; that he was resolved to support himself and his court upon his private estate, and he suppressed all the taxes that had been imposed by the *Spaniards*. Those popular measures were no sooner known in the *Portuguese* possessions abroad, than they all quietly submitted to the new government. Scarcely was *John* seated (as he thought quietly) on the throne, when a conspiracy was formed, the archbishop of *Braga* being at its head, for setting fire to *Lisbon*, introducing the *Spanish* troops, and dethroning the new king. Several of the chief nobility of *Portugal*, some of whom were of the *Braganza* family, were parties in this conspiracy; nor does it yet clearly appear how it came to be discovered. It is certain, however, that the king managed with so much address and secrecy, that the archbishop of *Braga*, the marquis *de Villa Real*, and his son the duke *de Caminha*, both of them of the blood royal, with forty-four of the other chief conspirators, were made prisoners in the same hour, and almost at the same minute. The marquis *de Villa Real*, and his son, confessed their guilt, and were beheaded; and the archbishop of *Braga*, because a churchman, was imprisoned for life. About eight more of the chief conspirators suffered death. It happened fortunately for *John*, that the tranquillity of his kingdom was no sooner re-established, than eight or ten very rich ships, which had been laden for the *Spaniards* in the *East Indies* and other parts, hearing nothing of the revolution, landed at *Lisbon*, and fell into his hands, which supplied the necessities of his government.

It happened still more fortunately that the situation of affairs in *Europe* was then such as to be extremely favourable to *John's* title. Neither the circumstances nor inclinations of *Charles I.* of *England*, suffered him to interpose in the affair. *France* not only acknowledged, but supported *John's* title with

He is favoured by the situation of Europe.

1642.

His troops disciplined.

1646.

See p. 266.

Vol. IX. p. 376.

He protects the royalists of England.

men and money. The *States General* entered with him into a ten years truce. The northern powers became his friends from their hatred of the house of *Austria*. Even the pope was inclined to favour him; and *John* having generously set the vice-queen at liberty, she proved the main instrument of the disgrace of his capital enemy, *Olivarez*, at the court of *Spain*. *Portugal* now wore a new face, and the states were lavish to *John* in their grants for supporting the war (which became now very expensive) against the two branches of the house of *Austria*. In 1642, *John* appointed the conde de *Castelmelhor*, who had suffered greatly in his service, his governor of *Brasil*; but he sustained a loss in the hasty execution of his chief secretary, *Lucena*, upon a charge of treason, which was supported by an artful forgery on the part of the *Spaniards*. His innocence was fully cleared a few days after his death, but the *Spaniards* still continued the like practices against others of *John's* most faithful servants.

By this time, *French* and other foreign officers had introduced some discipline into the *Portuguese* armies, and *John's* general, don *Mathias Albuquerque*, having made an irruption at the head of six thousand foot, and eleven hundred horse, into the province of *Estremadura*, defeated and totally routed a superior army of the *Spaniards*, who lost three thousand men in the field. This very important and critical victory was rewarded with a pension of four thousand crowns, with the title of count de *Alegrette* to *Albuquerque*. But while *John* was thus prosperous in *Europe*, he was rendered uneasy by the *Dutch*, who ever since *Philip II.* had prohibited their commerce with the *Portuguese*, had explored new channels of commerce both in *America* and the *East Indies*, to the great detriment of the *Portuguese*. About the year 1646, the heat of the war between *Spain* and *Portugal* began to abate, because, though both countries were at vast expence, neither reaped any benefit from it. The secret plots of the *Spaniards* against *John's* life and government, did not, however, relax, and his escapes from assassination were next to miraculous. *John* received, about this time, a severe blow by the loss of his brother, the brave and virtuous don *Duarte*, who died a prisoner in the citadel of *Milan*, where he had, without any cause, been infamously and cruelly confined, ever since *John's* accession to the crown of *Portugal*. He was somewhat consoled by the accomplishments of his son don *Theodosius*, which were so great, that they gained him the title of the Delight of *Portugal*, and a strong party was formed for concluding a peace between *Spain* and *Portugal*, by his marriage with *Philip's* only daughter and child; but this match never took place.

The commercial and territorial differences between the *Dutch* and the *Portuguese*, were still increasing, and rose to such a height, that the *Portuguese* ambassador was forced to leave *Holland*. The *Dutch* had dispossessed the *Spaniards* of *Brasil*, and we have already seen how the *Portuguese*, in their turn,

turn, recovered that rich settlement. The conduct of *John* towards the partizans of the dethroned house of *Stuart*, was generous, but not void of political views. Great part of the fleet of *England* had revolted to the royalists under prince *Rupert*, and *John* privately offered him his protection, in hopes that the *English* ships might be of use to him against the *Spaniards* and the *Dutch*, who wanted to intercept his *Brasil* fleets. Prince *Rupert* arrived with his squadron at *Lisbon*, where he found protection; but on the 29th of *March*, 1650, the *English* fleet, under *Blake*, appeared in the same river, and was reinforced on the 25th of *April* following, by another squadron under *Popham*, and both these squadrons had orders to act offensively against the *Portuguese* by sea. The protection which the king gave to prince *Rupert*, was attended with so much danger to *Portugal*, that he was at last obliged to hearken to the intreaties of his ministers, that he would order the prince to put to sea. Before he could be obeyed, the *English* attacked a rich *Brasil* fleet within a few leagues of *Lisbon*, and the court of *Portugal* entreated prince *Rupert* to sail to its relief, which he accordingly did. When the prince came up, the *English* were masters of the *Portuguese* fleet; but he escaped *Blake's* squadron. The conduct of *John* towards the *English* royalists, on this occasion, was greatly influenced by his son *Theodosius*, who pitied the unfortunate house of *Stuart*, and who declared himself against treating with the *English* commonwealth as an independent state.

1650.

The circumstances of *Portugal* did not suffer *John* to continue longer at variance with those powerful republicans, and he named an ambassador to enter into a negotiation with them at *London*; but they refused to treat with him as an ambassador, but as a minister of an inferior character, and voted that he should have his audience in the house of peers, as being then a place of less distinction than that of the house of commons. The minister was obliged to submit to this mortification; and the *English*, to complete their triumph over his master, ordered the walls where he received his audience, to be decorated with those magnificent pieces of tapestry which still hang there, representing the defeat of *Philip* the 2d's armada, and which were brought for that very purpose from the royal wardrobe. It is doubtful what effect this submission, however necessary it might have been, had upon the infant *Theodosius*; but it is certain that he retired some time after in disgust from court, to which his father, with some difficulty, persuaded him to return; but never afterwards consulted him on affairs of government. This treatment is said to have affected the prince's health, for he died of a consumption in the spring of the year 1653.

1653.

John was chagrined with the continuance of the war, and the misapplication of the public money by his ministers and officers. He became more frugal, and consequently more unpopular. He displaced his culpable governors, magistrates and

and officers, and applied himself entirely to disciplining, by foreign officers, a good body of national troops for his defence in case of need; but without entering upon any offensive measures. The truth is, he secretly wished for a peace with *Spain*, which might leave him to the quiet possession of his crown, and he trusted to the rebellion of the *Catalans*, and the success of the *French* for bringing it about. The loss of the island of *Ceylon*, which was taken from him by the *Dutch*, about the year 1654, and was occasioned by the avarice and disobedience of his governors and officers, sensibly affected *John*; but the war which broke out between the *English* and *Dutch*, gave a vast relief to his trading subjects in all parts of the globe. As *John* had a great dependence on the friendship of *France*, he could no longer resist the solicitations of that court, to order his troops to act offensively against the *Spaniards*; but he was, perhaps, not greatly displeased that the war still languished on the frontiers of *Spain*. His health was now much impaired, and he had for some months consulted the queen in all his weighty affairs. He concealed the decay of his constitution all he could, but he died on the 6th of November, 1656, in the sixteenth year of his reign, and the fifty-third of his age. The distinguishing character of this prince, who was justly surnamed the Fortunate, consisted in the prudence and firmness of his conduct. His great view was to keep his crown, and to act on the defensive. He was among the few princes whom we read of in history, who observed his promises so well with the states of his people, that they were always ready to give him more money than he would accept of. The secrecy with which he managed all his affairs, especially in being able to form a strong party at the court of *Madrid* itself, completes his character. Though he did not shine in the field, he was destitute of neither courage nor military abilities; and as a man, he is said to have been one of the worthiest and most virtuous of any in his dominions. As a proof of his disinterestedness, and of the bigotry of his people, he restored to the families of the offenders the goods that had been granted him by the inquisition; and the head of that infamous tribunal, after his death, actually absolved him from the excommunication which they pretended he had incurred by such restitutions.

John's
death and
character.

He is suc-
ceeded by
his son
Alonso,
whose
mother is
regent.

Don *Alonso Enriquez* was the eldest son and successor of *John IV.* and at the time of his father's death, only thirteen years of age. His mother seized the regency of the kingdom, which was so full of faction, that many of the nobility talked of removing her son's person from her care, because she was a *Castilian*. She soon proved herself superior to calumny by appointing don *Francisco de Faro*, count of *Odemira*, the king's governor. The count *de Castenheda* was his sub-governor, and the secretaries of state were *Pedro Veira* and *Gaspar de Faria*, nor could she in all *Portugal* have made choice of more unexceptionable men for their posts. *Spain* had shown inde-

cent

rent exultations upon the death of the late king, and had renewed her invasions of *Portugal*, at first with some success. In 1658, the *Spaniards* besieged *Elvas*, but as we have already seen, were defeated with great loss. *Portugal* was, at this time, exhausted by the continuance of the war, and the *Pyrenean* peace, which left the *Spaniards* at liberty to turn their arms entirely against them, seemed to threaten her ruin. This might have been the case, had not *Mazarine*, for reasons of state, suffered duke *Schomberg* with a considerable body of *French* volunteers (as they were called) to enter into the service of *Portugal*. This was partly effected by the ministry of the count *de Soura*, whom the queen regent had sent ambassador to *France*, and who acted with such spirit and resolution that he intimidated *Mazarine*. But the event which saved the kingdom of *Portugal* at this time, was undoubtedly the marriage of the king's sister, the infanta *Catharina*, with *Charles* the II^d of *Great Britain*. This marriage was disliked by the *French*, and most violently opposed by the *Spaniards*; but the princess was to have a large sum of money, and the fortress of *Tangier* for her fortune. Mean while the *Spaniards* acted with success under don *John* of *Austria*, on the frontiers of *Portugal*, where the *Portuguese* army must have been entirely ruined, had it not been for the great military talents of *Schomberg*. That accomplished commander could not, however, conquer the envy and malice of the *Portuguese* ministers and generals; so that they lost a vast number of places, and at last the important city of *Evora*, which was taken by don *John*. The count *de Villafior* was then general of the *Portuguese* army, and having a good understanding with *Schomberg*, they entirely defeated don *John*, who lost between seven and eight thousand of his troops. *Villafior* was soon after removed from his command, which was resumed by the marquis of *Marialva*, who, that he might wipe out the memory of his bad success against don *John*, beat count *Marsin*, who was then in the service of *Spain*, and took *Alcantara*. But the decisive blow, which the *Spaniards* received in this war, was at *Montesclaros*, where the count of *Marialva* obtained so complete a victory, that it brought about a peace, though not immediately.

1658.

See p.

270.

See p.

277.

The king, don *Alonso*, as he grew up, discovered great incapacity, and at the same time great obstinacy. Flatterers were not wanting, who confirmed him in all his bad habits, whether natural or acquired, and *Antonio* and *Juan Conti*, sons of a *Genoese* pedlar of *Vintimiglia*, became his chief favourites, and persuaded him to depose the queen from the regency. Her pride and apprehension of losing her power, determined her to pursue a very unjustifiable conduct, for she endeavoured to form a party among her nobility for setting *Alonso* aside from the government, which was to have been given to her second son and favourite, don *Pedro*. Having secured a great party for this measure, it was resolved to seize upon the person of *Antonio Conti*, the most dangerous of the two brothers, which

His incapacity

and obstinacy.

was actually done, and he with some of his friends were sent in exile to *Brazil*. The queen and her party endeavoured to disguise to the king this bold conduct, under pretence of the public good, and respect for his person. Weak as he was, he dissembled his resentment, and the count *de Castelmelhor*, one of the greatest men in *Portugal*, succeeded *Conti* in his favour. The new minister persuaded the king to assume the reins of government into his own hand; and though the queen even employed force to divert him from that design, yet the new favourite took his measures so well, that being assisted by the inhabitants of *Lisbon*, who declared for *Alonso*, the queen was at last obliged to resign the regency, and she and her son don *Pedro* were reduced almost to a private station, in which the queen mother died, after discovering more than manly talents for government.

He is forced to resign the government by his queen and brother,

The count *de Castelmelhor* now carried his power over the king to such an excess, that the nobility and the *Lisbonites* threw their eyes on don *Pedro*, as the only person who could preserve *Portugal* from ruin; but in the mean time, the king married the *French* princess *de Nemours*, who no sooner arrived in *Portugal*, than she discovered *Pedro* to be a much more proper husband for her than his brother. She complained of *Alonso's* impotence, which had been before more than suspected, though (it is said) without any reason; and became the declared enemy of the minister. She attached herself to don *Pedro*, and their joint interest drove *Castelmelhor* into a monastery, and his friends into disgrace. *Antonio de Sousa* was *Alonso's* next favourite and minister; but he likewise was disgraced and driven into banishment. All ranks and degrees in *Portugal* now seconded the queen and don *Pedro* in demanding that the king should call an assembly of the states, which he long refused to do, as knowing it was only a step preparatory to his own deposition; but he was at last obliged to consent, and actually to resign his authority, which devolved upon don *Pedro*, under the title of regent. *Alonso* was continued under restraint, and the queen, who pretended that the king could not consummate the marriage, retired to a convent, and demanded to be sent back to *France*. This request, had it been granted her, would have rendered her unhappy, as she had already settled her affections on don *Pedro*; but perhaps she would have more willingly received him to her bed in the quality of king, than regent. A respectful answer was returned her, but without granting her demand, and she managed her affairs so artfully, that the states themselves were brought to make applications both to her and the regent, that they would join each other in marriage. *Pedro*, who was not above twenty years of age, and of an amorous complexion, loved her as much as she did him. A process was set on foot before the legantine court for a divorce between her and *Alonso*, on account of his impotency, and the cause being heard by cardinal *Yendosme*, the legate, he granted a dispensation, which though informal

informal as to some particulars, was afterwards confirmed by who are the pope, who granted a divorce on account of the nullity of married the marriage. That ceremony was very splendid, and all the together. nation, excepting the imprisoned king, seemed to be in raptures. Even he sent a message to compliment the bride and bridegroom; but he is said in private to have bewailed the fate of his brother, for having married the *French* woman, as he called his queen.

That *Pedro* had a susceptible heart, appears from his bursting into tears when he heard of the solitude and the hardships under which his brother spent his life in his confinement; and he immediately gave orders for his choosing what companions he pleased, and for his being carried to *Tercera*, where he might enjoy his favourite diversion of hunting, and have all the island for his prison. The regency being firmly settled, the *English* ministers at *Madrid* and *Lisbon* drew up a plan of a pacification between those two courts, which was approved of by both, though opposed by *France*. The king of *England* sent the earl of *Sandwich* as his ambassador to *Lisbon*; and he put the finishing hand, under his *Britannic* majesty's mediation, to a treaty which closed the war, that for twenty-seven years had desolated both kingdoms. Upon the conclusion of this peace, duke *Schomberg*, and the *French* auxiliaries, returned by sea to *France*. A peace with Spain.

Don *Pedro* now, young and amorous as he was, applied himself with prodigious assiduity to the affairs of government, and to the reformation of abuses, both public and private. The duke of *Cadaval*, who was of the *Braganza* family, was his first minister; but upon inspecting into the internal affairs of the kingdom, they seemed to be almost desperate. The public finances were anticipated or mortgaged; the country was depopulated, and even the private revenue of the king had, under the *Spanish* administrations, been granted to great families, from whom it would have been dangerous to resume it. *Portugal* was drained of ready money, through its frantic devotion to the court of *Rome*; and both its influence and possessions were daily narrowed in the *East Indies* by the *Dutch* and the *English*. Add to all those misfortunes, that the morals of the people were irretrievably degenerated, and they seemed to be insensible of the public calamities. Don *Pedro* inherited from his father, a steadiness of conduct, nor could all the arts employed by his consort and her *French* agents, prevail with him to break with *Spain*. Notwithstanding this, he narrowly escaped a conspiracy which was formed by the *Spaniards*, for assassinating himself, and restoring his brother. All he could be brought to, was to fortify his frontier, and to shut up the unfortunate *Alonso*, a close prisoner in the castle of *Cintra*, during the remaining part of his life. When the treaty of *Nimeguen* was in agitation, don *Pedro* offered his mediation, which was despised by *France*, but accepted of by *Spain*, with whom he adjusted all the differences between the two crowns, concerning *Pedro* hates the *French*.

concerning the *Rio de la Plata*. From that time, *Pedro* conceived an aversion to the *French* court.

He mar- The dutchess of *Savoy*, the elder sister of the queen of *Por-*
ries the *tugal*, wanted to marry her son, the famous *Victor Amadeus*, to
princess of *Pedro's* daughter, who had been recognized heiress to the
Neuburgh. crown of *Portugal*. Such a match with a foreign prince, was
against the constitution of the kingdom; but that obstacle
was got over by the consent of the states. A squadron was
sent to bring the duke of *Savoy* to *Portugal*, but the *Savoyard*
nobility, fearing to become a province to *France*, which had
vigorously promoted the marriage, opposed it so effectually,
that the squadron returned to *Lisbon* without the duke. It was
thought that this disappointment, together with her husband's
infidelity to her bed, had an effect upon the queen's health,
for she died on the 17th of *December*, 1683, soon after the
1683. death of the unfortunate king, don *Alonso*. Her death ex-
tinguished the *French* influence at the court of *Lisbon*, for
Pedro, who succeeded immediately as king, refused even to
treat with *Lewis XIV.* concerning the marriage of his daugh-
ter. *Pedro* was, all this while, labouring to retrieve the affairs
of *Portugal*, in which he was more successful than had been
expected; and at the desire of his subjects he married the
princess *Maria Sophia* of *Neuburgh*, who was carried to *Portu-*
gal in an *English* squadron, commanded by the duke of *Grafton*.
This beautiful virtuous princess, made *Pedro* the father of a
son, who died three weeks after his birth. Upon his death,
several treaties for the infant's marriage were set on foot,
which came to nothing; and soon after she died, in the 21st
year of her age.

1690. In the year 1690, donna *Louisa*, the king's natural daughter,
Pedro's one of the finest women in *Portugal*, was legitimated, and
wife con- her father gave her the title of royal highness. It was thought
duct. that she was an enemy to the count *de Castelmelhor*, who was
still alive, and by his knowledge of the chief courts of *Europe*,
was strongly recommended to *Pedro*, for his first minister; but
without effect. *Pedro* had succeeded beyond belief, in restor-
ing the lustre of the crown of *Portugal*, through the wise neu-
trality he had observed in the affairs of *Europe*. He however
augmented and disciplined his forces, and offered his mediation
to the contending powers, who now received it with great
deference. He even gave his ambassador at *Paris*, the marquis
de Cascaes, orders to talk with the *French* ministers in a very
resolute tone, upon the insults offered by their ships to the flag
of *Portugal*. The warlike preparations which *Pedro* continued
to make, and the state of public affairs, obliged *Lewis* to pro-
mise him all imaginable satisfaction, and he sent him a most
respectful embassy to court his friendship. It is thought, not
without reason, that *Pedro*, at this time, had an eye upon the
Spanish succession, to which he had a very plausible claim, as
being descended by the female line from *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*.
It is certain, that he inclined to take part with the allies against
France,

France, when the queen died in 1694, leaving him six children, of whom two were sons. The great expence of his armaments, at that time, obliged *Pedro*, with the consent of the states, to lay a tax upon tobacco throughout his dominions. Soon after this, the throne of *Spain* became vacant by the death of *Charles II.* and *Pedro's* circumstances were such as in a manner obliged him to recognize the succession of the duke of *Anjou*. This did not prevent a convention, entered into between *France* and *Spain*, for stripping *Pedro* of *Portugal*, which was defeated by his threatening to join with the allies, and *Lewis XIV.* became the guarantee of a fresh treaty between the courts of *Madrid* and *Lisbon*. 1694.

Pedro was, at this time, courted by all the powers of *Europe*, He is who gratified him in all his demands. Upon his declaring for a neutrality, and the *Spaniards* roundly and contumeliously all *Europe*, telling him he could have none, he opened his kingdom as an but de- asylum to all the opposers of the house of *Bourbon* in *Spain*, clares for and immediately entered into the measures of the allies, and the allies. recognized the title of the archduke *Charles* to the crown of *Spain*, upon the latter engaging to put him in perpetual possession of *Badajoz*, *Alcantara*, *Albuquerque*, *Valenza*, *Bayonne*, *Vigo*, *Tuy* and *Gardia*. The conduct of his *Portuguese* majesty during the war that followed, has been sufficiently described in our histories of *Spain*, *France* and *Germany*. It is sufficient here to say in general, that *Pedro* was very ill served, both by his ministers and generals. The duke of *Cadaval*, his first minister, disliked the war, which was continued chiefly at the expence of *England*, and the marquis *das Minas*, though he defeated don *Pedro Ronquillo*, and took a few places, knew little of the true art of war. In the year 1704, *Pedro* falling ill, appointed *Catharine*, the queen dowager of *England*, who had for some time resided in his dominions, regent of *Portugal*; but she was cut off by death, a few months after her appointment, and left all her estate, which was very considerable; to her brother *Pedro*. The misfortunes which happened to the arms of *Portugal*, and consequently to those of the allies, during the course of that war, were undoubtedly owing to the backwardness or incapacity, or both, of the *Portuguese* ministers, to support it, for it is allowed on all hands, that *Pedro* himself acted with vigour and sincerity, and more than once postponed his own advantage to the good of the common cause. While he was intent upon raising fresh troops, he was His death seized with a lethargy, the consequence of a cold he contracted at *Alcantara*, and died on the 4th of *December*, 1706, in the 1706. twenty-third year of his reign, (exclusive of his regency) and the fifty-seventh of his age.

Pedro was illiterate, but his experience in business, his ap- and cha- plication, his patience and moderation, supplied the defects of racter. his education. From his conduct towards *France*, it is plain that he was susceptible of resentment; but it was cool, temperate, and well conducted. The retrieving the affairs of *Portugal*,

Portugal, was the constant object of his attention. In his person, he was tall and vigorous, abstemious, religious, charitable, and, towards the latter end of his reign, contemplative. His amours, which did not much affect the public, because they were generally with mean women, form the most exceptionable part of his character, unless we look upon his marriage with his brother's wife as a stain upon his reputation. The rectitude of that measure has never been sufficiently cleared up, and perhaps was a secret which died with the queen, whose delicacy was not among the most shining of her qualifications. It has been said, upon very plausible authority, that *Alonso* was so far from being impotent, that his person was robust and athletic, and that he had been the father of several children, by different mistresses.

Accession
of *John*
the Vth,

1708.

1709.

who like-
wise joins
with the
allies,

The political conduct of don *John*, the eldest son and successor of don *Pedro*, was the same as that of his father; nor was the severe defeat which the *British* and *Portuguese* troops received at *Almanza*, owing to him but to his general, the marquis *das Minas*, who, after being wounded himself, and having his mistress killed fighting by his side in the battle, made a masterly retreat, at the expence of the *British* troops, who were exposed to slaughter. After the defeat, *John* promised to persevere in the common cause, and received vast supplies from *England*. In the mean while, his people suffered greatly from the inroads of the *Spaniards*, which he was in no condition to repel. He sent the duke *de Villamajor* with a most magnificent equipage, to demand in marriage the archduchess *Mary Anne*, who was carried to *Lisbon* in a *British* fleet, and the marriage was celebrated on the 28th of *October* 1708. The *Brasil* trade now afforded great quantities of gold and diamonds, and growing every day more profitable to *Portugal*, it enabled *John* to perform his engagements with his allies, with tolerable punctuality. The cargo which that fleet brought this year to *Lisbon*, amounted to six millions sterling, but his ministers still continued backward in support of the war. They entered into some negotiations, for the neutrality of their peasants, which gave umbrage to the allies, and the allied army under the marquis *de Fronteira*, and the earl of *Galway*, were beat by the marquis *de Baye*, in the campaign of 1709. This disgrace was owing to the ill behaviour of the *Portuguese* officers, many of whom were broken. A ridiculous point of ceremony about the franchises of foreign ministers, had almost separated his *Portuguese* majesty from the confederates. The ambassadors were not supported by their courts in their extravagant claims, and *John* went so far into the sentiments of his courtiers, as to grow jealous of the great number of foreign officers who had been introduced into his army. The disgust the *Portuguese* ministry received at this, was attended with the worst of effects towards the confederacy, and terminated in little less than a breach between them and the earl of *Stanhope*, who was unable to conquer their obstinacy,

stinacy, and it proved the ruin of the archduke's affairs in *Spain*. The *Portuguese* ministers, however, urged the plausible plea that they were obliged to provide for the defence of their own country, by keeping their troops upon their frontiers, instead of marching them into the heart of *Spain*.

This breach never was thoroughly made up, and a coldness succeeded between *John* and the maritime powers. He still continued the war with some reputation to his arms; for his general, the count *de Villaverda*, took *Miranda* and *Zafra*, but was obliged to return to the defence of *Portugal*, to save *Elvas* from falling into the hands of the marquis *de Baye*. In the year 1711, the coldness between the *Portuguese* court and the confederates, was encreased by mutual recriminations, and by the vast losses which the *Portuguese* suffered from the *French* fleet at *Rio de Janeiro*. His *Portuguese* majesty complained that he had not been protected by the maritime powers, and that the *Dutch* had not paid him their stipulated subsidies. His embassador at the *Hague*, the count *de Tarouca*, prevailed with the *States General* to pay part of those arrears, which enabled his *Portuguese* majesty to keep an army in the field, till the earl of *Portmore*, who commanded the *English* in *Portugal*, declared, in consequence of the conferences at *Utrecht*, that he had orders to withdraw his troops from those of the allies. This put an end to the subsidies that had been paid by the *English* to his *Portuguese* majesty, who immediately acceded to the suspension of arms that had been signed at *Utrecht*. In the subsequent conferences, it appeared that *John*, had it not been for the determination of the court of *England* to have peace at any rate, would have continued the war; but finding that he must have done it singly (the imperialists being in no condition to assist him) against the whole power of the house of *Bourbon*, he wisely submitted, and obtained from *France* the best terms he could for his country, as may be seen in other parts of this work. They were much better, especially as to his *American* affairs, than he had reason to expect, and they were procured by the favour of the *English*. The war, however, still went on with *Spain*, and *John* was chagrined by a refractory disposition which had taken hold of his subjects, both in *Portugal* and *Brasil*, where they were extremely discontented at the losses they had sustained from the *French*, and for which they insisted upon indemnification out of the royal treasury. *John* applied not only to his own allies, but to *Lewis* the XIVth, for protection against the exorbitant claims of *Spain*, which daily multiplied; and his affairs immediately took a favourable, though unexpected, turn.

Upon the death of queen *Anne*, the *English* ministry declared they were ready to join the *Portuguese* in bringing the *Spaniards* to reason, and the discovery of a new mine in *Brasil* had extinguished all discontents in that country, from whence vast riches now arrived at *Lisbon*. *John* employed them in augmenting his preparations for war, and finding himself backed

1711.

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good
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at *Utrecht*.He is pro-
tected by
England.

backed by the *English*, he talked to the court of *Madrid* in such a strain, as soon renewed the negotiations for peace at *Utrecht*, which, by the intervention of the *French* court, was at last concluded, upon the terms which *John* himself had prescribed. His firmness on this occasion, was wonderfully applauded by the allies, and he was well served by his plenipotentiaries, the count *de Tarouca*, and don *Lewis d'Acunha*. The substance of the treaty then concluded, was settling the limits of the two monarchies, as they were before the war, and his catholic majesty paying some arrears that had been due to his *Portuguese* majesty, who was to restore to the *Spaniards* *Albuquerque* and *Puebla*, without receiving any consideration for their additional fortifications. Upon the whole, every thing considered, *John* gained more by the peace than any of the other powers concerned in the war.

His differences with the court of *Rome*,

The crown of *Portugal* being thus restored to a respectable state, *John* employed his tranquillity in promoting the interests of his subjects, those relating to commerce particularly. In all his negotiations with foreign princes, he kept up his dignity as a sovereign prince, and suffered the *French* ambassador to depart from his court without an audience, rather than that his secretary of state should relax in a very insignificant ceremonial. He compelled the *Dutch* to fulfil their treaties with his crown, relating to the *Negro* trade in *Africa*. He fitted out a very considerable squadron, which acted in conjunction with those of the pope and *Venetians*, and did great services against the infidels, especially on the coasts of *Italy*. The pope, by way of acknowledgment, erected his royal chapel at *Lisbon*, into a patriarchal and metropolitical church; so that that archbishopric is, as it were, split in two. About this time, his *Portuguese* majesty had a difference with his brother, don *Emanuel*, whom he pressed to embrace an ecclesiastical life, to which that prince had such an aversion, that he made an elopement to *Holland*, and served in the *German* armies against the infidels. This accident gave no great disgust to *John*, who continued to apply himself assiduously to the arts of peace; and notwithstanding the opposition he met with, from the ignorance and bigotry of the inquisition, he established academies at *Lisbon*, for the improvement of true knowledge. In 1722, though *John* expressed all imaginable gratitude and regard for the *English*, two *British* merchants, *Wingfield* and *Roberts*, were condemned to death, for the very common practice of sending gold out of *Portugal*, but *John* pardoned them, at the intercession of the *English* ambassador; so that nothing more seems to be meant by their condemnation, than to shew his own subjects, and all *Europe*, how much he had the suppression of that practice at heart. In 1724, he erected the *African* company into an exclusive body for furnishing the *Brasils* with *Negroes*; but about this time *Portugal* and *Algarve* suffered incredible concussions from storms and tempests.

1722.

1724.

John's

John's differences with the court of *Rome*, discover how well he understood his character as a king. They took their rise from the friendship he had for *Bichi*, the nuncio at *Lisbon*, whom he desired his holiness to raise to the purple. *Bichi* was particularly obnoxious to the house of *Austria*, and had enemies about the pope's person; so that no regard was paid to his majesty's application, and *Bichi* being recalled, *John* refused to receive any other nuncio from *Rome*. His resentment went even so far, that he not obscurely threatened a separation from that church. In 1727, *Joseph*, prince of *Brasil*, eldest son to *John*, was married to donna *Maria Anna Victoria*, the same princess who had been affianced to the *French* king, as was *Ferdinand*, prince of *Asturias*, afterwards king of *Spain*, to donna *Maria*, the infanta of *Portugal*. His catholic majesty took that opportunity to offer his mediation for accommodating matters between *John* and his holiness; but all the concession the latter would make, was to offer to accept of any person, excepting *Bichi*, whom his *Portuguese* majesty should recommend to be a cardinal. *John* rejected this condition, and when pope *Benedict* the XIIIth obliged *Bichi* to leave *Lisbon*, and repair to *Rome*, *John* ordered the patriarch of *Lisbon* to supply the place of his holiness in every exercise of papal or ecclesiastical power, and he at the same time prohibited all intercourse with *Rome*. By another mandate, he put a stop to the payment of the pope's revenues in *Portugal*, and ordered all his subjects to leave the papal dominions, and return home. All this shew of resolution was delusive, *John* in his principles was too much of a bigot to carry his menaces into full execution. He still kept up the horrid court of inquisition in his dominions, though he pretended to moderate the cruelty of their proceedings, and though he did not obtain the great point he aimed at, he compromised matters with the next pope.

The reader, in the history of *Spain*, will see the principal events of the remaining part of *John's* reign. In 1729, the double marriages between the two courts, were celebrated in the *Caya*, (a river which divides the two kingdoms) with great pomp, but still greater punctilio, on account of the ceremony. The formal manner in which both kings proceeded, and the jealousies they expressed for their respective dignities, discovered some reserve, notwithstanding those near family connections; and the state of affairs in *Europe*, occasioned by the successes of the *Spaniards* in *Italy*, rendered the court of *Madrid* intractable. The *Portuguese* ministers servants there, had imprudently rescued a criminal from justice, and were therefore committed to prison. His *Portuguese* majesty resented this upon the *Spanish* ambassador's servants at *Lisbon*. Both ambassadors were recalled, and it was thought the *Spaniards* not only intended to intercept the *Brasil* fleet, but to invade *Portugal*. His *Portuguese* majesty implored the assistance of *Great Britain*, who immediately sent Sir *John Norris* with

1727.

p. 67.

are compromised.

1750.

with a strong squadron, to his relief, and excepting a few bravadoes, the *Spaniards* durst proceed no farther in their ambitious views. On the 31st of *July* 1750, king *John* died, at the age of sixty, with the character of being a prince tenacious of his right, naturally inclined to justice, but devoured by superstition.

Don *John* succeeded by *Joseph*, king of *Portugal*.

His son *Joseph*, his present *Portuguese* majesty, was born in *June* 1715, and upon his accession, by his conduct in requiring to inspect the books of the *English* merchants at *Lisbon*, to discover the exports of gold out of his dominions, he seemed to have forgot the obligations his kingdom owed to *Great Britain*. His attention to the commercial interests of his crown, was, in other respects, laudable. He regulated the boundaries of the territory belonging to him in *America*, with his catholic majesty, but gave up to the *Spaniards* the colony of *St. Sacrament*. He cleared his coasts of the *Barbary* corsairs, and received from his holiness the epithet of Most Faithful, which is now annexed to the crown of *Portugal*. The indifference which he discovered with regard to the court of *Rome*, rendered it perhaps the more inclinable to oblige him; for his holiness agreed to the abolition, or rather diminution of the *auto de fe* at *Lisbon*, and absolved him from the performance of his father's extravagant grants there. This was held to be good policy, because of the immense sums which the apostolical chamber yearly drew from *Portugal*. He endeavoured, but in vain, to open an *East India* trade, by the way of *China*, and finding how disagreeable his prohibition of the exportation of gold out of his kingdom was to the *English*, he at last allowed it, upon its paying a duty of two *per cent*. In other respects, he did all he could to cramp the *British* trade in his dominions, and took steps for that purpose that were repugnant to justice and sound policy, because he could not even man his ships without *English* commanders, though he still continued to send them to *China*.

The dreadful earthquake at *Lisbon*.

The exchanges of territory which he made with *Spain* in *America* were, in the main, gainful to *Portugal*, but thwarted by the *Jesuits*, who instigated the natives not to submit to the regulations laid down by the two crowns, and this gave his *Portuguese* majesty an invincible aversion to that order. While he was intent on settling his *American* acquisitions, his capital of *Lisbon*, on the 1st of *November* 1755, was visited with one of the most dreadful earthquakes that history records, for no fewer than fifteen thousand of the inhabitants were buried in the ruins. The first accounts said a hundred thousand, and magnified the ruins of *Lisbon* far beyond the real truth. The loss, however, was incredible, and his *Portuguese* majesty narrowly escaped perishing in the fall of his own palace. The towns in the neighbourhood of *Lisbon* suffered in proportion, and the shocks continued some days, communicating themselves even to *Madrid* in *Spain*. The *Spanish* ambassador and nine of his domestics were killed in the ruins of his own house.

as were several persons of great quality, who had not time to fly from their habitations in *Lisbon*. The king and the court of *Portugal*, afraid to trust themselves under a roof, lived in tents pitched in the royal gardens, and there they obtained a generous supply of money and provisions, to the amount of a hundred thousand pounds, sent them by the king and parliament of *Great Britain*. The present was received with becoming gratitude; nor was the crown of *Spain* backward in sending its supplies likewise.

Scarcely had the people of *Portugal* recovered from their consternation at this dreadful event, than they were alarmed by the discovery of a conspiracy against the king's person. The chief party concerned, was the duke of *Aveiro*, one of the greatest noblemen in the kingdom, who, according to the manifestos published by the court, being exasperated at the king for interposing in some of his family affairs, associated himself with the *Jesuits*, whom he had formerly detested, and who had lately been banished from court, and engaged the marquis of *Tavora*, and other persons, in a design upon the king's life. Though the particulars of the conspiracy are not, perhaps, at this time, known, yet it is certain that the king, upon his return from a private visit, was shot at, and wounded by the conspirators, who were more numerous than was at first apprehended. They were discovered by their own imprudence. The duke of *Aveiro* (called *Lancastre*, from *John* of *Ghent*, duke of *Lancaster*) the marchioness of *Tavora*, her husband, their eldest son, the count of *Atouguia* (supposed to be the head of the most ancient family in *Portugal*) and *Joseph*, second and youngest son of the marquis of *Tavora*, were apprehended, and committed to prison. After undergoing the form of a trial, they were severally condemned to death, which they suffered with circumstances of great cruelty. A scaffold was built (say the accounts of that time) opposite to the house where the prisoners were confined, and eight wheels fixed upon it. On one corner of the scaffold was placed *Antonio Alvarez Ferreira*, and on the other corner, the effigy of *Joseph Policarpio de Azevedo*, who was still missing; these being the two persons that fired at the back of the king's equipage. About half an hour after eight in the morning, the execution began. The criminals were brought out one by one, each under a strong guard. The marchioness of *Tavora* was the first that was brought upon the scaffold, where she was beheaded at one stroke. Her body was afterwards placed upon the floor of the scaffolding, and covered with a linen cloth. Young *Joseph Maria* of *Tavora*, the young marquis of *Tavora*, the count of *Atouguia*, and three servants of the duke of *Aveiro*, were first strangled at a stake, and afterwards their limbs broken with an iron instrument: The marquis of *Tavora*, general of horse, and the duke of *Aveiro*, had their limbs broken alive. The duke, for greater ignominy, was brought bare-headed

headed to the place of execution. The body and limbs of each of the criminals, after they were executed, were thrown upon a wheel, and covered with a linen cloth. But when *Antorio Alvarez Ferreira* was brought to the stake, whose sentence was to be burnt alive, the other bodies were exposed to his view; the combustible matter, which had been laid under the scaffolding, was set on fire, and the whole machine, with the bodies, were consumed to ashes, and thrown into the sea.

The detection and punishment of this conspiracy, was followed by the sequestration of all the estates belonging to the *Jesuits* in *Portugal*, and their banishment from that kingdom. The chief historical event relating to *Portugal*, that has not been mentioned in the history of *Spain*, was the marriage between the princess of *Brasil*, *John's* eldest daughter, and his brother, don *Pedro*, which was concluded and consummated, in order to remove all doubts that might arise concerning the succession to the crown. Though the pope granted his dispensation for that marriage, which was performed on the 6th of June 1760, yet his nuncio, cardinal *Acciaïoli*, shewed such marks of discontent and disregard of his most faithful majesty, that he was sent out of *Portugal*; and this created a breach between the courts of *Rome* and *Lisbon*. The *Portuguese*, in the ecclesiastical state, were recalled, and strong recriminations were published by the *Portuguese* ministers; but this breach was attended with no consequences. Nothing now remains to complete our history of *Portugal*, but to give some account of the insolent manner in which that court was treated by the *French* and *Spaniards*, when they broke with *England*.

The memorial delivered by don *Joseph Torrero*, ambassador from the court of *Spain*, and mons. *Jaques Bernard O'Don*, minister plenipotentiary from the court of *France* to that of *Portugal*, was to the following effect.

Papers relating to the breach between *Spain* and *Portugal*.

The kings of *France* and *Spain* having found it necessary to form an alliance, and take other measures to curb the pride of the *British* nation, which aspires to become despotic over the sea, and consequently over all maritime commerce; agreed, that they would, in the first place, invite the king of *Portugal* to enter into this alliance with them, which they expected he would do, as conformable to what he owes, both to himself and his kingdom; especially, as he suffers greatly under the yoke which *Great Britain* has already laid upon him, and which she is about to extend over all who have possessions beyond sea; and, as it would be unjust to expect *France* and *Spain* to sacrifice themselves without the assistance of *Portugal*, for an object in which *Portugal* is at least equally interested; and yet more so, to afford the *English*, their common enemy, an asylum in her ports, whence they can more easily annoy her friends, and, at the same time, enrich themselves by her commerce.

They

They therefore jointly desire his *Portuguese* majesty, to declare himself united with *France* and *Spain*, in the present war against *England*, as the common enemy of all maritime nations; and observe, that the king of *Spain* is brother to the queen of *Portugal*, and a true friend, and quiet neighbour of that kingdom, who wishes, that, either in peace, or in war, *Spain* and *Portugal* may be considered as under one master. They urge also, that it will be better for the king of *Portugal* to have for an ally a catholic king, his near relation, and quiet neighbour, both in *Europe* and *America*, than *England*, whose haughtiness renders her incapable of considering other sovereigns with equality, and whose assistance *Portugal* can never need, when by an offensive and defensive league she shall be united with *Spain* and *France*. It is added, that *France* and *Spain* can have no less doubt of *Portugal's* compliance with this proposal. *Spain* having already caused her troops to advance to the frontiers of *Portugal*, to secure the maritime places of *Portugal* from any danger which might threaten them, when the accession of *Portugal* to the alliance of *France* and *Spain* should be known to the *English*.

A categorical answer to this memorial was required in four days, and it was declared, that a delay beyond that time would be considered as a negative.

To this memorial, *Portugal*, on the 20th of the same month, within the precise term of four days, answered, that she was greatly affected to see the flames of war kindled between *Spain* and *Great Britain*, powers with whom she is allied by blood and friendship, and wishes that her neutrality might be able to bring about a treaty of peace; but that there are unsurmountable difficulties which must prevent her from coming into the alliance of *France* and *Spain* against *England*.

1st, *Portugal* is, and has long been, allied to *England*, by solemn and public treaties, which being merely defensive, must be innocent: and not having received any offence from *England*, she cannot enter into an offensive league against her, without breach of public faith. And,

2dly, His *Portuguese* majesty would act most injuriously by his subjects, if he should bring upon them the calamities of an offensive war, which they are not in a condition to support, after the misfortunes that have already befallen them, by the long sickness of the late king, by the earthquake of 1755, and the conspiracy of 1758.

His *Portuguese* majesty therefore declares, that a perfect neutrality is a necessary principle of his system; and that, having caused his troops to be ready for the defence of his posts and maritime places, and made all proper dispositions for the common advantage of all the powers at war, without distinction, *Spain* may be assured, that nothing shall be done in any of such ports or places, contrary to her interests.

We have inserted the foregoing extracts from the *Portuguese* state papers at that time, as evidences of the crying injustice imposed by the courts of *Madrid* and *Versailles* upon that of *Lisbon*; and indeed, they were so glaring, that many thought that the *Portuguese* court was not previously unacquainted with their demands. Whatever may be in this, it is certain, that neither the *French* nor the *Spaniards* abated in their terms, and mutual declarations of war accordingly were issued, the event of which we have already given in the history of *Spain*.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
D E N M A R K.

S E C T I O N I.

THE high antiquities of this country are wrapped in Antient fiction, and it is surprizing that *Saxo Grammaticus*, state of *Meursius*, *Pontanus*, and other elegant writers, have taken so *Denmark* much pains to transmit them to posterity. Their fictions, however, speak themselves, and, in this age, can impose upon no reader, who has the smallest tincture of learning. Notwithstanding this, it is certain, that the *Danes* had a form of government as early as any nation in *Europe*, and their ancestors had many significant emblems of *Celtic* extraction in their government. Their kings were elective, and their history partakes of the revolutions and events, that are common in the histories of other nations during the same periods. The *Danish* historians, like those of *Scotland*, *Sweden*, *Norway*, and other northern countries, are lavish in bestowing titles and dignities on their kings and great men, in æras of barbarism, when no such distinctions existed. According to the best authorities, all preference was obtained by courage and bodily strength. Thus the word *king* signified no more than the ablest warrior; the treasurer might have been the paymaster of the army out of the enemy's spoils, and menial offices very possibly subsisted about the chief leader, after the war was over; nor do we perceive any harm that accrues to history, by adapting modern titles to those offices, however rudely they might have been exercised.

846. We are at a loss whom to fix upon as the first legislator of *Denmark*, and we must give up as uncertain the history of that country preceding the year 846. We say uncertain, because undoubtedly a great deal of true history mingled with that which was traditionary and fabulous.

Eric the 1st, king. *Eric the 1st*, who we are told by the old *Danish* historians, was the fifty-ninth king of *Denmark*, was a *Christian*, though an usurper, and was converted by *Ansgarius*, bishop of *Bremen*. Being killed in battle, the true heir, whose name was *Eric* likewise, succeeded to the throne, and was likewise converted to *Christianity* by *Ansgarius*. He was succeeded by *Canute*, surnamed the Little, who was a minor, and whose throne was for a long time usurped by the king of *Sweden*. This *Canute* was indifferent as to all religions, and the most memorable part of his history is, that under him, *Denmark* was so overstocked with people, that vast numbers were obliged to emigrate, and to settle in *Courland* or *Germany*. It is more than probable, that it was owing to the like emigrations that great part of the coasts of *Scotland*, *Ireland* and *England*, were at this time peopled by the *Danes*; and if we are to believe their historians, they had conquered *England* long before this time, and the introduction of the *Christian* religion there was owing to *Frotho* the Vith, son to this *Canute* the little. Notwithstanding the improbability of this fact, it scarcely can be doubted that *England* received its name from a province of *Denmark*, and that the people of *Denmark* in general, were originally called *Saxons*; but upon their multiplying and emigrating, they found it convenient to distinguish themselves by provincial appellations. The laws of the *Danes* and *Saxons* were fundamentally the same, and were of the feudal kind. In their rude state they subsisted in *England* till the time of the conquest, when the duke of *Normandy* introduced them into *England*, where they were modified according to that system of government which he erected. Under the *Guineards*, who were *Normans*, and consequently *Danes* or *Saxons*, the same laws were refined, and digested into a noble code of jurisprudence, the remains of which are still discernable in *Naples* and *Sicily*, which they conquered and governed under the title of kings, in the proper sense of the word.

Gormo *Gormo*, surnamed the *Angle*, or *Englishman*, succeeded to the crown of *Denmark*, but being of an indolent disposition, the *English* under him threw off the *Danish* yoke. It is, however, a little unaccountable, how those *Danish* kings of *England* could prefer *Denmark* to that country. *Gormo* was succeeded by *Harold V.* as he was by *Gormo* the IIIrd, whose sons, according to the *Danish* historians, conquered *Ireland*.

gives liberty of conscience to the *Christians.* The *Danish* history now clears up, in proportion as it is connected with the *German*. This *Gormo* was a pagan, and an enemy to the *Christians*, but great part of his country was invaded, and reduced by the emperor of *Germany*, *Henry the Fowler*, who obliged him to give liberty of conscience to the

the *Christians* in his dominions. *Gormo* the III^d was succeeded by *Harold* the VIth, who disputed the crown of *England* with *Haquin*, king of *Norway*; but *Haquin* was defeated, and *Norway* reduced to a province depending on *Denmark*. After this, *Harold* recovered the territories, particularly that of *Sleswick*, that had been taken from *Denmark* by *Henry* the Fowler. While he was intent upon restoring his brother-in-law, who had been driven from the throne of *Sweden*, *Denmark* was invaded by the emperor *Otho*; but *Harold* found means to purchase his peace, by becoming *Christian*, and *Otho* stood sponsor for him at the font. His conversion did not prevent his being engaged in many other quarrels with the neighbouring princes, and at last his own son, *Swen*, rebelled against him, and usurped his throne; and *Harold*, after receiving repeated defeats, was obliged to take refuge with his countrymen in *Normandy*. They enabled him to make another struggle for his crown; but after fighting a bloody, though indecisive battle, he was killed by the hands of a common soldier. There is great reason to believe, from the history of *Denmark* at this period, that the disposition of its inhabitants inclined strongly to paganism, and that the profession of *Christianity* by its kings, was merely political, in order to keep well with the *German* princes, and the descendents of *Charles* the Great.

This appeared eminently in the conduct of *Swen*; for King though the emperor *Otho* had stood godfather for him, no sooner did he come into peaceable possession of the throne, than he abolished *Christianity*. Being taken prisoner by the *Vandals*, the *Danish* ladies pledged their jewels for his ransom, but he was afterwards driven out of *Denmark* by *Eric*, king of *Sweden*, who was supported by the emperor, and *Swen* wandered from court to court, a despised fugitive, till he was hospitably received in the kingdom of *Scotland* (which we strongly suspect to have been that of *Ireland*.) That king assisted him in remounting his throne, and *Sweden* restored the *Christian* religion in his dominions. He was opposed by *Olaus*, king of *Norway*, who was defeated by sea; and his crown devolving upon *Swen*, he introduced the *Christian* religion into that country likewise. After this, *Swen* (who, by the *English* and *Scotch* historians, is called *Sveno*) invaded *England*, which was then governed by the *Saxon* prince *Ethelred*, and there he died. He was succeeded by his son *Harold*, who was deposed for his vices, and his place was filled by his brother *Canute*, with whom we shall begin a regular series of the *Danish* kings.

This prince obtained the epithet of the Great, by the civil and military talents he displayed. Less attached to prepossessions than his predecessors had been, he made the conquest of *England* (where he had already many friends) his great object. Having defeated the *English* fleet, which opposed him, he was obliged to return to *Denmark*, which had been invaded

Vol. VIII.
P. 415.

by the *Norwegians* and *Swedes*, with whom he maintained a long war, in which *Canute* was successful. Having involved the *Norwegians* in a civil war, he returned to *England*, where he mounted the throne, and reigned with greater lustre than any prince in *Europe*, being then king of *Denmark*, *Sweden*, *Norway*, and *England*. His fame was so great, that *Conrade*, the emperor of *Germany*, sued to him for his daughter in marriage for his son *Henry* (for the *Danish* historians are mistaken in saying that he married her himself) and the nuptials were celebrated with vast pomp. *Canute*, before his death, gave the crown of *England* to *Harold*, his eldest son; to his second son, *Hardicanute*, he bequeathed that of *Denmark*, including that of *Sweden*; and to his youngest, *Swen*, that of *Norway*. He was in every sense the greatest prince of his age, as well as the most polished and virtuous. He still, however, retained the vices of his country, particularly that of drinking. We are told, by the *Danish* historians, that while he was in *England*, he killed one of his soldiers in a fit of inebriation. No sooner was he sober, than he insisted upon being tried by his own laws for the crime. A jury being summoned, he was found guilty, and he nine times paid the pecuniary price for murder, which himself had established: one third, by his law, went to the crown, but *Canute* ordered it to be given to the clergy; one third to the soldiery; and one third to the nearest kinsman of the deceased.

Hardicanute.

Hardicanute is not without reason supposed to have been the eldest son of *Canute* the Great. He is said to have envied his brother *Harold*, king of *England*, and to have made preparations to dethrone him. With this view, he took the crown of *Norway* from his brother *Swen*, and gave it to the family of *Olaus*, its former king. Setting sail for *England* with a great fleet, he touched at *Bruges*, to pay a visit to his mother *Emma*, where he was met by the ambassadors of *England*, with an offer of their crown, his brother *Harold* being then dead. *Hardicanute* (so called from his great strength) was renowned for his intemperance and tyranny; and in him ended the race of the *Danish* kings in *England*. The oppressions he exercised upon the *English*, over whom he reigned about two years, rendered the name of a *Dane* detestable in that country. His death happened in 1041.

1041.
Magnus.

Magnus was king of *Norway*, and upon *Hardicanute's* death, he laid claim, but at the head of great armaments, to the crown of *Denmark*, in virtue of a family compact between him and *Hardicanute*. The states of *Denmark* received him as their king; but his title was disputed by *Swen*, *Canute* the Great's nephew, whom the court of *England* spirited up, by way of diversion to the *Danes*, to obtain the crown. Being deceived in his expectations, his army was beaten by *Magnus*; he likewise lost his fleet, and was driven to seek shelter in *Sweden*. During this war, *Futland*, a province of *Denmark*, was overrun and plundered by the *Vandals*; but no sooner

sooner was *Swen* defeated, than *Magnus* fell upon them near *Sleswick*, cut off fifteen thousand of them, and made the rest prisoners. *Magnus* made a very moderate use of his victory, for he treated his captives well, and endeared himself to his subjects, who gave him the epithet of the Good, and abjured *Swen* his competitor. The manner of his death is uncertain; some say it happened by a fall from his horse, others say he was drowned in a boat; but all agree that he was sincerely lamented by his subjects.

The memory of *Canute* the Great was so dear to the *Danes*, *Swen* III. that upon the death of *Magnus*, his competitor, *Swen*, mounted the throne without opposition. It shewed some degree of magnanimity in the states of *Denmark*, to recognize a prince whom they had so lately proscribed and abjured; but their country required a head, being attacked by the *Vandals* on the one hand, and the *Norwegians* on the other. *Harold* was then king of *Norway*, and completely defeated *Swen*'s fleet, though he fought with great intrepidity, in two different engagements. *Harold*, after this, laid *Denmark* waste; but his ambition led him to invade *England*, where being killed, *Swen* remounted the throne of *Denmark*. A peace with *Norway* then followed, and *Olaus*, who succeeded his father *Harold* in that throne, married *Swen*'s daughter. The tranquillity of *Denmark* being thus re-established, the two sons and the daughter of *Harold* the II, king of *England*, who had been killed by the duke of *Normandy* in the battle of *Hastings*, took refuge in *Denmark*; and *Swen* was persuaded to claim the crown of *England*, in right of his uncle, *Canute* the Great. The preparations for his expedition were very great, and he no sooner appeared on the coast of *England*, than a powerful body of the nobility and people took arms against the conqueror. It is possible that the *English*, though they took arms, did not declare for the *Danes*, whom they hated, for it is certain that the armament returned without doing any thing, and that *Swen* suspected his brother *Osbern* of having been corrupted by the *Normans*, for he banished him out of *Denmark*. While *Swen* was intent upon this unfortunate expedition, the *Vandals*, out of hatred to *Christianity*, again invaded *Denmark*, where they overran *Holstein*, and destroyed the churches. They had the insolence to strip *Swen*'s sister naked, and send her to her brother. *Swen*, instead of bravely resenting those barbarities, spent his time at *Roschild*, in the practice of religious superstitions, having rendered himself no better than a slave to his priests, whose ambition was unbounded, and their lives scandalous. His devotion for the clergy covered, in a barbarous age and country, the atrociousness of his true character, which was that of lust and cruelty. He had rendered churches themselves the scenes of his murders; and the male progeny he left behind him, consisted of fifteen natural sons. The last act of his life, was his exacting a promise from the nobility, that they would chuse his sons according to their seniority

seniority to succeed each other in the kingdom. He died in *Jutland*, after giving great proofs of valour during his lifetime ; but he impoverished his people to enrich his clergy.

Harold
the Simple.

Harold, surnamed the Simple, the eldest of *Swen's* natural sons, succeeded according to the promise that had been made to his father. He was faithfully served by his younger brother *Canute*, a prince of great abilities, and who had a strong party for his mounting the throne. He was contented, however, to employ himself in repressing the *Vandals*, while *Harold* passed the rest of his life in stupid indolence. The only circumstance for which his reign is remarkable, was his abolishing the barbarous trials by ordeal, which *England* seems to have borrowed from *Denmark*, for instead of being obliged to suffer the torture of fire and water, the accused person, in case the proof was defective, might be cleared by his or her own oath.

Canute
the Pious.

Canute, surnamed the Pious, succeeded his brother *Harold*, and was so zealous a christian, that he propagated the gospel in *Livonia* and *Muscovy*, by fire and sword. He found it very difficult to reform the manners of the *Danes*, which had been corrupted during his brother's indolent reign ; but at last effected it, by conforming himself and his court to the practice of every religious and moral duty. He was the first *Danish* prince who settled the rank which prelates ought to hold in the state, and put them upon a footing with the greatest nobility. He even rendered them independent on the royal power ; a fatal error in government ; and gave them a despotic authority over the rest of the clergy. His bounty to men of learning was likewise astonishing ; but he could not gratify those liberal inclinations, without impoverishing the lay part of his subjects, which created so much disaffection, that his brother *Olaus* formed a conspiracy against him. *Canute* was then making preparations for invading *England*, to which he still kept up his family pretensions ; but through the arts of *Olaus*, his subjects refused to follow him, and his army deserted him. By the valour of his brother *Eric*, he took *Olaus* prisoner ; but he committed him to the custody of the earl of *Flanders*, whose daughter *Canute* had married, to be treated with tenderness and respect, but without being suffered to return to *Denmark*. His influence still remained, and the grant of the tenths which *Canute* had given the clergy, while he was continuing his preparations to invade *England*, exasperated his people into an open rebellion, so that he was obliged to fly to the island of *Funen*, where he was basely assassinated. This prince, notwithstanding all his virtues, seems to have fallen a victim to superstition, and to the ascendancy which his clergy had over his spirit.

O'aus, the
Hungry.

Olaus, the Hungry. Such was the sordid barbarity of the times we treat of, that when *Nicholas*, the brother of *Olaus*, was sent with a present by the states of *Denmark* to the earl of *Flanders*, to claim *Olaus* for their king, the earl not thinking

the present sufficient for a ransom, meanly accepted of *Nicholas's* generous offer, to wear his brother's chains till the rest could be raised. It was accordingly sent upon the arrival of *Olaus* in *Denmark*. He applied himself to remove the apprehensions of his subjects, who had opposed him during his brother's life-time, and to make several popular establishments; but in the midst of his public cares, a plague and a famine (from which we suppose he got the name of the Hungry) carried off half his subjects, and at last, himself. It is said the scarcity was so great, that bread was wanting even for supplying the royal table.

Eric the III^d, eldest surviving brother of *Olaus*, was living in a kind of voluntary banishment in *Sweden*, to avoid his brother's resentment, when the throne fell vacant, and he was invited by the states to fill it. The late times of distress had covered the sea with pirates, who roved about for plunder and subsistence, and had erected a kind of republic in the island of *Rugen*. One of the first cares of *Eric*, was to extirpate them, and after demolishing their capital, he drove them entirely out of *Denmark*. After this, he chastized the *Vandals*, who had invaded his dominions, and procured from the court of *Rome*, the inrollment of his brother *Canute*, as a saint in the calendar. Notwithstanding this complaisance of the pope, *Eric*, in a dispute he had with a bishop of *Bremen*, was obliged to repair, in a penitential habit, to *Rome*, where he submitted to the deepest mortifications. *Eric* having restored his kingdom to tranquillity, found himself a great and a powerful prince, and so well was he beloved by his subjects, that they dignified him with the epithet of the Good. The harp was then the delight of the northern nations; it was a passport to courts, and even to an enemy's camp, where the artist was always sure of an honourable and safe reception. The *Danish* histories inform us, that one of those musicians had such a command over the passions of *Eric*, that he threw him into an extasy, during which, he killed four of his attendants. Nothing could quiet the conscience of the king, notwithstanding the most affectionate remonstrances of his subjects, but his making a pilgrimage to the *Holy Land*, to expiate his crime. He was attended in his voyage by his wife, the faithful *Bathilda*, and died at *Cyprus*, about the year 1101. Though the *Danish* historians have celebrated him as possessed of all the virtues and great qualities that can adorn a king and a man, yet, from his conduct, he appears to have been strongly tinged with the fanaticism of the times.

Eric III.
surnamed
the Good.

1101.

Nicholas was called from his prison in *Flanders*, to mount the throne of *Denmark*, in consequence of the promise made to his father, though *Eric* had left his son, *Harold*, regent of his dominions. *Nicholas* proved to be but a weak prince. Having disobliged *Henry*, prince of the *Vandals*, who was his nephew; the latter took arms, and invaded the duchy of *Sleswick*. *Nicholas* was betrayed by his general *Elliv*, and defeated by

Nicholas.

by *Henry*, who besieged the city of *Sleswick* itself. *Canute*, one of the sons of the late king *Eric*, stepped in to the assistance of *Nicholas*, and being appointed governor of that duchy, he forced *Henry* to retire to his own dominions, where he raised another army; but he was defeated by *Canute*. *Henry*, upon this, sued for peace, which *Canute* not only generously granted him, but put his person into *Henry's* power, and those two princes ever after lived in an inviolable friendship. *Canute*, after this, was made duke of *Mecklenburgh*, and was raised to the dignity of king of the *Vandals*. *Nicholas*, all this time, seems to have lived in great obscurity; but the *Swedes* chose his son *Magnus* for their king. He was engaged in a war with *Uratiflaus*, king of *Sclavonia*, in which he was assisted by his father, *Nicholas*, and the king of *Poland*, whose daughter he had married. *Uratiflaus* was defeated, and treacherously made a captive by *Nicholas*, till he was delivered by the interposition of the king of the *Vandals*. This raised a great faction against *Canute* at the *Danish* court, and *Nicholas* was persuaded that *Canute*, who was duke of *Sleswick* and *Holstein*, as well as king of the *Vandals*, wanted to dethrone him. *Canute* perceived by the manner of *Nicholas*, that he was his enemy. *Margaret*, the magnanimous queen of *Denmark*, upon her death-bed, informed *Canute*, that his own sons were in a conspiracy with *Nicholas*, against him. *Canute*, by his valour and eloquence, would, however, have triumphed over all his enemies, had he not been basely betrayed by the pretended friendship of *Magnus*, who drew him into an ambush, where he was killed, with all the circumstances of horror and barbarity, and left behind him the reputation of being the ornament of his age and country.

The brave *Canute* left his wife, *Ingeburga*, big with child, and she was delivered of a son, who, on account of his father, became dear to the *Danes*, while it was with the greatest difficulty that his murderer, *Magnus*, escaped falling a sacrifice to the rage of the people. The brothers of the late *Canute*, *Harold* and *Eric*, headed an insurrection of the people, to revenge his murder upon *Magnus*, who was obliged to withdraw from the eye of the public; and at last, *Eric*, who was chosen general of the insurgents, forced the king to consent, that *Magnus* should go into perpetual banishment. He was, however, soon recalled by his father, and the insurgents again took arms. A negotiation was brought about by the intercession of the bishop of *Ripen*; but the armistice was treacherously broken by *Nicholas* and his son, and great part of *Eric's* army was put to the sword. This shameful breach of faith, increased the popular detestation, and *Eric* was at last persuaded to accept of the crown. The emperor, *Lothair*, interposed in the quarrel, as pretending to be lord paramount of *Denmark*, which he invaded, as he alledged, in favour of *Eric*. Notwithstanding this, he made a peace with *Nicholas*; but upon his retiring from *Denmark*, *Magnus* cut off the rear of his army.

Civil wars
rage in
Denmark.

The em-
peror *Lo-
thair* in-
terposes.

army. *Eric*, upon this, entered into an alliance with the king of *Norway*, and gave his nephew, *Canute's* son, in marriage to that prince's daughter. The war was then renewed with greater vigour than ever; but *Eric* lay under the disadvantage of being the younger brother of *Harold*, whose friends formed a party against him. Much bloodshed followed, and several indecisive battles were fought; but *Harold* declared for *Nicholas*, against his brother.

A revolution, at this time, happened in *Sweden*, where the people chose a nobleman, one *Licerco*, for their king; and he is said to have begun his government, by debauching *Uvilda*, the wife of *Nicholas*, who had sent her to *Sweden* for safety. Notwithstanding this, *Nicholas* totally defeated *Eric*, who took refuge in *Norway*, from whence he escaped from the treachery of that king, who was married to his neice, and who wanted to deliver him up to *Nicholas*. *Eric* arriving in *Langland* from *Norway*, again raised a small army, which put him in possession of *Schonen*. *Nicholas* marched against him, with an army far superior to his; but he and his son were so much detested, that he was abandoned by great part of his troops, and his son *Magnus* was killed in a battle which he lost to *Eric*. *Nicholas*, upon this, declared *Eric's* brother *Harold*, his successor; but venturing to pay a visit to *Sleswick*, where the memory of *Canute* was adored, the people rose upon him, and put him to death in the thirty-fifth year of his reign, and about the year 1135. He was the fifth and last son of *Swen*, who reigned in *Denmark*, by an unprecedented series of fraternal succession. 1135.

Eric was in *Futland*, when he heard of the death of *Nicholas*, and that his brother *Harold* had been nominated his successor. The two sons of *Harold* were then serving in *Eric's* army, which was greatly superior to that of *Harold*. Though faithful to *Eric*, they kept up a private correspondence with their father, who, by their advice, escaped to *Norway*; for which, *Eric* most barbarously put them to death. The king of *Norway* had been long the declared enemy of *Eric*, and had repudiated his daughter. By his assistance, *Harold* invaded *Zealand*, where he was proclaimed king, and *Eric* inhumanly ordered five more of his sons to be put to death; but the sixth and youngest, took refuge in *Sweden*. *Harold* was favoured by the revolt of the people of *Rugen*, not only from *Eric*, but from Christianity itself, and by an irruption of the *Vandals*. In the mean while, it is certain, that *Harold* died, some say by assassination; but we are strangers to the particulars. *Eric IV.*

Eric being thus delivered from a powerful rival, fomented a rebellion against *Magnus*, king of *Norway*, whose dominions were invaded by the *Irish*, in favour of *Harold*, a prince of the royal blood. *Harold*, being defeated, took refuge in *Denmark*, while *Eric* was employed in suppressing the piracy of the *Rugens*, and reducing them to their duty. Having done this effectually, he invaded *Norway*, and defeated *Magnus*, whom he

Civil wars renewed.

he took prisoner, deprived him of his eyes and his virility, shut him up in a cloister, and placed *Harold* on his throne. The reader is here to observe, that at this time, the prelates in *Denmark*, and all over the north, were the chief military commanders, and often headed great independent armies. The archbishopric of *Lunden* being then vacant, *Eric* was inclinable to give it to *Rico*, bishop of *Sleswick*; but *Eschil*, bishop of *Roschild*, opposed both the king and the bishop, and at first drove them to *Jutland*. *Eric*, however, soon raised an army, with which he defeated and took prisoner the haughty prelate. Perhaps the reader needs not to be informed, that a bishop in those days could be guilty of no capital crime against the state, and the only punishment *Eric* could inflict upon *Eschil*, was to make him pay a ransom. The public tranquillity being partly restored, *Eric* applied himself to regulate his finances, and to abolish the disorders that had been introduced during the late tumultuous times; but while he was intent upon those objects, he was assassinated by a nobleman of *Jutland*. Though the *Danish* historians are lavish in his praises, yet by their own account, he was guilty of shocking barbarities.

*Eric, the
Lamb.*

Waldemar, the son of *Canute*, king of the *Vandals*, by *Ingeburga*, was chosen to fill the throne of *Denmark*, though an infant; but his mother wisely and affectionately refused to consent to his elevation, unless a regent was appointed, who should even act with the royal titles and authority during her son's minority; and *Eric*, surnamed the Lamb, was accordingly nominated to that dignity. He was, by his mother, grandson to the late king, and obtained the epithet of the Lamb, from the mildness of his manners, and his pacific disposition. During his administration, he was obliged to comply with the impetuous ambition of *Eschil*, who actually had consecrated himself archbishop of *Lunden*, and had taken possession of the see by force. *Eschil* was no sooner gratified in his ambition, than *Olaus*, the son of *Harold*, who, as we have seen, had escaped the fate of his brothers, appeared in *Denmark*, and claimed his father's estate. His request not being complied with, (it having been forfeited to the public on account of his father's rebellion) he had recourse to treasonable practices, and at last broke out into arms, and assumed the title of king. He was vigorously opposed by *Eschil*, to whom *Eric* gave the command of his army; but the prelate was completely defeated in two battles. The security into which this success threw *Olaus*, relaxed his discipline; and being surprized by *Eric*, his army was cut off: upon which, *Olaus* once more escaped into *Sweden*, and *Eric* took possession of *Lunden*. This was far from putting an end to the troubles of *Denmark*. *Olaus* raised a new army, and renewed his invasion, and lost no fewer than twelve bloody battles with *Eric*; but in the thirteenth, he was not only defeated, but killed.

Though *Eric* was thus active and successful in the field, yet no sooner was his danger removed, than he indulged his passion

sion for a young lady, which drew him into a shameful indolence, and exposed him to the most scandalous insults of the *Vandals*, who defeated his fleet. Being seized with a fever, and finding his end approach, he ordered himself, according to the superstitious custom of that time, to be cloathed in the habit of a monk, and in that he expired.

Great confusion in *Denmark* followed upon the death of *Usurpator* *Eric*, the Lamb. The *Zealanders* chose *Swen*, the natural son of the of *Eric* IV. for their king; as the *Futlanders* did *Canute*, the *German* grandson of *Nicholas*, and son of *Magnus*, for theirs. It is a little difficult to conceive the nature of *Waldemar*'s future sovereignty, (for he was still a minor) as both those princes acted with regal, independent, powers. A civil war between the two competitors naturally broke out, in which archbishop *Eschil* took part with *Canute*, but was defeated, and being taken prisoner, was suspended in a cage from the top of his own metropolitical steeple; but he was delivered from this shameful confinement by the pope's intercession. After a long dispute, a bloody battle was fought between *Swen* and *Canute*, in which the latter was defeated, and fled to *Futland*. A kind of a reconciliation between them was effected by the pope, and they made a joint expedition against the infidel *Vandals*, in which they were unsuccessful. Upon their return to *Denmark*, the civil war broke out again, and *Canute* was again defeated. Young *Waldemar* was now of age, and from the aversion he had to the son of his father's murderer, he declared himself for *Swen*, who gave him possession of his patrimonial estate in *Sleswick*. *Waldemar* then put himself at the head of an army, defeated *Canute*, and drove him out of *Futland* into *Sweden*. *Swen* then turned his arms against the *Vandals*, and the *Rugeners*, but with no great success; and *Canute* being befriended by the archbishop of *Bremen*, and the *Futlanders*, shut up *Swen* and *Waldemar* in *Wiburg*. They were delivered by their own valour from their danger, and *Canute*, with a few of his attendants who escaped the sword, fled into *Saxony*. After this, *Swen* defeated the *Vandals* and the pirates, who had committed vast abuses on the coast of *Denmark*, and *Canute* renewing his invasion, was again driven out of that country. *Canute* being then destitute of all resources, applied to the *German* emperor, *Frederic Barbarossa*, who summoned *Swen* to appear before him, to answer for his having deprived *Canute*, the lawful heir, of his right to the crown. *Swen* obeyed the summons, which some historians call an invitation to a conference, and *Frederic*, without any ceremony, informed him that he would oblige *Canute* to accept of *Zealand* as an equivalent for his claim, provided he would hold the rest of the kingdom as a fief of the empire. The affair was brought, and debated, before the diet of the empire; but *Frederic* arbitrarily decided, that the two rivals should reign as his feudatories,

Swen,

Vol. VIII.

p. 440.

Tyranny
and trea-
chery of
Swen.

Swen, who was in *Frederic's* power, seemed to acquiesce in his award; but he no sooner returned to *Denmark*, than he disclaimed it, and married into the house of *Saxony*, which was the great rival of the imperial power. The *Danish* historians date the degeneracy of their national manners from this match, the *Saxons* being then a corrupted voluptuous people, compared to the *Danes*. The emperor was too much embroiled in *Italy*, to enforce his award in *Denmark*, and *Swen* found leisure to invade *Sweden*, on account of a brutal rape, which had been committed by that king upon a dutchess of *Holland*. After making a great progress in *Finland*, the inclemency of the weather forced him to return with his army to *Denmark*, where he very narrowly escaped being killed in an insurrection of the peasantry, on whom he afterwards severely revenged himself; for he even put to death *Tocho*, a nobleman, by whose loyalty he had been delivered from his danger. *Swen* then gave a loose to his natural ferocity and unsteadiness, upon which *Waldemar* took part with *Canute*, who still kept up his claim. We are here again at a loss to account for *Waldemar's* situation, for we cannot perceive, at this very time, that he exercised any sovereign act of government. He was even treated with severity by *Swen*, in a conference they had together, and if *Swen's* soldiers would have obeyed him, he must have been carried off prisoner. There are, however, reasons for believing that *Waldemar* now asserted his right, at least, to a part of the kingdom, and a partition of it was made between him and the other two claimants, by which *Sleswick* and *Jutland* fell to his share. That belonging to *Swen* being exposed to the depredations and invasions of the *Vandals*, he called in his ally, the duke of *Saxony*, to his assistance; but he received none, though we are told that he advanced him fifteen hundred pounds of pure gold. After this, the person and authority of *Swen* fell into contempt. He endeavoured to become master of *Waldemar's* person by treachery; but that prince escaping, took upon himself the royal title and badges; and *Swen* finding his authority gone, retired into *Saxony*, where he solicited duke *Henry* for his assistance, to be restored to his throne. *Henry* accordingly raised an army, and *Swen* was joined by many of the discontented *Danish* lords. *Swen*, by means of the *Saxons*, getting possession of *Sleswick*, distributed among his auxiliaries the riches of the foreign merchants, which he found in that harbour, a loss which that city never recovered.

Denmark
partition-
ed.

A revolution in *Sweden* having called *Canute* thither, *Waldemar* was left to act against the *Saxons*, whom he soon drove out of *Denmark*. *Swen*, however, went on board a *Saxon* and *Vandal* fleet, and once more landed in *Denmark*, where a great party declared in his favour. When their dispute was upon the point of being decided by the sword, the three competitors agreed to a new partition of territory, by which *Swen* was to have

have the sovereignty of *Schonen*, *Halland* and *Bleking*; *Waldemar* of *Jutland*; and *Canute* of *Zealand*, *Funen*, and its islands. Thus in reality, *Denmark* was partitioned out into three independent kingdoms.

The tranquillity which this division produced, was but short lived. *Swen* stimulated by his wife, who reproached him for his pusillanimity, murdered *Canute*, and *Waldemar* must have undergone the same fate, had he not killed two assassins with his own hands, and made his escape to *Jutland*, where he immediately summoned the states to *Wiburg*. To them he shewed a wound he had received in the thigh, by defending himself from the capital assassin; and all *Denmark*, in an instant, was again in arms. A cruel war was renewed for almost a whole twelvemonth; but it ended in the death and total defeat of *Swen*, who was killed, and left behind him a most infamous character, in the year 1157.

Waldemar was now sole king of *Denmark*, and began his reign by checking the invasions of the *Vandals*. The inhabitants of *Roschild* rebelling, *Waldemar* took possession of their city, and severely fined the burghers. The depredations of the *Vandals* still continued; but *Waldemar* found himself too weak by sea, to suppress them. At last, he was joined by *Pribislaus*, the prince of the christian *Vandals*, and then the barbarians were defeated, and implored peace. *Waldemar* granted them a truce, which was soon at an end, and the war was renewed; but *Waldemar* called in the duke of *Saxony* to his assistance. The *Saxons* fought the *Vandals*, defeated them, and killed their brave king, whose head they sent as a trophy to *Waldemar*. His son *Pribislaus*, had declared himself a christian, and resided with *Waldemar*; but he was a disgrace to the religion he professed, by affecting to thank Heaven for his father's death, though he met it fighting nobly for his country. We are not to be surprized that the barbarians were averse to christianity, which they thought inspired its professors with such unnatural sentiments. The success of the *Vandals* by sea, was equally unfavourable to their arms, and they were once more forced to sue for peace, which they obtained the more readily, as *Denmark* was again in danger of being involved in a civil war, on the following occasion. During a dispute about the papacy, archbishop *Eschil* refused to acknowledge the validity of pope *Victor*'s nomination to the see of *Sleswick*, though it was backed by the regal authority. *Eschil* had been piqued by the king having seized some money, that had been sent him from *France*, and being more of a temporal prince than a spiritual pastor, he threatened hostilities against *Waldemar*, if he did not restore him the money. *Abfalon*, bishop of *Roschild*, was then the king's prelate, favourite and general, and laid before him the consequences of such insolence, but without any exaggeration; and the king raising an army, after a sharp dispute, deprived *Eschil* of all his strong holds, beat his armies, and obliged him to renounce all the grants made

to him, or his predecessors, by former kings, in prejudice of the crown. This did not, however, prevent *Eschil* from continuing his intrigues against *Waldemar's* person, and dignity.

1162.
Dantzic
founded.

About the year 1162, a nobleman, called *Erling*, seized the crown of *Norway*; but a strong party opposed him, invited in *Waldemar*, who actually was crowned, and *Erling* by the advice of his wife, who was related to *Waldemar*, put his person into his power, and submitted to his terms. *Waldemar* retained the crown of *Norway*, but multiplied honours and estates upon *Erling*. His submission gave *Waldemar* leisure to renew his alliance with *Henry* the Lion, duke of *Saxony*, and they jointly made war upon the *Vandals*; but *Henry* growing jealous of *Waldemar's* successes, entered into a confederacy against him. *Waldemar* committed the management of the war to *Abfalon*, and the *Vandals* not being supported by *Henry*, were beaten into the profession of christianity, and obliged to abjure paganism. The year 1165, was distinguished by *Waldemar's* founding *Dantzick*, which has since made so eminent a figure in the commercial world; and about the same time, the

1165.

states of *Denmark*, in grateful return to *Waldemar's* royal cares, voluntarily recognized his son *Canute*, though no more than four years of age, as his associate and successor in the government. This was a great point gained for *Waldemar*, as the kingdom, at that time, was actually elective, and the succession disputed by *Burisius*, one of his own relations. *Waldemar* thinking himself secure against all the claims of *Burisius* and his associates, once more turned his arms against the *Vandals*, whom *Abfalon* would have entirely subdued, had not a conspiracy broken out in *Denmark*, headed by *Burisius*. It is probable, that the conspirators were dissatisfied with the late settlement of the succession; but *Waldemar's* measures were so vigorous and successful, that *Burisius* was taken prisoner and put to death; but his brothers, *Ormos* and *Erling*, who were likewise engaged in the conspiracy, escaped to *Norway*. The inconstancy of *Henry* the Lion, who again joined the *Vandals* against *Waldemar*, prevented the latter from chastizing *Erling*, and obliged him to act upon the defensive against a powerful alliance. Partly by policy, and partly by arms, *Waldemar* broke the connections between *Henry* and the *Vandals*, and the *Saxon* was forced once more to sue for peace, which *Waldemar* granted. Both of them then turned their arms against the *Vandals*, and there is reason to believe that they carried on the cause of christianity with the most unchristian cruelties; but money soon purchased a new peace to the infidels. *Waldemar* was not so successful against *Erling*, but he subdued the island of *Rugen*, though his lenity to its prince lost him the friendship of *Bogeslaus* of *Pomerania*.

1169.
Confederacy
against

About the year 1169, *Waldemar* conquered the *Courlanders*, and received *Erling* again into favour, upon condition that in case of *Erling* and his son's death, without issue, *Waldemar's* second son (of his own name) should succeed to the crown of *Norway*,

Norway, and that *Erling* should in the mean time acknowledge *Waldemar* himself to be a vassal to *Denmark*. The great power of *Waldemar* defeated. *Waldemar*, at last, formed a confederacy against him, in which the dukes of *Pomerania* and *Saxony* were parties. They called upon the *Danes* to their assistance, but the valour and prudence of *Abfalon*, with the firmness of *Waldemar*, who protected his prelate against his domestic as well as foreign enemies, defeated all their attempts, and the confederates were obliged again to take the law from *Waldemar*, who actually took *Stetin* in *Pomerania*. It was, about this time, that *Copenhagen* was founded by bishop *Abfalon*. The rest of *Waldemar's* reign seems to have been full of confusion and tumult. He was perpetually making either war or peace with the *Saxons* and *Vandals*, discovering and punishing conspiracies against his person, and at last, he forced the turbulent *Eschil* to fly to *France*. His flight did not put an end to the conspiracies against *Waldemar's* person, but they were discovered and punished, sometimes with the death of the authors. *Waldemar*, however, was obliged to renew his confederacy with the duke of *Saxony*, and they invaded the country of the *Vandals* in conjunction. Though *Saxo Grammaticus* lived near this time, and wrote the history of *Denmark*, yet we are at a loss for many of the particulars of *Waldemar's* reign. From the face of the narratives which have come to our hands, the *Vandals* appear to have been either a strong maritime power, or to have been in alliance with those free-booters, called pirates, but were in reality the descendents of the *Normans*, who, when they were powerful enough to make establishments, were considered as lawful princes. It is certain, that the country of the *Vandals*, served as a repository for the wealth and plunder of those rovers, and that *Waldemar* reduced some of their best towns. About the year 1180, his son *Canute*, and the warlike archbishop *Abfalon*, gave them several dreadful blows, and it appears that *Waldemar*, about the same time, gave a most generous reception into his dominions to *Henry* the Lion, of *Saxony*, who had been put to the ban of the empire, by *Frederic Barbarossa*. Vol. VIII. There is somewhat mysterious in the conduct of *Abfalon* at this P. 447, period. The people of *Schonen* thought themselves oppressed, 451, 452. and they were countenanced and backed in their complaints, that all the places of profit and trust in their country, were given to foreigners. It was in vain for *Abfalon* to take their part at the council board, and an army was raised, the command of which was given, under the king, to *Abfalon*, who nobly resigned his bishopric in *Schonen* for one of inferior value, and, at last, prevailed with the king to listen to the complaints of his subjects. His majesty's compliance rendered them still more obstinate, for they insisted upon all the revenues of the church being divided among themselves; upon which, *Abfalon* treated them as rebels, and after giving them two severe defeats, forced them to submit. It was, about this time, that *Waldemar* made an alliance with *Barbarossa* against *Henry* *ibid.* P. 452.

Henry the Lion, of Saxony. That affair was managed with great address and firmness by *Waldemar*, who obtained from the emperor the investiture of the ducal *Holstein*, which, at the same time, was annexed to his crown in perpetuity. Notwithstanding this, *Waldemar* seems, towards the latter end of his reign, to have grown unpopular. This was, perhaps, owing to the great acquisitions of power he had made, which gave umbrage to his subjects, the *Jutlanders* especially. Even his troops refused to obey either *Absalon*, or his son *Canute*. In short, the revolt was general, and the rebels were joined by the *Vandals*. Vexation threw *Waldemar* into a dangerous illness, which finished his life under the hands of an empiric, in 1182. 1187, when he was no more than forty-eight years of age, His death. and in the twenty-fifth year of his reign. The difficulties which *Waldemar* surmounted, shew him to have been a great and an accomplished prince. Though he was, in fact, a foreigner by birth, he rendered himself the most absolute monarch that had ever reigned in *Denmark*. He reduced the isle of *Rugen*, forced its inhabitants to profess christianity, and annexed it to his crown. He rendered the duchy of *Stetin* a fief of *Denmark*, and, till the close of his reign, he may be said to have been fortunate and victorious.

Canute VI. No sooner was *Waldemar* dead, and his son *Canute* on the throne, than the malecontents threatened an utter extinction of the government, and went so far as to chuse one *Harold*, who was of the ancient blood royal, for their king. *Absalon*, who had so often stemmed their fury, was obliged to retire to *Zealand*, and *Harold* had, for some time, met with no opposition. His followers, however, consisted chiefly of *Jutlanders* and *Vandals*, and all of them were the very dregs of the people, and could be called no other than a despicable rabble. As soon as *Canute* raised an army in the better affected provinces, *Harold* was defeated with vast slaughter, and forced to fly to *Sweden*. It was owing to the prudence of *Absalon*, that the fine province of *Schonen* was not rendered a desert by *Canute*, who with difficulty was prevailed with to call an assembly of the states, where some of the most oppressive laws were repealed, and others moderated. This insurrection being quashed, the emperor *Barbarossa* applied in a menacing manner to *Canute*, to let him know that he was a subject of the empire, and that he expected to receive his homage. *Canute*, by *Absalon*'s advice, disdained the summons, and *Barbarossa* encouraged *Bogislaus*, prince of the *Vandals*, to invade *Denmark*. He was opposed and defeated by *Absalon*, after he had entered *Denmark* with a fleet and army, which threatened an entire conquest of the kingdom. *Canute* was then in *Jutland*, and *Absalon*, without giving the *Vandals* time to breathe, took *Wollin* and several other towns.

His difference with The defeated invasion had been planned with such vigour and art, that *Barbarossa* was daily expecting to see *Canute* on his knees before his throne, when he received information that *Bogislaus*

Bogislaus had been again defeated; that *Canute* had subdued the greatest part of his country, and that he had been forced to sue for peace. He accordingly paid the crown of *Denmark* a vast sum to defray the expences of the war, and consented to do homage to *Canute* for his principality. The great sums advanced by *Bogislaus* after so many defeats, confirms the conjecture we have already made, that the country of the *Vandals* was the rendezvous of the pirates, who, about this time, were the terror of all *Europe*. *Canute* having made this large acquisition, applied himself to regulate the affairs of his government, both in church and state; but about the year 1188, he received a fresh alarm from *Barbarossa*, demanding his presence at the marriage of his son, the duke of *Suabia*, with *Canute's* sister, which had been concluded upon in the late reign, and a sum of money, which *Waldemar* had promised as her portion. *Canute* disregarded the summons, well knowing the power which lords paramount claimed over their vassals, when masters of their persons; upon which, *Barbarossa* sent home the princess with a noble retinue, a virgin bride to her brother's court. *Barbarossa* was at this time engaged in the crusade, and in no condition to execute his menaces; so that we are told that *Canute* ravaged his frontiers with impunity. Religion, however, would not suffer him to continue his hostilities against a prince, who had taken upon him the cross; but about the year 1192, a war broke out between *Canute* and *Waldemar*, bishop of *Sleswick*, the son of *Canute*, who had been murdered by *Swen*, at *Roschild*; consequently his family pretensions were very high.

1188.

Vol. VIII.
p. 455.

1192.

Canute's power was, at this time, so great, that the bishop found little difficulty in forming a strong confederacy against him. The parties were *Adolphus*, earl of *Holstein*; *Bernard*, duke of *Saxony*; and the marquis of *Brandenburgh*, who were to attack *Denmark* by land, while the king of *Norway* was to furnish the bishop with a fleet to act by sea. Before the confederates entered upon hostilities, *Waldemar* offered to refer his claim to the states of *Denmark*; but he was seized and imprisoned, and the confederacy came to nothing. The same

Vol. X.

Canute was now very great, and he married his sister *Ingeburga* to *Philip II.* of *France*, about the year 1194; but, under various pretences, she was divorced. It is said, that in consequence of this marriage, *Canute* resigned to *Philip* all his family claims upon the crown of *England*. In 1195, *Canute* assessed his subjects in their several proportions of shipping; a practice that was common among the northern powers, and prevailed even in *England*. According to the *Danish* historians, the fleet, consisting of *Canute's* immediate subjects, amounted to six hundred and seventy ships, besides those fitted out by the lords of his great fiefs. We are, however, ignorant how many men every ship carried. But supposing about thirty men at an average, which is thought to be nearest the truth, *Canute's* fleet carried above twenty thousand seamen. Be

p. 468.

1194.

1195.

1198.

that as it will, it certainly struck terror into the neighbouring states of *Prussia* and *Vandalia*, who had renounced christianity, but resumed it upon the sight of this great armament. It is likewise probable, that *Canute* had in view, at this time, the checking the marquis of *Brandenburgh*, who at the head of the *Teutonic* knights, had conquered from those *Pagans* several provinces, which *Canute* looked upon to be ancient fiefs of his crown. We accordingly find him, in 1198, at war with that marquis, who defeated him both by sea and land, and took his admiral, the bishop of *Roschild*, prisoner. The marquis, after that, invaded *Mecklenburgh*, *Pomerania*, *Vandalia*, and other territories belonging to *Canute's* allies; but the latter heading his armies in person, forced him to make peace upon terms which the marquis thought dishonourable. Next year he was joined by *Adolphus*, duke of *Holstein*; but *Canute* committed the management of the war to his brother *Waldemar*, who totally defeated the duke, stript him of his dominions, and drove him to *Hamburgh*, which *Waldemar* likewise took. *Adolphus* being then obliged to submit to the terms prescribed by his conqueror, he preserved him from the rage of the inhabitants, who had suffered by his depredations; but this peace was no sooner made than broken by *Adolphus*, for which he was sent prisoner to the fortress of *Seburg*.

1201.
Death of
archbi-
shop *A'sa-*
lon and
Saxo
Gramma-
ticus.

About the year 1201, *Denmark* lost two of its ornaments, the famous archbishop *Absalon* and *Saxo Grammaticus*. The former was one of the best patriots as well as generals of his age, and was the patron of the latter, while he was writing the history of *Denmark* in a latin stile, which for its elegance and purity would do honour to the most enlightened age. Next year, *Canute* was master of all ducal *Holstein*; and his brother *Waldemar*, to whose valour he owed his late acquisitions, was rewarded with great part of them, and likewise with the duchy of *Sleswick*. Soon after, *Canute* died with the character of a discerning prince in the choice of his ministers and generals, who raised his power even beyond that of his father.

Waldemar
II.

Canute was succeeded by his brother *Waldemar* II. who had lately married *Ingeburga*, daughter to the duke of *Brunswick*. His person and dispositions strongly resembled those of his father, whom he excelled as a warrior, and equalled as a legislator. He forced *Adolphus* of *Holstein*, to resign his claim to that duchy, and the possession of *Hamburgh* and *Lawenberg*. He set at liberty *Waldemar*, bishop of *Sleswick*, whom we have already mentioned, after an imprisonment of fourteen years. He assisted *Swercher*, king of *Sweden*, against his competitor *Eric*; but his general, *Peter*, bishop of *Roschild*, was defeated by *Eric*, who put to the sword above fifteen thousand *Danes*. We are informed, that *Waldemar* had some remorse for the assistance he afforded to *Swercher*, who was no better than an usurper and a murderer, and soon after he gave his sister in marriage to *Eric*, the true king of *Sweden*. In the year 1205,

1205.

Waldemar's

Waldemar's first queen being dead without issue, he married the king of *Bohemia's* daughter, and he was employed in reducing his *Pagan* neighbours, and fortifying his frontiers, till the year 1211, when he built the city of *Stralsund*, which soon became a flourishing place. In the same year, *Waldemar's* queen died, after bringing into the world two princes; and the castle of *Droningholm* was built to her memory. Two years after, we find *Waldemar* engaged in an expedition against the *Pomeranians*; and he obtained from the emperor *Frederic II.* the investiture of his *German* conquests, which he at last consented to hold as fiefs of the empire; a condition which his father never could be brought to submit to. *Waldemar* thought they were too valuable to be hazarded for a ceremonious punctilio, and soon after took *Stetin*, and obliged the earl of *Schwerin* to become his tributary. In 1214, disputes broke out afresh between him and *Waldemar*, late bishop of *Sleswick*, who had violently thrust himself into the see of *Bremen*. The king entered the *Elbe* with a fleet, and took *Stade*, but lost *Hamburgh*, which was taken by the *Germans*, who were allies to the bishop. In 1216, *Waldemar* recovered *Hamburgh*, and made a considerable progress in the *Lower Saxony*. In 1217, the states of *Denmark* agreed that his son, prince *Waldemar*, should be associated with him in the government, which he accordingly was, under the title of *Waldemar III.* Next year he was alarmed by an invasion of the northern *Pagans*, who had broken into *Livonia*, then belonging to his crown. *Waldemar* marched against them in person, and though, at first, he and his troops were daunted at the numbers and dreadful appearance of the barbarians, yet being encouraged by his bishops to give them battle, they were defeated with immense slaughter.

1211.

1214.

War upon
the *Elbe*.

1216.

1217.

We shall not detain the reader by retailing the calculations which were made at this time, of the vast revenues of *Denmark*, and its dependent provinces; because besides their being incredible, we have no adequate idea of the coin, weights, measures, and other matters that enter into the account. The estimate of the troops which *Waldemar* kept on foot, is more probable. They are said to amount to one hundred and sixty-nine thousand fighting men; and his navy consisted of fourteen hundred ships of all sizes. It was no wonder, if by the assistance of this great force, which was exclusive of garrisons, *Waldemar* over-awed all his neighbours. Of those, one of the most powerful was the count of *Schwerin*, whose history is very particular. He is said to have undertaken an expedition to the *Holy Land*, and before his departure, to have recommended the protection of his wife to *Waldemar*, who violated his trust in a criminal manner. Some writers think that the count had no other motive than ambition for his conduct. It is certain, that upon his return from his expedition, he paid a visit to *Waldemar*, who was taking the diversion of hunting in the isle of *Luith*, and found means to carry him and his son off prisoners.

Great
power of
Denmark
at this
time.*Waldemar*
made pri-
soner and
released.

soners in a small vessel he had provided for that purpose. *Waldemar* was shut up in the castle of *Schwerin*, but for how many years is uncertain; some say eight. The regard his subjects had for his person, deterred them from employing violent means for his deliverance, lest he had been put to death. They offered a large ransom, but it was rejected. At last they applied to the emperor and the pope. The former offered to interpose, if *Waldemar* would hold the crown of *Denmark* as a fief of the empire, and resign all his German conquests to the count of *Schwerin*, and the pope insisted upon his holding his crown from the holy see. *Waldemar*, at first, rejected all those conditions; but finding the states of his kingdom earnest upon his accepting them, and that his enemies were forming an association to force him, he consented to a treaty. It continued still to meet with great difficulties through *Waldemar's* obstinacy; and in the mean time, he lost *Holstein*, *Hamburg*, and his country on the north-side of the *Elbe*. Those losses rendered him more pliable, and his subjects, by advancing large subsidies to the princes of the empire, procured his liberty; but not till after he had sworn to make no attempts for recovering what he had lost, or to be revenged of the count of *Schwerin*.

1226.
He is de-
feated.

The *Danish* historians have fixed *Waldemar's* release to the year 1226, about which time, he likewise lost the city of *Lubec*. *Waldemar* having recovered his liberty, disclaimed the conditions that had been imposed upon him, and being absolved from his oath by the pope, he invaded *Holstein* with a great army, but was defeated by the confederates, who consisted of the dukes of *Saxony* and *Holstein*; the counts of *Schwerin*, *Oldenburgh*, and *Mecklenburgh*; the archbishop of *Bremen*, the bishop of *Lubec*, and many other noblemen, who had recovered their estates by the late treaty. At this distance of time, it is difficult to decide upon the justice of this quarrel on the part of *Waldemar*; but there is some reason for believing that he brought his misfortunes upon himself, by his unmeasurable ambition and love of power.

Waldemar had been wounded in the eye in the late battle, and had nothing now to trust to but the affections of his faithful *Danes*, in which he was not deceived. He recruited his army and renewed his hostilities with various success. In the year 1228, the duke of *Saxony* took *Larwenburg*, after a long siege; and, by that time, *Waldemar* grew more tractable, and for some years lived in tranquillity. In 1231, his son and associate *Waldemar III.* was killed by accident as he was hunting; but his place was supplied by *Eric*, the second son, who was next in succession. His two brothers were *Abel* and *Canute*; the former had the duchy of *Jutland* assigned to him in sovereignty, and the latter, that of *Bleking*. Those separate appointments broke the peace of *Waldemar* and his family. His sons now looked upon themselves as independent, and formed connections with princes who had been his bitterest enemies, for *Eric* married

married the duke of *Saxony's* daughter, as *Abel* did the duke of *Holstein's*. The siege of *Lubec*, which he undertook in conjunction with *Adolphus*, duke of *Holstein*, happened this year; but the noble defence made by the *Lubeckers*, obliged him to raise it, with vast loss. This expedition encouraged the *Muscovites* to invade *Denmark* in *Waldemar's* absence; but his son *Eric*, in the *Chronicle of Denmark*, which he composed, informs us, that upon his return he defeated them, and reannexed *Livonia* to his crown. The rest of *Waldemar's* reign was spent in settling the feudal constitutions of his country, which were highly favourable to the states and nobility, but reduced the common people to a condition little better than slavery. This great work being completed, *Waldemar* died, his death in 1241, with the character of his having experienced each reverse of fortune, and of his having repaired, by his valour and prudence, the losses he had sustained through accident and ambition. The money paid for his ransom is said to have amounted to forty-five thousand marks of silver. 1241.

Eric the Vth was twenty-five years of age at the time of his father's death, but soon found himself engaged in quarrels with his nearest relations. Refusing to submit to the terms that had been extorted from his father, he invaded the dominions of *Adolphus*, count of *Livonia*, by some called count *Schawenberg*, who was now retired to a monastery. The duke of *Sleswick* took part with his father-in-law's family, demolished *Copenhagen*, and plundered his brother's coasts. For some time the war raged with fury, till their mutual friends agreed that the government of *Holstein* should be put in the hands of its natural princes, who were then in *France*. The tranquillity which this expedient effected, was but short lived, for *Abel* refused to do homage to his brother for his duchy. This war being compromised, a fresh one broke out between *Eric* and the *Lubeckers*, who were so well supported by the *Holstein* and some *German* princes, that he was obliged to grant them a peace. Besides *Eric's* two brothers whom we have already named, he had a third, *Christopher*, who had been made duke of *Falstre*, and those preposterous partitions of territory made by *Waldemar*, proved of the worst consequence to his family; for not only the duke of *Sleswick*, but the dukes of *Bleking* and *Falstre*, refused to hold their dominions of their elder brother. This produced a civil war, in which *Eric* was victorious; for he took the duke of *Bleking* prisoner, and forced the duke of *Falstre* to submit. The duke of *Sleswick* was delivered by the *Lubeckers*, and the war was renewed with greater fury than ever about the year 1248. After both parties had committed prodigious ravages, the king gave a total defeat to the duke of *Sleswick*, who was again taken prisoner, as was the duke of *Falstre*; but the latter recovered his liberty, by consenting to do homage. After this, *Henry Meldorp*, *Eric's* general, reduced all *Sleswick*, but its duke, by means of his confederates, quickly recovered it, and

Eric the
Vth's
trouble-
some
reign.

1248.

and soon after lost it again. After various events, the bishop of *Lunden* reconciled the brothers. The duke of *Bleking* consented to do homage for all his estate, and the duke of *Sleswick* for *South Jutland*, and mutual hostages were given for the due execution of the treaty.

He is murdered by his brother

An expedition against the pagans, or infidels, was a sure resource for the princes of those times when they wanted money. The public tranquillity being restored, *Eric*, on pretence of propagating *Christianity* among the barbarians of the north, obtained from his states a tax upon every plough in his dominions, called plock, or plog-penning, a word which historians have added to this prince's name. This imposition produced a revolt of the people of *Schonen*, and it was with great difficulty that *Eric* escaped from their fury, but at last he beat them in a battle, forced them to pay the tax, and carried his victorious arms into *Livonia*. From thence he was recalled by *Abel* and the princes of *Holstein*, who refused to execute the late treaty, unless they were put in possession of the town of *Rensburg*. The war once more broke out, and while *Eric* was endeavouring to prevail with his brother *Abel* to stop the farther effusion of blood, he was decoyed on board a ship, and murdered by *Godmund*, a profligate prelate, who had been banished out of *Denmark*. The misfortunes of this prince were owing to his father's impolitic divisions of his estates. In other respects, he is highly commended for his virtues and abilities.

Abel,

There is reason for believing that this prince's guilt in murdering his brother, was concealed from the public, for he was recognized king by the states of *Denmark*. At first he pretended that *Eric's* death was owing to the vessel being overset by the crowds that were on board, but the king's mangled body being found, destroyed that pretence. *Abel* then alleged that *Eric* had been assassinated by some ruffians; and being master of great treasures, he distributed them with such success, especially among the inferior clergy, that his crime was forgotten. It is said, that upon opening his brother's will, and finding himself named as his successor, in the most affectionate terms, he was stung with remorse for what he had done. His punishment was increased by the detestation in which he was held among the neighbouring princes. The archbishop of *Cologne* made his son a prisoner in his way through his dominions to *Denmark*, and detained him captive four years; nor have we any great reason to believe *Abel's* remorse to have been sincere. He continued the oppressive taxes, till his people, especially the *Frieslanders* and *Ditmarshians*, arose in rebellion against him, and he was killed in battle in 1252.

who is killed in battle.

1252.

Christopher the 1st.

The states of *Denmark* were, at this time, very powerful, through the unpopularity of *Abel*, whose son was still a prisoner at *Cologne*, and they appointed his brother *Christopher* to fill up the throne. Soon after his accession, he fell at variance with

with *Meldorp*, who was in possession of several towns, by way of mortgage, for the large arrears that were owing for his services. *Meldorp*, at first, was successful, but *Christopher* recruiting his armies, drove him out of *Denmark*, and razed to the ground the cities in dispute. After this, *Christopher* was engaged in various wars with the *Holsteiners* and the *Norwegians*, who were assisted by the *Lubeckers*, the *Brandenburghers*, *Meldorp*, and several of the *German* princes. He was at last compelled to restore the duchy of *Sleswick* to his nephews, about the year 1254, but they were forced, on their part, to renounce all their right of succession to the crown, which was settled upon *Christopher* and his family. This accommodation did not prevent *Christopher* from being terribly embroiled with the bishop of *Roschild*, who had thrust himself into the see of *Lunden*, without his consent. That quarrel seems to have terminated to the advantage of the bishop, for we perceive that *Christopher*, soon after, gave the investiture of *Sleswick* to his kinsman, bishop *Waldemar*. About the year 1256, the disputes between *Christopher* and *Erland*, bishop of *Roschild*, were renewed, when *Christopher*, in consequence of an order from *Rome*, attempted to take possession of the christianized part of *Vandalia*. He defeated the insurgents, but durst not punish *Erland*, who acted in *Schonen* as an independent prince, and disputed even the temporal power with *Christopher*. The latter called a diet at *Wartemberg*, where he preferred a regular charge of disobedience and sedition against *Erland*. Though *Christopher* was well supported by the states in this prosecution, yet he never durst come to extremities against *Erland's* person. Upon the death of *Waldemar* of *Sleswick*, *Christopher*, by force, took possession of that duchy, and a day was appointed for crowning his son *Eric*, and recognizing him as his successor. The performance of this ceremony was opposed by *Erland*, whose interest was so great among the clergy, that none of them was present, excepting one private ecclesiastic, in the assembly of the states at *Copenhagen*. *Christopher* perceiving the indignation of the nobility at *Erland's* behaviour, lost no time, before the rising of the diet, in preferring a fresh charge against *Erland* for high treason, in attempting to alter the succession to the crown in favour of *Abel's* children. The archbishop, with one or two of his turbulent brethren, were taken into custody, but others escaped; and in consequence of the treasonable resolutions they had come to in a synod, they put the kingdom under an interdict. *Christopher* sequestered the revenues of all the ecclesiastics, who refused to obey the civil power, and applied for justice to the court of *Rome*. Before he could obtain any answer, the credit of the turbulent bishops, with the people and the neighbouring princes, was such, that they brought an army into the field, and the dispute was on the point of being decided by arms, when *Christopher* was poisoned, as some say, by a consecrated host; others think he was murdered; but

1254.

1256.

Christopher seizes the duchy of *Sleswick*.

He is murdered.

but they agree that he fell by the villany of his rebel ecclesiastics; though a third set pretend that his death was natural. The constant struggle he maintained against his powerful, but insolent clergy, shews him to have been a prince of great firmness and magnanimity; but their turbulence prevented his doing much for the happiness of his people.

*Eric the
VIIIth.*

He and
his mother
made pri-
soners,
and re-
stored.
1265.

Upon the accession of *Eric VII. Farmerci*, prince of *Rügen*, by the pope's order, invaded *Denmark*, in order to set the archbishop of *Lunden* at liberty, defeated the *Danes*, and filled the kingdom with ruin and desolation. *Eric* was not then of age, and his mother, *Margaret*, acted as regent; but while he was levying forces in *North Jutland*, *Farmerci* was killed by a nun, who stabbed him while he was plundering a monastery. This gave some breathing time to *Margaret*, and a diet of the states being convened, they set the archbishop at liberty, but he retired into *Sweden*, from whence he sent the most furious invectives to *Rome*, against *Margaret* and the states. They were forced to submit to the imperious archbishop, and to replace all the deprived prelates in their sees. In the mean while, the bishopric of *Sleswick* was claimed by *Eric*, brother to the late *Waldemar*, who beat the *Danes*, and took possession of it, by the assistance of the *Holsteiners*. The queen and the young king was made prisoners in the engagement, as was the bishop of *Sleswick*; but *Margaret* obtained so powerful a friend in *Albert of Brandenburg*, that they all three recovered their liberty. The archbishop continued as turbulent as ever, and in the year 1265, the pope's legate summoned the king and his mother to appear before him at *Sleswick*. They were interdicted for not obeying the summons; but it appears upon the face of history, that *Eric* was at last obliged to buy his peace of the haughty prelate, who lived till the year 1274.

1277.

1278.

Eric, who was now of age, was beginning to enjoy the tranquillity he had so dearly bought, when his dominions were invaded by the *Muscovites* and *Lithuanians*; but they were defeated by the *Danish* fleet. He was soon after involved in a quarrel with *Eric of Sleswick*, who had refused him homage; but that duke dying, the king, though he had conquered the greatest part of the duchy, rather than excite the jealousy of his neighbours, gave it back to the late duke's son. About the year 1277, *Eric* assisted *Magnus*, duke of *Nicoping*, in obliging his brother *Waldemar*, king of *Sweden*, to do him justice. *Eric* and *Magnus* afterwards quarrelled, and the latter invaded *Schonen*. *Eric*, to be revenged of his ingratitude, joined his forces with those of *Waldemar*, but their army was defeated by *Uffe*, general to *Magnus*. *Magnus*, after this, compromised matters with *Eric*, who about the year 1278, defeated an army of the *Norwegians*, who invaded his dominions. Their quarrel was made up by the interposition of *Magnus*, and *Eric* once more applied himself to the civil affairs of his government, in which he made a considerable progress;

gress, till the year 1282, when he lost his excellent mother *Margaret*. Her death was an irreparable loss to *Eric*, who was now involved in fresh quarrels with the *Norwegians* and the neighbouring princes. Scarcely had he resettled his affairs, by making the duke of *Sleswick* prisoner, and forcing him to submit to his authority, when he was murdered in *Jutland*. It appears that the earl of *Halland*, one of the most powerful of the *Danish* noblemen, was at the head of the conspiracy, which consisted of nine persons, and that *Eric* was partly the author of his own dismal fate, by the lust and rapine he exercised upon the wives and estates of his nobility.

1282.

Death of the queen mother.

Eric murdered.

We have already seen that the duchy of *Sleswick* had been restored to *Waldemar*, the late duke's son, and as being chief prince of the blood, he was chosen guardian to young *Eric's* person, his mother, in conjunction with the senate, having the government of the kingdom. *Waldemar's* first care was to

Eric the VIIIth, or the Pious.

secure his royal pupil against the conspirators who had murdered his father; and full proofs of their crime being obtained in a diet held at *Neoburg*, they were attainted of high treason, and their estates confiscated. They fled to *Norway*, and a piratical war between the two kingdoms succeeded. *Haquin* was then king of *Norway*, and insisted upon indemnification for the conspirators, which was refused by *Eric*, who married the king of *Sweden's* daughter, as his sister did the same king's son. Those double matches did not put an end to the war, which desolated the sea coasts of both kingdoms, till the year 1293, when *Stigot*, who was the soul of the confederacy, died. *Haquin* supplied his room, and found means to incense the court of *Rome* against *Eric*, which multiplied the latter's enemies to such a degree, that his own brother, *Christopher*, was of their number. *Eric*, however, seems to have acted with great firmness, and was then in such credit with the neighbouring states, that the *Lubeckers* agreed to put themselves under his protection, and to pay him an annual subsidy of seven hundred and fifty marks in silver. Various were the tentatives made use of by the friends of both parties, to bring about a peace, and several interviews were held by *Eric* and *Haquin* for that purpose, but they came to nothing, because *Eric* would not suffer the regicides to be parties in the negotiation. It is probable that *Eric* conducted his affairs with great address, as we perceive that about the year 1302, the pope took off the interdict from his kingdom, and *Eric* found himself at liberty to carry a body of troops to the assistance of his brother-in-law, *Birger*, king of *Sweden*, who had been dethroned by his brothers. His assistance proved ineffectual, through the indecision of his measures; and we find *Birger*, in the year 1308, living an exile in *Denmark*. *Eric* raised sixty thousand men to replace him on his throne, and besieged *Ni-coping*; but through his trifling credulity, and his entering upon perpetual negotiations, nothing effectual was done. *Eric*, about this time, quarrelled with his brother *Christopher*, who

War with Norway.

1293.

1302.

1308.

King of
Sweden
restored.

1310.

Rostock
reduced.

was justified by the states of *Denmark*; but *Eric* found means, at last, to make an honourable peace with *Haquin* of *Norway*, in which *Birger*, who was now restored to his kingdoms, was included.

The year 1310 brought complete tranquillity to *Denmark*, which must in a great measure have been owing to *Eric's* address, though we know not the particulars. Next year, the *Rostockers* refused to admit the duke of *Mecklenburgh* to celebrate his marriage in their city, which was besieged by him on the land side, and by the king of *Denmark* by sea. The stubborn islanders at first, ruined his works, and ravaged his coasts; but *Eric* returning to the siege, and by building two forts at the mouth of the *Warnow*, he reduced the inhabitants to such distress, that they massacred their senators, and submitted to their mercy. *Eric*, who was obliged to return to *Denmark*, referred them to the duke of *Mecklenburgh*, but desired that he would treat them with lenity and justice. He accordingly, not chusing to drive a people already exasperated to despair, was contented to impose upon them a pecuniary mulct. Next year, a dreadful conspiracy against *Eric's* life, in which some of his chief prelates were concerned, was discovered. The lay conspirators being convicted, were broken upon the wheel, but *Eric* pardoned the prelates, because he durst not punish them. The year 1313 was employed by *Eric* in suppressing some insurrections in *Jutland*. Next year he punished the people of *Stralsund*, who were protected by the marquis of *Brandenburgh*, for harrassing the subjects of his ally, the prince of *Rugen*. *Eric's* brother *Christopher* joined with the marquis; but *Eric's* moderation at last brought about a peace, though we are told he had been inactive and unsuccessful in the field. *Christopher* not being included in this peace, retired to *Sweden*; but *Eric* falling ill, and having no children of his own, though he had been the father of fourteen, pardoned him, and appointed him his successor, on his death-bed. He died in 1319, leaving behind him the character of having been a more fortunate negotiator than he was a warrior.

1313.

Death of
Eric.

1319.

Christo-
pher II.

The nomination of *Christopher* by his brother, did not prevent a violent struggle between him and *Eric*, duke of *Sleswick*; but *Christopher* succeeded in the contest, as is said, by the force of corruption. Before he mounted the throne, he was obliged to sign an instrument in the nature of the *English Magna Charta*, by which all clergymen were exempted from paying taxes, and from being amenable to civil courts; foreigners were excluded from all places of power and trust; all outlawries were reversed, and all oppressive taxes abolished. By the same instrument, the powers of the nobility were confirmed and enlarged, and those of the crown cramped and abridged. All the garrisons that had been built in *North Jutland*, excepting three, were demolished. In short, none but a mean spirited prince would have received a crown upon the terms

terms of this capitulation; for though it bounded the power of the king over the common people, yet it left them to the mercy of the tyrannical landholders, who held them in a most deplorable state of slavery. About the year 1320, *Magnus*, 1320. king of *Sweden*, fled from his rebel subjects to *Eric*, who, two years after, prevailed with the states to associate his son, *Eric* the 9th, with him in the government. His neglect of the capitulation he signed, soon raised up a strong opposition, consisting of his great men, and all *Denmark* was immediately filled with blood and slaughter. Having raised an army, *Christopher* thought himself strong enough to re-establish the taxes he had abolished, particularly that of plog-penning, and to renew those upon the clergy, whose privileges he likewise invaded, in utter disregard to his capitulation. A coalition between the clergy and nobility was formed against him, and they published a manifesto, by which they withdrew their allegiance to him, on account of his tyranny and perjury. *Eric* finding this association too firm to be dissolved by treaty, sent his son, at the head of an army, against the insurgents, but they took him prisoner, and obliged his troops to lay down their arms. *Christopher*, upon this, fled to *Germany* with his dethroned other two sons, *Waldemar* and *Otho*, and his treasure. We are to read the history of this abdication with great allowances, as the accounts we have of it came from *Christopher's* declared enemies; for it is certain that foreign princes were so far from thinking him guilty, that they made strong efforts to restore him to his throne. The conspirators, on the other hand, applied to *Waldemar* the young duke of *Sleswick*, but in a very irregular way, as no assembly of the states was called, and offered him their crown, which he accepted. Being not then above twelve or thirteen years of age, he was so immoderate in his bounties to the clergy, and the nobles, who had raised him to royalty, that *Denmark* was soon full of faction, and at last, of hostilities. Those who had not been rewarded, sought to make themselves considerable by their rebellion against *Waldemar*; and while those disturbances continued, the exiled *Christopher* made such a party among the malecontents and the princes of the empire, that he was soon in a condition to recover his right by arms. He was greatly assisted by the unpopularity which the young king, and his uncle *Gerhard*, who acted as first minister, contracted, by employing *Germans* in almost all their civil posts; and even many of the clergy declared for *Christopher*.

The first measure for the restoration, was the freeing king and re-
Eric from his imprisonment; and then a diet being called, stored.
Christopher consented to a general pardon, after which he re-
mounted the throne. The affairs of his government were His mis-
then most miserably perplexed, through the different claims of conduct,
those who had contributed to his restoration. A prudent ma-
nagement soon made up all breaches, though not before the
king had almost mortgaged the whole of his crown lands to
his

his friends, especially to the earl of *Vagria*. No sooner was *Christopher* resettled on the throne, than he forgot all his moderate maxims; and aspiring at despotism, even over the ecclesiasticks, his kingdom was put under an interdict. His friends, however, particularly the earl of *Vagria*, stuck by him, and his rival, *Waldemar*, accepted of a compensation for his royal titles, while his uncle, *Gerhard*, received the investiture of the island of *Fionia*, and became *Christopher*'s feudatory. *Gerhard* and the earl of *Vagria* being now the most powerful subjects in *Denmark*, soon quarrelled, and *Christopher* took the part of the latter. *Gerhard* defeated them both, in a pitched battle near *Gottorp*, but used his success with such moderation, that peace was again re-established, and *Christopher* continued on the throne, but his son, *Eric*, died of the wounds he had received in the late battle.

1332. About the year 1332, a fresh rebellion broke out in *Schonen*, where the inhabitants put to death three hundred *Holsteiners*, and made a gift of their crown to *Magnus*, king of *Sweden*, who purchased all the *Danish* dominions that had been mortgaged to the earl of *Vagria*. After this terrible blow, the person and authority of *Christopher* seems to have fallen into utter contempt. We are told that he was seized and made prisoner by *Hennick Bred*, and *John Ellemose*, two dependents of *Gerhard*, who ordered him to be set at liberty, but that the shock of imprisonment affected his spirits so much, that it deprived him of his life in the year 1333. His memory is hated in *Denmark* to this day, on account of the ruinous concessions he made in his adversity, and his tyranny and violence in his prosperity.

Interregnum. The crown of *Denmark* was so much reduced when *Christopher* died, that the possession of it seemed not worthy of a competition. The great nobles were employed each in improving his own estate, and by a kind of tacit consent, their country enjoyed tranquillity for three years. We may add to this, that the prodigious expence of blood and treasure in the late disturbances, disabled them from renewing the public commotions. Notwithstanding this, the crown was a desirable object, as all its cessions had been made with a reservation of superiority, and a quit rent to the crown, so that the prerogative was still very strong, in cases of rebellion, especially if the king had prudence enough to be backed by his states.

1337. We have already seen that *Christopher* left two sons, *Waldemar* and *Otho*. The former was at this time in *Germany*, and the latter made some efforts at the head of his family friends, to dispossess *Gerhard* of *Jutland*; but he lost his liberty in the attempt, and was confined in *Sedgburg* castle. *Gerhard*, upon this, offered to assist his nephew, the duke of *Sleswick*, in remounting the throne of *Denmark*, provided he would exchange his duchy of *Sleswick* for the province of North *Jutland*. The bargain was struck, but the *Jutlanders* refused to

to submit; upon which *Gerhard* treated them like beasts of burden, who have no will of their own, and might be transferred from one proprietor to another. *Nicholas Norevi*, a person of great resolution, with no more than forty horse, surprized *Gerhard* in his head quarters at *Randershusen*, and after killing him with his own hands, he fought his way through the *Holstein* guards, and escaped. He then collected together a body of brave *Danes*, attacked and took the places that were still in possession of the foreigners, but was killed in a victory which he obtained over the *Holsteiners*.

The success of the brave *Norevi* inspired other *Danes* to *Waldemar* take up arms. They found that all the measures they had the Illd. taken against *Christopher* had turned against themselves, and they cast their eyes upon his eldest son, *Waldemar*, who was still in *Germany*. *Magnus*, king of *Sweden*, on the other hand, being still in possession of *Schonen*, solicited the assistance of the holy see, to obtain the rest of *Denmark*, which he offered to hold of the pope. The affections of the *Danes*, however, centered in the person of *Waldemar*, and he was favoured by the emperor, *Lewis* of *Bavaria*. *Waldemar* of *Sleswick* was in no condition to oppose the torrent, and likewise the strong confederacy of *German* princes, formed in the other *Waldemar's* favour, and a compromise was agreed to on all hands; by which *Waldemar*, who by this time had been Civil wars declared king of *Denmark*, obtained his brother's liberty, and of *Den-* consented to marry the duke of *Sleswick's* sister. *Waldemar mark.* having thus mounted the throne, confirmed the privileges of all his people, and applied himself to remove the miseries that had been introduced during the late interregnum. In this he was greatly assisted by the sense his people had of their past miseries, and he even made a considerable progress in bringing the sons of *Gerhard* and his other great noblemen to part, upon very moderate terms, with the crown lands they possessed. Even the clergy taxed themselves for the relief of the public, but the earl of *Vagria* still kept possession of his estates, and *Waldemar* besieged *Calemburg*. The earl was supported by the *Holsteiners* and his other allies, and he defeated the king, but soon after their differences were referred to arbitration, by which *Waldemar* came to the possession of *Calemburg*.

All the public spirited efforts of *Waldemar* could not clear his kingdom of the *Holsteiners*, though the *Danes* made several brave struggles for that purpose, especially one under the son of the brave *Norevi*, who, like his father, lost his life gloriously fighting for his country. About the year 1342, *Waldemar* found himself under a necessity of entering into a convention with the princes of *Holstein*; but it was of no long standing, for the rooted aversion which the two people entertained for each other, renewed the war in all quarters, with inexpressible fury. *Waldemar* was obliged to temporize with all his neighbours, but especially with *Magnus*, king of *Sweden*,
Successes of *Waldemar*.
1342.

- den, who had endeared the *Schoneners* to his government. The year 1343, and the following, were spent by *Waldemar* in his endeavours to recover his crown lands, and in some disputes he had with the clergy; but in 1344, his government was greatly strengthened by the birth of a son. He was still too weak to attack either the *Holsteiners* or the earl of *Vagria*; and employed his arms in reducing the *Frieslanders* to their duty. Next year, *Waldemar* gained a great point in concluding an offensive and defensive alliance with the duke of *Sleswick*, whom the *Holstein* princes, for that reason, treacherously decoyed into their power, and renewed their hostilities against the subjects of *Waldemar*, who forced them to deliver up to him the island of *Laaland* for eight thousand marks. After this, *Waldemar* took a religious turn, made an expensive, but fruitless expedition, to convert, by force of arms, the *Prussians* into *Christians*, and sold the fine province of *Esthonia* to the *Teutonic* knights, because they professed to be the champions of religion. In 1346, he built several religious houses, and though he was then threatened with a rebellion by the earl of *Vagria*, he undertook, and actually executed a ridiculous pilgrimage to the *Holy Land*, the expences of which were defrayed by the purchase-money of *Esthonia*, to the great dissatisfaction of his subjects. In this pilgrimage he was attended by some of his chief nobility; and upon his return, he freed his crown from several of its mortgages, partly by force and partly by compromises; but in the year 1348, his dominions were visited with a dreadful plague, which, at the same time, desolated the other kingdoms of *Europe*. *Waldemar* had been obliged, for the redemption of his mortgages, to raise three hundred thousand marks; but that being far from sufficient to discharge the whole, he laid before the states of his kingdom an exact account of the expenditure of the money, and offered them the disposal of the balance. This open manner of proceeding, won the hearts of his subjects so much, that they offered to enable him to redeem the isle of *Schonen* from the king of *Sweden*. The two monarchs had an interview upon that head, and not agreeing, *Waldemar* was preparing to assert his right by arms, but he was obliged to divert them to the assistance of his brother-in-law, *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, against an impostor, who, as we have already seen, pretended to be the marquis of *Brandenburg*. This was an undertaking more generous than prudent in *Waldemar*, who was shut up and besieged by the duke of *Mecklenburg*, in *Stargard*, and must have been taken prisoner, had he not been relieved by an army of *Brandenburghers*. At last the impostor was obliged to disappear, and the marquisate of *Brandenburgh* was given to *Romulus*, its true heir.
- The emperor, *Charles* the IVth, would willingly have revenged himself for the concern that *Waldemar* took in this affair; but the latter strengthened himself, by making a fresh alliance with the crown of *Poland*, and renewing his engagements

1343.

1344.

1346.

1348.

A plague
in Den-
mark.

An im-
postor.
Vol. IX.
p. 55.

An expe-
dition into
Germany.

ments

ments with the *German* princes. About this time the dukedom of *Halland* fell by death to *Waldemar*, who annexed it to his crown; and in the year 1351, *Magnus*, king of *Sweden*, being deposed by his subjects, took refuge in *Schonen*, where he applied to *Waldemar* for assistance. *Waldemar* was at this time engaged in a dispute with the nobility of *Jutland* and the princes of *Holstein*, which he found means to accommodate, and would willingly have assisted *Magnus*, if the latter could have been prevailed with to have ceded *Schonen*. *Waldemar's* differences with his nobility, however, being compromised, or rather suspended, *Magnus* and he adjusted all their differences in a personal interview they had together. In 1352, he made an expedition into *Germany*, in which he accommodated all the differences between the dukes of *Mecklenburgh* and *Stetin*, but was guilty of great inhumanities during an irruption he made into *Slavonia*, where he is accused of having cut off the ears and noses of his prisoners, for no other reason that we can find, but because they were not *Christians*. The next year was distinguished by the birth of his daughter *Margaret*, who reigned afterwards so gloriously over the three kingdoms of *Sweden*, *Denmark* and *Norway*, and obtained the title of the *Semiramis* of the north. The story of his begetting her upon the person of his queen, (whom he had shut up in prison, for her supposed incontinence) while he thought he was in the arms of one of her women, however improbable it may appear, has been adopted by the *Danish* historians. Before the end of this year, *Waldemar* compromised all his differences with the princes of *Holstein* and his other great feudatories. He seems to have made use of the respite which this procured him, in buying peace of conscience for his sins, by extravagant acts of devotion, and by a ridiculous visit which he this year paid to kiss the pope's feet at *Avignon*. While he was plunged in this fanaticism, the king of *Sweden* created his favourite *Bennet Algoth*, duke of *Halland* and *Schonen*, in breach of the compromise that had been made between him and *Waldemar*; and, the same year, he published a general amnesty to all his people, and confirmed their liberties. Though the reasons are not expressed, this was far from quieting the uneasiness of the states, who suspected that he was aspiring to despotism, and disliked some of the measures he took in reannexing several great fiefs to the crown. Their dissatisfaction went so far, that some of them even refused to answer at the king's tribunal, and one *Nicholas Rond* was killed in resisting the royal officers.

The differences between the courts of *Sweden* and *Denmark* still continued, but *Waldemar*, impatient to have them ended, sent one of his lords to *Stockholm*, with propositions on that head. He was arrested on the road by *Eric*, who was joined with his father *Magnus* in the government of *Sweden*. While *Waldemar* was preparing to chastize this insult, the *Jutlanders*, as usual, again rebelled, and were backed by the duke of *Sleswick*.

1351.

1352.

Remark-
able birth
of the fa-
mous
Margaret.

The *Jut-*
landers
and *Hol-*
steiners
defeated.

wick. The *Holsteiners*, however, were the only gainers by this insurrection, for they beat *Waldemar*, and took the town of *Odense* in *Fionia*. *Waldemar* levied fresh troops, and though the season was then far advanced, he gave a total defeat both to the *Jutlanders* and the *Holsteiners*, and recovered all *Fionia*.

Waldemar
restores
his ma-
rine.

1358.

It is easy to discover, by the complexion of the *Danish* history at this time, that treaties and negotiations were matters of conveniency; that *Waldemar*, perhaps with some reason, thought himself little better than a cypher of a king, while his subjects held such privileges; that the latter broke out into rebellion the moment they saw him embroiled with foreign princes, and that foreign princes commenced hostilities upon every dispute he had with his subjects. The constant dangers arising from so undesirable a situation, obliged *Waldemar* to keep a great army on foot, and too much to neglect his marine. About the year 1358, he became sensible of this disadvantage, and equipping some ships, he would have subdued all *Sleswick*, had he not generously discontinued hostilities, when that duchess threw herself at his feet, to intercede for her husband. The duke's enemies about *Waldemar*'s person, persuaded him to renew his hostilities, but he lost a squadron of his fleet, which was taken by the peasants in the port of *Wismar*. This loss did not operate much to the prejudice of *Waldemar*, whose forts and armies were in excellent condition, and a general accommodation, to appearance, among all the northern powers, again took place.

1359.
War with
Sweden.

About the year 1359, queen *Blanche*, wife to *Magnus*, king of *Sweden*, a woman whom history has branded with infamy, persuaded her husband to resign *Schonen*, upon her obtaining certain terms for *Algoth*, to whose embraces she had abandoned herself; but in this he was opposed by his son *Eric*, and the war was renewed between the two crowns, which gave the *Jutlanders* an opportunity of again rebelling, in which they were seconded by the duke of *Mecklenburgh*, who invaded *Denmark*, and ravaged the coasts. *Waldemar* made the conquest of *Schonen* his chief object, and he once more obtaining possession of it from *Magnus*, either by force or persuasion, reduced the inhabitants to submit to his authority. In 1360, in a diet held at *Calemburg*, *Waldemar* renewed his capitulation with his subjects, and raised an army to punish the *Swedes* for their rebellion against *Magnus*, whose son *Eric* had been by this time poisoned by his unnatural mother. *Waldemar*'s depredations in *Sweden* engaged the *Hanse* towns to make an alliance against him, with the king of *Norway*, the *Mecklenburghers* and the *Holsteiners*; the consequence of which was, that they took and plundered *Hafnia*, now called *Copenhagen*; but *Waldemar* defeated the fleet of the *Lubeckers*. A peace followed, but with no better effect than those which had been already concluded, though *Waldemar*'s daughter *Margaret* was actually espoused to the king of *Norway*. The *Hanse* towns

1360.

grew again uneasy, and *Waldemar*, ignorant of the vast power attending trade, despised their preparations, till he saw them too formidable to be opposed, and at last he was obliged to accept the terms they prescribed. In 1364, *Waldemar*, who never was fixed in any situation, paid a visit to the imperial court at *Prague*, and we have already seen the vast services he did to the emperor, *Charles* the IVth. Upon his return from Germany, in 1365, he found that *Magnus*, king of Sweden, had been again deposed by his subjects, who placed his nephew, *Albert*, the second son of the duke of *Mecklenburgh*, upon his throne. *Waldemar* at first took part with *Magnus*, but could not resist the great offers made him by *Albert*, by securing to him the island of *Gothland*, the city of *Wisby*, the fortress of *Helsingburgh*, and many other towns and territories which had been dismembered from *Denmark*. Those great acquisitions served only to renew the troubles of *Albert*.

The restless *Futlanders* again broke into rebellion, and entered into a confederacy with the *Vandals*, the *Sleswickers*, the *Holsteiners* and the *Mecklenburghers*. At last, *Albert*, the new king of Sweden, joined them, and the allies, in fact, agreed among themselves upon a partition of the Danish dominions, after they should be conquered. The certainty of so powerful a confederacy, determined *Waldemar*, who perhaps was likewise broken in spirit, upon a very extraordinary expedient, but such as shewed him to be a great master in the affairs of government. He undertook a pilgrimage to *Rome*, in hopes that his enemies, whose views were incompatible with each other, would break among themselves; but in the mean while, he left full powers with his senate to act in his absence. In his journey to *Rome*, he applied to the emperor, who gave him his countenance, which was more than he received from pope *Gregory*. As *Waldemar* had foreseen, the confederates split among themselves; his senate made a better peace than he could have hoped for, and returning to *Denmark*, he concluded a treaty at *Stralsund*, which restored him to the greatest part of the places and territories which he had lost while the confederacy subsisted. The rest of *Waldemar's* days were spent in a tranquillity he had never before tasted, and he died in 1375. Few princes in history possessed a greater variety of good and bad qualities than *Waldemar* did, but the former certainly preponderated, as the latter consisted chiefly in freaks of devotion, and personal amours.

Waldemar left behind him two daughters, the eldest, *Ingeburga*, was married to the duke of *Mecklenburgh*, by whom she had a son, *Albert*; and the second, *Margaret*, who was then queen of *Norway*, had likewise a son, *Olaus*. The great nobility of *Denmark*, were by no means disposed to shew their power, by breaking into the order of hereditary succession, and through the management of *Margaret*, *Olaus*, who was no more than eleven years of age, was not only declared king, but his mother regent during his minority. This actually

produced an alliance between the duke of *Mecklenburgh* and *Albert's* uncle, the king of *Sweden*, and they made preparations for invading *Denmark*. The *Swedish* fleet was shipwrecked, and *Albert* listened to terms of an accommodation. *Margaret's* deputies acknowledged *Albert's* hereditary right, but denied that the crown of *Denmark* was hereditary, and insisted upon the right which the states had to give the crown to the son of the second daughter. *Albert* was compelled to acquiesce, and died soon after, as did *Haquin*, king of *Norway*, (if he was not dead before) and thus *Olaus* wore both crowns. The prudence of *Margaret* counterbalanced the aversion which the *Danes* had to a union with *Norway*. She confirmed the people in their privileges; she renewed the treaties that had been made during the late reign, and she soothed the clergy.

1385. *Olaus*, in 1385, being then of age, received the homage of the states of *Schonen*, but was thought to have committed a great oversight in granting the investiture of the duchy of *Sleswick*, which had reverted to his crown by the death of the late duke *Henry* without issue, to *Gerhard*, one of the princes of *Holstein*. *Olaus* died when he was but twenty-two years of age.

His death, *Margaret* The filling the throne of *Denmark*, especially with a female, was a point of great difficulty, as it had no precedent, but the states gave it to *Margaret*, in spite of all her numerous antagonists, and the refractory *Jutlanders* were the first who gave her their voices; for it is to be remarked, that the states, on this occasion, were assembled provincially, and not collectively. By her exquisite address and dissimulation, she brought the clergy entirely over to her party, and even prevailed with the *Norwegians* to follow the example of the *Danes*.

names her successor, That she might secure her power without sharing it with a husband, she named, at the desire and with the consent of the states, *Eric* of *Pomerania*, her eldest sister's grandson, to be heir to her crown, if she had no issue of her own. The naming *Eric* to the succession, served only to rouse his grandfather's, *Henry* of *Mecklenburgh's* ambition, and he confederated with his brother *Albert*, king of *Sweden*, to dethrone her. *Margaret*, who had, by this time, fixed her eyes upon the crown of *Sweden* likewise, had a great party in that country, and the *Swedes* in general were dissatisfied with *Albert's* government, on account of his partiality for the *Germans*. In short, the malecontents offered the *Swedish* crown to *Margaret*, and she accepted of it without hesitation, as she did of the fortresses of *Oberstein* and *Orestein*. From that time she added that of *Sweden*, to her other titles. In this she was partly justified by *Albert* having usurped her titles. In a short time, the *Swedish* senate declared her their sovereign, and *Albert* saw himself without a friend in that kingdom. He had recourse to the *Holsteiners*, the *Mecklenburghers*, and the knights of the *Teutonic* order, while *Margaret* was assisted by the duke of *Pomerania*, the father of her adopted heir. Each party raised a powerful

which brings on a war.

powerful army; a battle was fought at *Falkoping*, in which *Margaret* not only proved victorious, but took her competitor and his son *Eric* prisoners, with the prince of *Holstein* and many other persons of great distinction. The slaughter on the side of *Albert* was great, nineteen general officers having fallen in the battle; and *Margaret* lost *Henry Parrow*, one of the four generals who commanded her army. This victory did not, however, fix the crown of *Sweden* on *Margaret's* head. She found that the *Swedish* promises were only to bring her army to protect them against their incensed sovereign. A numerous party of the *Swedes*, and all *Gothland*, were still in the interest of *Albert*; but above all, the *Swedes* were jealous of seeing the *Danes* become their masters, so that various pretexts were fallen upon to defer *Margaret's* coronation. She was favoured by the indiscreet zeal of *Albert's* *Mecklenburgh* and *German* friends, who raised an army, and fitted out a fleet, which, under *John of Mecklenburgh*, raised the siege of *Stockholm*, and took some of the places which had declared for *Margaret*. Those successes instantly covered the sea with pirates, who ravaged the coasts of *Sweden*, and under pretence of restoring *Albert*, equally plundered his friends as his enemies.

This proceeding united the *Swedes* in favour of *Margaret*. History of The princes of *Staten* and *Rugen* declared for her, and per- the union formed their homage to her in the year 1391. Notwithstand- of *Calmar*. ing this, a strong *German* garrison still kept possession of *Stock- 1391. holm*, where they tortured, and at last burned, all the capital burghers, on pretence of their holding correspondence with *Margaret*. Next year she brought about an accommodation between the duke of *Sleswick* and the princes of *Holstein*, which cleared the northern seas of the barbarous pirates, and at last, after various conferences and negotiations, she agreed to give *Albert* and his son their liberty, having been imprisoned almost seven years, upon condition of their resigning all claim upon the crown of *Sweden*, and of their paying her sixty thousand marks of silver. After this, *Margaret* received the crown of *Sweden* with the same ceremonies with which she was crowned in *Denmark* and *Norway*. *Eric*, her grand nephew, was confirmed in his succession to the crown of *Sweden*, and the excessive kindnesses which the queen shewed to churchmen, rendering her administration smooth and easy, she found few or no difficulties in correcting or removing the abuses which had crept into her kingdoms during the late times of confusion; so that many writers have considered her as the legislator, as well as the *Semiramis*, of the north. Her great aim was to procure an incorporate union of her three kingdoms, which was to descend to her successors. For that purpose, the states of each kingdom sent forty deputies to *Calmar*, where she had appointed the general meeting.

Calmar then exhibited the most august scene, upon the most *Margaret* important subject, that had ever been seen in *Scandinavia*. The queen of *Denmark*,

Sweden
and Nor-
way,

1397.

queen presented her successor, young *Eric*, to the deputies, who established his succession by a fundamental law, and by the irresistible power of her person and eloquence, her three kingdoms were consolidated into one, by that famous act which has been since so well known under the title of the union of *Calmar*. After all, this famous union was no more than federal, it being found impracticable to melt down the several laws and usages of the three kingdoms into one system. By the first article of this union, the three kingdoms were to be governed by one king; but he was to be chosen alternately by one of the kingdoms, and confirmed by a general assembly, consisting of deputies from all the three. The second article related to the equal division of time, which every sovereign was to spend in each kingdom, and the appropriation of the revenues of each kingdom for its own use. The third and last article provided, that each kingdom should retain its own laws and forms of government, defray its own expences, keep up its own armies, and look upon the subjects of the other two kingdoms as strangers, and therefore incapable of enjoying any part of power, trust or profit. Every reader who is conversant in history, must be sensible that a union upon such principles could not be permanent, and that it was no other than a partial execution of *Margaret's* great scheme of an incorporate union.

without a
rival.

Notwithstanding those appearances in favour of *Margaret*, she could not be as yet said to have the undisturbed possession of the *Swedish* crown, as *Albert* was making vigorous preparations to dethrone her, till hearing of the death of his young son, *Eric*, when he lost all spirit, and gave up all his pretensions. *Margaret*, after this, had some disputes with the knights of the *Teutonic* order, concerning the possession of *Gothland*, which they pretended to hold in right of conquest; but they were accommodated by the mediation of the emperor; and about the same time she finished all her differences with the *Vandal* states.

Her glory.

Margaret may now be considered as the most glorious queen that ever filled a throne, and the greatest potentate in *Europe*. She acted as if she owed her elevation to the friendship of the clergy, one of whom, the abbot of *Soora*, is said not only to have directed her conscience, but to have possessed her person. She reigned four years from the year 1399, in perfect tranquillity, if we except the following incident, which gave her, however, little or no disquiet. Her nobility took umbrage at her vast partiality towards the clergy, and spirited up an impostor to personate her son *Olaus*. *Margaret* soon found out the impostor to be the son of that young prince's nurse, and through her, that he became acquainted with a number of private particulars which gained him credit. She at the same time established the certainty of the death and burial of the prince, beyond all contradiction, upon which the impostor was seized, tortured, and publicly put to death. It was about
this

1399.

An im-
postor.

this time that *Margaret*, sensible of her imprudence in having parted with the duchy of *Sleswick* to the house of *Holstein*, intrigued so well, during the minority of those princes, that she became, in effect, once more mistress of the duchy. In the year 1406, *Eric*, who had been crowned king, married *Philippa* of *Lancaster*, second daughter to *Henry* the IVth of *England*; and we find that from this time *Eric* took a considerable share in the affairs of government, especially as the bishop of *Osnaburg*, who pretended to act as guardian to the young princes of *Holstein*, began to be very troublesome to *Margaret*, who about the same time quarrelled with her intimate friend, the duchess dowager of *Sleswick*. It is probable that *Margaret* and *Eric* had laid a design to siege that duchy, and to reannex it to the crown, in which they were disappointed, by the vigilance of the bishop and the duchess dowager. Be that as it will, it is certain that *Adolphus* of *Schawenburg*, the *Holstein* general, gave a signal defeat to *Eric*'s troops, which brought that prince to submit to an arbitration of all their differences; but this was far from restoring the public tranquillity, and while a mixture of hostilities and negotiations was carrying on, *Margaret* died suddenly, in the fifty-ninth year of her age, after reigning about thirty-six years. 1406.
Death of
Margaret.

This princess undoubtedly possessed every great quality that could fit her for government. Her memory has been so unfortunate, as to be very differently represented by the *Danish* and *Swedish* historians. The former magnify her virtues as well as abilities, the latter admit of her abilities, but give her few virtues. The truth is, that she considered *Sweden*, after her accession to that crown, as no better than a province to *Denmark*, and perhaps, too ungenerously, in several instances, infringed the terms of the *Calmar* union; but as queen of *Denmark*, she exerted herself with a superiority of genius equal to that of the greatest of her predecessors. Besides the abbot of *Soora*, she was, towards the end of her reign, suspected of an amorous intercourse with a handsome *Swede*, one *Abraham Broderfon*, whom she loaded with extraordinary honours and preferments; but no woman of her high station, who, from her fondness of power, kept herself single, ever escaped suspicions or calumnies of that kind.

Eric the Xth, from the place of his nativity, was termed the *Pomeranian*, and he no sooner became sole sovereign, than he trod in the footsteps of his illustrious predecessor. He soon shewed himself unequal to her genius, for when, by a little prudent management in calling together the states of *Sweden*, and confirming their liberties, he might have endeared that people to his person, he left them abruptly, and went to *Denmark*, where the differences between him and the princess dowager of *Sleswick*, remained under the arbitration of the dukes of *Pomerania* and *Brunswick*. *Eric* refused to submit to an arbitration that had been agreed to by his predecessor, and looking

Confederacy against him.

1427.

He takes Sleswick.

Is defeated.

looking upon the princes of *Holstein* as his feudatories, he summoned them to appear before a diet of the states assembled at *Neoburg*. They appeared accordingly, and the states pronounced the family of *Holstein* to have forfeited all right to the duchy of *Sleswick*, which from that time was to be reannexed to the crown. This award produced a confederacy among the German princes, of which *Albert* of *Mecklenburgh* was the head. *Eric* applied to the emperor *Sigismund*, who, in right of his paramount power, confirmed the sentence pronounced by the states of *Denmark* against the *Holstein* family, upon which *Eric* entered the duchy of *Sleswick* with an army, forced the *Lubeckers* to disown their senate, which was in his interest, and thereby confirmed the emperor his friend. All the north was, at this time, in combustion, and the house of *Holstein* was brought to the brink of ruin, when the *Vandals* and the petty princes of *Germany*, partly from hatred, partly from their jealousy of *Eric*, confederated to support it. Their proceedings were so vigorous, that *Eric* was in a manner beaten out of *Sleswick*, and forced to return to *Denmark*; but he employed the winter of the year 1427, in recruiting his army and augmenting his fleet. It is said the former consisted of a hundred thousand troops, with which he invested the cities of *Sleswick* and *Gottorp*. *Sleswick* capitulated, but the bishop of *Osnaburg* prevailed with the *Hamburghers*, who were then rich and powerful, to declare for the *Holstein* family; upon which *Eric* raised the siege of *Gottorp*, while the *Holsteiners* reduced many of its forts, and even recovered *Sleswick*. The pope interposed, and proposed an accommodation, to which neither party was averse; but by various accidents, the conferences were broken off, and the war was renewed, with the utmost barbarity on both sides.

The *Holsteiners* proved victorious, and totally defeated *Eric* near *Immerswed*. This event, as usual, produced proposals for an accommodation, to which the *Holstein* princes durst not seem averse, for fear of disobliging their friends who moved it, but still hostilities went on with various success, especially by sea, but in general, to the advantage of *Eric's* enemies, till at last they became victorious on all hands. The princes of *Holstein* became now too ponderous in the northern scale of power, and the cities of *Lubec*, *Wisnar*, *Rostock*, *Stralsund*, *Lunenburg*, *Gnipswald* and *Anclam*, joined *Eric*, who was likewise befriended by the pope and the emperor. The house of *Holstein*, supported by the *Hamburghers*, disregarded all their menaces, but in the end, the differences between them and *Eric*, concerning *Sleswick*, were referred to the emperor's determination. Prince *Henry*, who was then at the head of the house of *Holstein*, refused to submit to this arbitration, and the emperor pronounced sentence in favour of *Eric*, to which the *Holstein* princes were obliged to agree, at least in appearance, for they soon after appealed to the pope, and hostilities recommenced. The princes continued to be supported by the *Hamburghers*,

burghers, who attempted to persuade *Eric* to moderation; but he insisted upon standing by the emperor's award, and in the year 1426, he again invested the cities of *Sleswick* and *Gottorp*. The *Hanse* towns and the *Vandal* states at this time understood, Politics of the north. that their only safety depended upon their maintaining a proper balance of power in the north, and again declared themselves against *Eric*. They were at first unsuccessful, but this served only to impress them with the greater terror of *Eric*'s power, and to unite them more closely with the *Holsteiners*. The emperor *Sigismund*, the vainest and most meddling prince of his time, threatened the *Hanse* towns with vengeance, but to no purpose. *Eric* himself offered any terms that could be agreed on, and at last a truce was concluded, though even that brought no intermission of hostilities; for the *Holstein* and *Vandal* ships still continued their depredations upon the coasts of *Denmark*. Their barbarities had the usual effect, that of uniting all parties against them, and at last they offered to refer the complaints they had against *Eric* to the pope, or any impartial *German* prince, who should be nominated by the emperor. During those transactions, the *Holsteiners* and *Vandals* had embarked twelve thousand men, with a view of attacking *Copenhagen*, which was so bravely defended by *Eric*'s queen, in his absence, that their design failed. Soon after, the queen sent a fleet to make reprisals upon the *Holsteiners*, but it was beaten; which, together with *Eric*'s reproaches, stung the queen so much as to occasion her death, to the inexpressible grief and loss of *Denmark*. At last, the cities of *Stralsund* and *Rostock* broke off from the alliance against *Eric*, but the ravages of the other confederates still continued, and they surprized and took *Flensburg*, after a brave defence. The universal detestation of the *Vandal* and *Holstein* piracies, encouraged the *Hollanders* and *Netherlanders* to fit out ships of a much superior construction to theirs, and far better navigated, by which the pirates were overawed, and the whole trade of the *Baltic* centered in the *Low Countries*. *Copenhagen* besieged.

About the year 1432, the *Vandals* and *Holsteiners* sued for peace, and *Eric* agreed to a congress at *Swinburg*, but it was so far from being productive of any good, that the *Stralsunders* were cut out of all trade with *Denmark*. The *Danes*, however, found their coasts more secure than before, and *Eric* this year concluded a treaty of commerce with the crown of *England*, which seems to have had very considerable effects in his favour. 1432. A congress.

While *Eric* was thus labouring to suppress the piratical states of the north, which ought to have been a common cause to all his crowns, the *Swedes* complained that they were oppressed by the governors he had given them, particularly by one *Jesson Asdab*. The *Dalecarlians*, the bravest and hardiest race of the *Swedes*, commissioned *Engelbert*, a noble patriot of their own province, to spread their complaints before the War with Sweden.

Eric's
fleet ship-
wrecked.

the throne, which he did with such intrepidity and manly freedom, that *Eric* ordered *Jesson* to be tried by commissioners, who found him guilty. *Engelbert* demanded he should be punished, but in a manner which *Eric* thought so disrespectful, that he ordered him to leave *Denmark*; and upon his return to the *Dalecarlians*, they took arms, placed *Engelbert* at their head, and declared for a change of government. The extirpation of the *Danes* out of *Sweden* was their main object; but upon their entering *Westmannia*, they paid so much regard to the remonstrances of the senate, that they laid down their arms, on being promised their grievances should be redressed, and *Jesson* removed. The terms not being immediately complied with, they resumed them a second time, and were a second time persuaded to lay them down, upon *Jesson* being actually removed. As those great events will fall more properly under our history of *Sweden*, we shall touch upon them here only as they are connected with that of *Denmark*. *Eric*, who was then treating with the *Vandals* and *Holsteiners*, looked upon the *Dalecarlian* insurrection with great indignation; but he was alarmed when he heard of its progress, and that *Engelbert* had reduced many of the principal places of *Sweden*, and that he had even taken upon him to order the states to assemble. He equipped a fleet to chastise the insurgents, but it was wrecked, and the ship which carried *Eric* was the only one that reached the port of *Stockholm*. All that *Eric* could do, was to procure a short truce; and he was so well satisfied of the senate's being convinced that kings had a divine right to be perjured, and oppress their people, that he returned to *Denmark*, though his long residence there was one of the grievances complained of, and an actual breach of the union of *Calmar*.

His per-
jury,

In 1435, *Eric* assembled a diet of the states of *Denmark*, who advised him to return to *Stockholm*, and to give his people satisfaction, which he actually did; but it was only to gain time, for he soon violated every article he had sworn to observe. He gave all the places of power and trust in *Sweden* to his *Danish* favourites; and the better to enable him to establish his despotism there, he made peace with the princes of *Holstein* and the *Hanse* towns, upon their own terms. Before he left *Denmark*, he assembled the states, and proposed his nephew, *Bogeslaus* of *Pomerania*, to succeed him; but his request was rejected by the states, who very explicitly told him, that they alone had a right to name his successor, and that if he associated with himself any person in the government, such association should give that person no manner of right to the crown. *Eric* imagining he might gain his point by leaving his kingdom in confusion, retired to *Prussia*, but soon after returned to *Denmark*, and gave the chief posts there to the duke of *Pomerania* and other foreigners. He then carried his nephew, the duke of *Pomerania*, with him to *Sweden*, where, as will be seen in the history of that county, the dis-

sensions

sensions which arose among the patriots proved serviceable to his affairs. During his absence there, the *Danes* began to be, in their turn, uneasy at their situation; and the diet then sitting at *Calmar*, sent deputies to *Eric* on that head; but their reception was so disagreeable, that they entered into secret connections with the discontented nobility of *Denmark*, and resolved to call *Christopher* of *Bavaria* to their throne. It seems to be certain, that *Eric's* principal view in giving his chief places to foreigners, was to facilitate the succession of *Bogeslaus*, to whom, in 1438, he gave the isle of *Rugen*. A general insurrection all over *Denmark* followed upon this, but they consisted rather of peasants against the nobility, than of both against the crown. This was thought to have been effected by the arts of *Eric*, for it is certain the nobles were driven out of *Denmark* into *Holstein*, and *Eric* again made a kind of abdication of his crown, by retiring, with his treasure, into the island of *Gothland*, where he lived with an astonishing indifference, with regard to all the revolutions impending over his kingdom.

1438.

The government of *Denmark* being thus abdicated by its king, the states sent a letter of invitation, in which all their grievances were repeated, desiring *Christopher* of *Bavaria* to accept of their crown, and staying for an explicit answer. Some time after this letter was dispatched, the senate of *Denmark* signified to *Eric*, that they had elected another king in his room. *Eric* then filled all *Denmark* with complaints and remonstrances against the disloyalty of his subjects, but without making use of any other argument, than that he was an anointed king, and that they certainly would bring upon themselves the divine vengeance for disobeying him. No regard was paid to his idle manifestos, for he was formally deposed, and the throne filled up with *Christopher*.

OÆ. 28,
1438.His de-
position
by Chri-

Christopher the III^d was not destitute of a claim of blood to the crown of *Denmark*. He was son to the duke of *Bavaria*, by his wife *Sophia*, *Eric's* sister. Upon his arrival at *Lubec*, he was declared protector of the kingdoms of *Denmark* and *Sweden*, a title which implies that the states had some scruple about giving him the title of king during the lifetime of *Eric*, who still resided in *Gothland*. It was, however, made treasonable for any man in *Denmark* to hold correspondence with *Eric*, and the states of *Sweden* agreed to concur with what had been done by those of *Denmark*. To justify what they had done, they published manifestos through all the courts, cities and provinces of the north, recapitulating the particulars of *Eric's* mal-administration, and added some new matters concerning his sanguinary disposition, and his disregard of the pope. Those manifestos had great effect, for we find none of the *Hanse* towns, nor any of the antient enemies of *Denmark*, giving *Christopher* any disturbance on *Eric's* account. Notwithstanding this, it is very uncertain whether he had yet taken the title of king. It is most reasonable to think he had not,

Christopher the
III^d.

not, for the foreign governors surrendered their fortresses not to him, but to the senate, who administered to him an oath of office; one part of which required him to consent to whatever should be agreed upon at the ensuing diet at *Calmar*. The distractions of *Sweden*, and the intrigues of *Eric's* friends, who were still very numerous, adjourned the diet from time to time, but at last it met at *Abroga*, where *Canutson*, the grand master of *Sweden*, agreed upon certain terms, which the *Danish* deputies obliged themselves should be confirmed by *Christopher*. *Christopher* appeared at the diet in person, and approved of all that had been done by *Canutson*; and after this we find him acting as king, both of *Denmark* and *Sweden*. The first exercise of his new dignity, was his granting, at the request of the senate, to *Adolphus*, the chief of the house of *Holstein*, the duchy of *Sleswick*. *Christopher* then set out at the head of an army to quell the turbulent *Futlanders*, who refused to pay the taxes, because *Eric* was still alive. This he effected, but not without great difficulty and bloodshed; and from thence he repaired to *Sweden*, where he was crowned at *Stockholm*.

He is recognized by the Swedes,

and crowned king of Norway.

1443.

His marriage,

and death.

1448.

The condition of *Eric* was, at this time, unprecedented. He remained unmolested in *Gothland*, where he fortified himself in *Wifby*, and opened ports, not only for his own shipping, but to pirates of all denominations, who did incredible damage to the *Swedes*. To the amazement of all the world, this conduct was not resented by *Christopher*, who at first treated it in a jocular manner, till the voice of his subjects compelled him to pass over to *Gothland* at the head of an army, where all that passed was a friendly interview between him and his uncle *Eric*. This forbearance can only be accounted for by the tenderness which *Christopher* might still retain for his uncle's person, or (which is more likely) by his conniving at the depredations made upon the *Swedes*. In 1443, *Christopher* was crowned king of *Norway*, and afterwards of *Denmark*, by the archbishop of *Lunden*. The commencement of his reign was very popular in *Denmark*, but he is accused of having always shewn a predilection in favour of that country. Historians speak of a congress of *German* princes held this year at *Wismar*, to which *Christopher* repaired in the habit of a pilgrim; and next year, he married the princess *Dorothea* of *Brandenburgh*, which explained his incognito expedition. *Christopher*, after his marriage, is accused of having been partial, in prejudice of his own subjects, to the *Brandenburghers* and *Germans*. His conduct, in this particular, was loudly complained of by the *Danes*, and he wisely removed the grounds of that complaint, both in *Denmark* and *Sweden*. He was proceeding, by many popular measures, to regain the affections of both people, when he died without issue in 1448. The memory of this prince is as much extolled by the *Danish*, as it is vilified by the *Swedish* historians.

Upon

Upon the death of *Christopher*, the *Swedes* pleaded that the Interregnum of *Calmar*, being so often fundamentally broken through, was at an end, and the states of *Denmark* made an offer of their crown to *Adolphus*, the old duke of *Holstein* and *Sleswick*; but that prince considering if he accepted it, his duchies would become no more than accessions to *Denmark*, recommended to their choice *Christiern*, his nephew, son to *Theodoric*, count of *Oldenburg*, whom the deputies accordingly chose, while *Charles Canutson* was chosen and crowned king of *Sweden*. *Canutson* The *Danes* complained of this proceeding, and *Charles*, that king of he might oblige his new subjects, invaded *Gothland*, and besieged *Eric* in *Wisby*. That prince, old as he was, made a noble defence, and having lost the town, shut himself up in the citadel, and when he was reduced to the last extremity, by his address and pathetic eloquence prevailed with the *Swedish* generals to grant him a truce for some days, during which, *Eric* laid in such stores of provisions, that the place was again in a state of defence, and he refused to surrender it, though *Charles* ordered his generals to give him his own terms. *Christiern* In the mean while, *Christiern* and the states of *Denmark* were fitting out a fleet to relieve *Eric*, so uncertain are human events; for the same prince whom the *Danes* had dethroned for his tyranny, was assisted and delivered by them in his distress. The command of the *Danish* fleet was given to *Olaus mark*. *Alexson*, to whom *Eric* gave up the citadel of *Wisby*, and at his own request was carried to *Burund*, from whence he removed to *Pomerania*, though greatly affected with the politeness and humanity of *Christiern* and the *Danish* nobility, who offered him a residence in any part of *Denmark* he should chuse. There, *Eric* closed his life in obscure tranquillity. The lives of few princes were more chequered than that of *Eric*; with great courage, he was generally unfortunate in the field; and with vast abilities, he was often out-witted in the cabinet by those whom he despised. In fact, this contempt of others, seems to have been the rock on which he split, and he was ruined by his own refinements. His life and situations were as extraordinary as any we meet with in history.

Notwithstanding the departure of *Eric*, which, we have reason to believe, was with the consent of the *Swedes*; the latter must have taken the citadel of *Wisby*, had not the garrison been seasonably relieved by *Christiern*, who then besieged and took the town. This expedition was conducted by *Christiern* with equal valour and prudence, and gained him great reputation. As he had not lost hopes of mounting the throne of *Sweden*, he generously set all his *Swedish* prisoners, who were numerous and of great quality, at liberty; and upon his return to *Denmark*, he married *Dorothea*, his predecessor's widow. In the mean while, the king of *Sweden* conquered *Norway*, and was crowned at *Drontheim*. Notwithstanding this disagreeable event, *Christiern* in several congresses and meetings he had with the *Swedish* deputies, endeavoured to re-

vive

vive the union of *Calmar*, and he found that his application was far from being ineffectual. The *Swedes* longed for peace, and hated the tyranny of *Charles*, and their deputies promised not only the restitution of the crown of *Norway* to *Christiern*, but to oblige *Charles* to submit his title to that of *Sweden* to a fair discussion. *Charles* fell into a violent passion when he heard of those proceedings, and confiscated the estates of the plenipotentiaries and deputies, who had treated with *Christiern*, which served to attach the sufferers the more firmly to that prince. *Christiern*, in the mean while, called a diet in *Zealand*; but found the members unwilling to enter into any more than a piratical war, which distressed *Sweden*, without doing any service to *Denmark*. Their depredations were severely revenged by *Charles*, who, at the head of seventy thousand men, carried fire and sword through *Schonen*, and would have taken *Lunden* itself, had he not been bravely opposed and defeated by *Tycho*, its archbishop; and by a lady who held the castle of *Wetcheffe*. Thus was *Charles*, who was himself a renowned warrior, driven out of *Schonen*, where he had been guilty of incredible cruelties, by a priest and a woman. *Christiern*, who was at *Wisnar* when this irruption happened, prepared to revenge it, and his admiral *Olaus Axelson*, actually besieged *Stockholm* with a fleet, while *Christiern* with an army reduced *West Gothland*, and strengthened his party in *Sweden*. While *Charles* was marching to oppose him, he heard of the siege of *Stockholm*, which he immediately relieved, and then marched into *West Gothland*, where *Charles*, who was surrounded with dangers and difficulties, soon lost a great part of what he had acquired. *Christiern* acted on the defensive, but gained more than he had lost, by the unpopularity which *Charles* incurred, through the vast taxes which he raised upon his subjects, to defray the expences of the war.

Stockholm
relieved,

1455.

In 1455, *Christiern* led his army again into *Sweden*, where he took the island of *Oeland*, and the town of *Borkholm*. But war was less the business of *Christiern*, at this time, than intrigue; in which he was so successful, that he received assurances from the whole body of the *Swedish* clergy, that they would assist him in re-establishing the union of *Calmar*; and the archbishop of *Upsal*, laying aside his sacerdotal habit, and drawing his sword, solemnly abjured all allegiance to *Charles*. The event was, that the prelate beat *Charles*, and drove him into *Stockholm*, from whence he fled to *Dantzic*, and the states of *Sweden* unanimously invited *Christiern* to fill his throne, to which he was accordingly raised.

and *Chris-*
topher
raised to
the three
crowns.

The three kingdoms of *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Norway*, being thus re-united in the person of *Christiern*, he began his reign over them all, by the most salutary regulations; and in the mean while, *Sleswick*, by the death of duke *Adolphus*, reverted to his crown. He afterwards purchased, from different claimants, the duchy of *Holstein*, which he was the better enabled to do, by his discovering and seizing the treasures which
his

1461.

1465.

He turns
a tyrant.

1472.

1475.

his competitor *Charles* had left concealed in the hands of the *Dominicans*. In 1461, *Christiern* obliged the pope's legate to give him half the money he had raised in *Sweden*, on pretence of a war against the infidels; and the two following years were spent by *Christiern* in accommodating differences with his neighbours. The *Swedish* patriots, at the head of whom was the archbishop of *Upsal*, who had been so instrumental in placing *Christiern* on that throne, complained that *Christiern's* long residence in *Denmark*, was an infraction of the union of *Calmar*, which *Christiern* understanding, returned so suddenly to *Stockholm*, that he surprized the archbishop, and sent him prisoner to *Denmark*, which was the greatest stain of his reign, because the prelate was innocent of what was laid to his charge. His friends, however, besieged *Christiern* in *Stockholm*, and it was with difficulty that he escaped, without any attendants, back to *Denmark*. Returning with an army, *Katil*, bishop of *Lincoping*, who was at the head of the archbishop's friends, again defeated, and drove him into *Stockholm*, where he would have taken him prisoner, had he not been carried off by his shipping. *Katil* offered to lay down his arms, if *Christiern* would consent to release the archbishop, who was his uncle; but that being refused, *Charles Canutson* again mounted the throne of *Sweden*; and not having profited by experience, he again lost it; and *Christiern* seeing his error, released the archbishop in the most honourable manner. In the year 1465, *Christiern* was involved in a dispute with *Gerhard*, earl of *Oldenburg*, in which he acquitted himself with success, while the archbishop of *Upsal* forced *Charles* to renounce the crown of *Sweden*, and sent him prisoner to *Finland*; but as the *Swedes* had renounced their allegiance to *Christiern*, *Axelson*, who was father-in-law to *Charles*, was declared protector of the kingdom, though the archbishop was in the interest of *Christiern*, who after a surprising inactivity, returned with an army to *Sweden*, and totally defeated *Axelson*. After this, *Christiern* returned to *Denmark*, where he had so many differences to make up, that *Axelson's* party still refused to admit him to the throne of *Sweden*, of which *Steen-Sture* was chosen regent.

Christiern, towards the latter end of his reign, seems not to have been much in earnest to recover the *Swedish* crown, which he found so difficult to keep; and his sole study was to promote the interest of *Denmark* and *Norway*. In 1472, *Christiern* visited the emperor *Frederic III.* who gave him the investiture of the country of *Dithmarsh*; and having been entertained with singular honours at *Rome*, he returned to *Denmark*, where he founded the university of *Copenhagen*. In 1475, he married his eldest son to the princess *Christina*, daughter of the elector of *Saxony*; and it is said, that about this time, he instituted the order of the elephant. He is accused of taking a sudden turn towards cruelty and despotism at the end of his reign. It is certain, that he endeavoured to revive the union of *Calmar*, but the *Swedes* never would accept of him for their

king, though they promised, after his decease, to chuse his
 1481. eldest son *John*. *Christiern* died in 1481, with the character
 His death. too illiterate, and too liable to be imposed upon. He reigned
 over *Denmark* about thirty-three years. Of the three children
 whom he left behind him, his eldest son *John*, in his own life-
 time, was elected his associate, and was crowned king. His
 second son *Frederic*, who was duke of *Sleswick*, succeeded to
 the *Danish* crown likewise; and his daughter *Margaret*, was
 married to the king of *Scotland*.

John king *John* succeeded his father in the kingdom of *Denmark*, and
 of *Den-* proved an excellent prince; but found great opposition from
mark. the *Swedes*, in performing their promise of electing him their
 king. He consulted his mother *Dorothea*, an excellent and
 prudent princess, in all his measures, and she advised him to
 confine his ambition to the improvement of *Denmark* and *Nor-*
way, without aspiring to reign over so turbulent a people as
 the *Swedes*. The latter, however, met him more than half-
 way, and *John* was over-persuaded to enter into a treaty with
 the administrator, in which he was duped. In the history of
Sweden, we shall have occasion to mention his disputes with
 the administrator of that country concerning *Gothland*; but
 1494. in the year 1494, he was seized with a lunacy, which how-
 ever soon went off. Finding himself trifled with by *Steen-*
Sture, administrator, and regent of *Sweden*, he prepared to do
 himself right by force of arms; but a noble fleet which he had
 provided for that purpose, was wrecked; upon which, *Steen-*
Sture disclaimed all his former engagements. *John* had the ad-
 dress to prevail with the *Muscovites* to invade *Sweden*; and
 while *Steen-Sture* went against them with an army, *John's*
 friends exerted themselves so effectually in his absence, that
Steen was deposed from the regency. This, however, was far
 from giving *John* the crown of *Sweden*, and he raised an army
 of *Banditti*, who served for plunder, and were mostly *Germans*.
 With them *John* took *Calmar* and *Berkholm*, and filled all *Swe-*
den with their ravages. *John's* chief object was the siege of
 He enters *Stockholm*; but in the mean while, the regent applied to the
Stockholm, brave *Dalecarlians*, who marched to the siege, but were de-
 feated with great slaughter; upon which, *John* was admitted
 into that capital, where he pardoned the regent, and was
 crowned king.

and is de- *John* then turned his arms against the inhabitants of *Dith-*
 feated by *marsh*, the small district which we have already mentioned to
 the *Dith-* have been given by the emperor *Frederic* to the late king, and
marshians. who being fond of liberty to enthusiasm, had refused to submit
 to the *Danes*. The army which *John* led against those deter-
 mined people, consisted of *Swedes*, *Danes*, *Norwegians* and
Holsteiners, and was so numerous, that his prelates and ge-
 nerals had already partitioned the spoil amongst themselves.
 Happily for those sons of liberty, a spirit of jealousy and dis-
 content began to prevail among his great men, and their con-
 fidence

silence was encreased by *John's* taking their city of *Meldorp*, the capital of the district. The *Dithmarsians* retired into the heart of their country, and *John* followed them with all his army, which was well provided with cannon. The *Dithmarsians*, however, gave him a total defeat, and killed four thousand of his best troops upon the spot, besides those who were wounded and made prisoners, so that *John* was obliged to agree to a peace with the *Dithmarsians*. His defeat, however, again lost him the crown of *Sweden*, for *Steen-Sture* received the regency, and excited great disturbances in *Norway*, where the people likewise disclaimed their allegiance to *John*. They chose one of their own nobility, *Canute Adolphus*, for their head, and he was assassinated, as was thought, by order of *John*; upon which, the *Norwegians* carried on war against the *Danes*, with an animosity which fell little short of frenzy. We are now arrived to the year 1503, when *John* found himself involved in a variety of difficulties and distresses. He had left his queen to defend *Stockholm*, which she did with unparalleled courage; but was at last obliged to capitulate, and she was made prisoner, contrary to the articles of capitulation. It is thought, that the liberty of this brave princess was sacrificed to an amorous indulgence, in which *John* indulged himself with another lady. After this great misfortune, *John* understood that *Lubec* and the other *Hanse* towns, were inclined to favour the regent, upon which he sent them the bishop of *Odensee*, who laid before them at large all *Sture's* perfidious conduct. His eloquence had no effect upon the *Lubeckers*, and *John* immediately cut off their trade, and that of the *Hanse* towns with *Sweden*. The finances of the *Lubeckers* were then but in an indifferent state; but the hatred of the common people towards *John*, was so violent, that their regency was forced to agree to a war, tho' they soon dropt their preparations, and *John*, upon the mediation of the duke of *Holstein*, turned the great armaments he had made, against the rebellious *Norwegians*. He committed the care of that war to his son, prince *Christiern*, who defeated both the *Swedes* and the *Norwegians*, and in one campaign reduced all the kingdom. The severity with which he treated the vanquished, because they were rebels, filled the whole country with inexpressible terror, and he carried his victorious arms into *Sweden* itself, where he took *Elsburg*.

While he was lying there, *Sture* advanced with an army, who escaped and had it not been for his own vanity and imprudence, or that of the general who commanded for him, the whole *Danish* army must have been cut off; but the *Swede* disdain- ing to sur- prize an enemy, ordered his trumpets to sound before the charge, which alarming *Christiern*, the *Swedes* were defeated with the loss of half their cavalry. The prince then took *Oreslein*, and gave no more quarter to the *Swedish* rebels, as he called them, than he had done to the *Norwegian*. *East Gothland* next felt his fury, and he assigned quarters of refreshment to his troops in *Schenen*; *Sture*, in the mean time, had persuaded the *Lubeckers*

beckers with a considerable squadron to join him, and had made a great progress against the *Danes*. *Sture's* business was to gain time; but he trifled so egregiously concerning the queen's liberty, that the pope's legate, who held a congress at *Lubec* for restoring the peace of the north, threatened him and his adherents with excommunication, unless he set the queen free, and resigned the regency. The odium into which *Sture* had fallen by his treachery to the queen, compelled him to agree with the first condition, and while the second was under debate, *Sture* died, in 1504; but was succeeded in the regency by his son *Suante Sture*. His election exasperated *John* beyond all measure, and the duke of *Mecklenburgh* having declared war against *Lubec*, the *Lubeckers* submitted to *John*, upon his own terms; but the other *Hanse* towns held out.

Sture's adherents condemned.

The two *James's*, the III^d and IVth of *Scotland*, had been useful allies to *John*, and did him great services in reducing *Norway*. As *John* was preparing to turn his whole strength against *Sweden*, an ambassador arrived from *Scotland* to act as mediator between the two parties, and it was agreed that *Calmar* should be the place where the deputies of the three kingdoms should attend. Those from *Sweden* did not appear, and *John* prevailed with the deputies of *Denmark* and *Norway*, to pronounce sentence of confiscation and deprivation against all the adherents of *Sture*, if *John* was not, by a prefixed time, put in possession of the kingdom of *Sweden*. This sentence was afterwards confirmed by the emperor, and the aulic council, printed and published through all the north. Notwithstanding this, it may be justly questioned, whether the congress had a right to pronounce, or the emperor to ratify, such a sentence. *John* held the sovereignty of *Sweden* only conditionally, and if he broke the terms, the *Swedes* were free from their allegiance; nor could all the powers on earth condemn them, at the tribunal of justice and liberty.

1506.
The *Lubeckers* declare against him,

John proceeded as if he had an undisputed right to carry the sentence into execution, and such was the awe, that the solemnity of the sentence carried with it, that *Sture* was forced to apply for peace; when all of a sudden, the *Lubeckers* declared themselves for the *Swedes*, stung, perhaps, by the severity of *John* in matters of commerce and intercourse with his rebels, which equally affected the *Lubeckers* as the other *Hanse* towns. This renewed the war between *John* and the regent with such various successes, that the former, exasperated as he was, would have treated of peace, had not *Sture*, instigated by the *Hanse* towns, rejected all terms of accommodation. The reasons for his obstinacy, lay deeper than *John* was aware of: His enemies had bribed the needy emperor, *Maximilian*, to fall off from his friendship with *John*, and it became now a popular topic in *Germany*, that the re-union of the three crowns might prove fatal to the balance of power in the north. *John*, on the other hand, applied to his allies, and prevailed with the *French* king to intercede with the emperor in his favour;

but they sue for peace.

1509.

your; so that in a short time he fitted out so powerful a squadron, that he blocked up the mouth of the *Trave*, and compelled the *Lubeckers* to sue for peace. *Sture's* party was daunted by *John's* vigorous measures, and offered to give him security that either he or his son should be placed upon the throne of *Sweden*; but their tameness was disclaimed by *Sture*, who was encouraged by the severe treatment of *John* towards the *Lubeckers*, which had obliged them to resume their arms. *John*, by this time, finding the resources of the *Hanse* towns to be inexhaustible, was tired of the war, and resolved to employ all his preparations and successes, to get a good peace. Conferences were again opened between him and the senate of *Sweden*, but all the measures concluded on came to nothing, through the spirit of *Sture*, supported by the *Lubeckers* and the *Hanse* towns. They invaded his dominions, and he was obliged to convert the largest vessels of his allies, which were in his ports, into ships of war. The *Lubeckers* were repulsed at *Mona* and *Langland*, and the *Swedes* were defeated in *Halland*. The foreign shipping employed by *John* distressed the *Lubeckers*, but without daunting them; and their regency, in conjunction with the *Swedes*, continued their descents upon the *Danish* coasts, so that the whole was a mean, piratical, indecisive war. The *Swedes*, however, in 1511, took *Borkholm*; but the *Danish* fleet defeated that of *Lubec*, near that place, and recovered a rich *Dutch* fleet, which had been taken by the *Lubeckers*; those events gave the *Danes* an undisputed superiority in the northern seas.

1511.

1512.

In the year 1512, died *Suante Sture*, and the *Swedes* were divided concerning his successor, one party favouring his son *Stenon*, as the other, which was headed by the archbishop of *Upsal*, did *Eric Troll*. The death of *Suante* discouraged the *Lubeckers* so much, that they made a final peace with *John*, and promised to assist him in recovering the crown of *Sweden*. The *Swedes*, deserted by their most powerful ally, sent *John* their deputies likewise; and to gain some respite from war, which had continued without intermission above twelve years, it was agreed that either he or his son should mount the throne of *Sweden*, or that the *Swedes* should pay them a tribute of thirty thousand marks. We cannot suppose that *John* had any great reliance on the faith of so vague a treaty; but he employed the leisure it gave him, in reforming the morals, and cultivating the minds of his subjects, which were still too deeply tinged with barbarism. Being sensible of the advantage of letters for polishing the manners of mankind, he gave great encouragement to the university, which his father had founded at *Copenhagen*, and prohibited youth to be sent out of his dominions for education, nor could they repair even to *Upsal*, (then the great seminary of learning in the north) unless they had studied three years at that of *Copenhagen*. As a mark of his regard for learning, he gave great encouragement to the art of printing through all his dominions, especially at *Copenhagen*.

Death and
character
of *John*.

1513.

bagen, where it made an early and considerable progress. This excellent prince's death (for such he was) was occasioned by a fall from his horse in *North Jutland*, and he died after giving an excellent advice to his son, on the 20th of *February* 1513. The personal merits of this prince, were amiable and unexceptionable. By his own example, even in dress, he united the simplicity and sincerity of the antient *Danes*, with the refinements of modern times; in private life, plain; in public, magnificent; and so tenacious of his faith, that he never chose to break it, though others broke theirs to him. With regard to his political qualities, we suspect him of laying too great stress on the duties of allegiance on the part of the people, without reciprocal returns on that of the prince; but this seems to have been owing to his education, and was, in fact, his family failing; nor do his warmest apologists clear him from having infringed the treaty of *Calmar*, which undoubtedly was the fundamental law of his government over the *Swedes*, and the breach of it justified them in their most violent opposition.

Christiern
II.

He mar-
ries *Isa-
bella* of
Austria.

The reputation of *Denmark* was high at the time of *John's* death, especially as his son and successor *Christiern*, had already given proofs of a great military genius. Though he did not much rely upon the agreement lately made between the *Swedes* and his father, yet his alliances were so respectable, and his troops in such good order, that he was not afraid of the *Swedes* acting offensively, and therefore he made a journey to the *Low Countries*, where he demanded and obtained in marriage *Isabella*, the sister of the archduke, afterwards the emperor *Charles* the Vth; and she was conducted to *Denmark*, where the nuptials were celebrated with great magnificence. It is to *Christiern's* fondness for his bride, that the *Danes* owe the introduction of hortulane improvements, and the culture of foreign fruits in their country. *Christiern* then applied to the affairs of commerce, and no sooner had he settled them, than he turned his attention to *Sweden*. *Christiern*, the most despotic and most inhuman prince, by nature, of any in his time, secretly wished that he might reign over *Sweden* by conquest, rather than by compact, that he might have an opportunity to gratify his rage for blood. He gave young *Troll*, who had succeeded to the see of *Upsal*, a large sum of money to favour his interest; and no sooner was *Troll* arrived in *Sweden*, than he published his anathemas against *Sture*, who had succeeded his father as administrator. A legate from the pope, after raising large contributions in *Denmark*, was proceeding to *Sweden*, and was seemingly perverted to *Christiern's* interest by the same arguments; but he betrayed him to *Sture*, when *Christiern* was making the greatest preparations for the conquest of *Sweden*. Before he set out, *Christiern* brought to a trial his favourite minister *Foburgh*, on a charge urged against him by *Torbern*, bailiff of the citadel of *Copenhagen*, of having intrigued with the king's mistress *Columbule*. *Torbern* not only openly accused, but

privately

privately put to death *Foburgh*, and was himself arrested and His de-
tried for the same crime, but acquitted by the senate, because spotic dis-
no crime appeared against *Torbern*, but his having confessed position.
that he had solicited *Columbule's* favour. *Christiern* hearing of
their determination, gave a loose to his sanguinary disposition.
He surrounded the senate house with a body of armed ruffians,
and though all his courtiers, with his queen at their head,
threw themselves at his feet, to divert his cruel purpose, he
forced the senators to condemn *Torbern*, and he was executed
accordingly.

This dreadful proceeding alarmed all the civilized part of His cruel-
Denmark; but the introduction of *Lutheranism* into that coun- ties.
try, in 1517, diverted the public to other objects. *Christiern*
was out of humour with the see of *Rome*, on account of the
legate's treachery, and the vast sums he carried out of his
kingdom. He had ordered a bishop of *Odensee* to be confined,
he had seized several rich benefices, and seemed well disposed
towards *Lutheranism*. The nobility and clergy equally shewed
their disapprobation of *Christiern's* conduct, but he relied on
the strength of his foreign alliances, and he sent a fleet to
Sweden, which delivered the archbishop of *Upsal*, who had
been besieged by the administrator in the fortress of *Steka*.
Christiern's connections with the house of *Austria*, the heads
of which have ever been the patrons and protectors of despo-
tism, saved *Christiern* on this occasion from the resentment of
his people, by compelling the pope to take his part. It is
true, his holiness thundered out his excommunications against
the *Lutherans*; but that was a matter of indifference to *Chris-*
tiern, who had countenanced them only through conveniency,
while the administrator of *Sweden*, and all his party, were ex-
communicated at the same time; and the execution of the
churches sentence was committed to *Christiern*. He was then
entirely under the power of a *Flemish* old woman, *Sigebrette*, He is go-
mother to his late mistress *Columbule*, who had been poisoned, vernal by
and by her advice the king raised money for carrying on the war an old
against the *Swedes*, in a most unheard of, oppressive, manner, but woman.
without daring to trespass too far upon the properties of the
clergy. He received, however, from *Francis I.* four thousand
auxiliary troops; and from the house of *Austria* three hundred
thousand marks, as his wife's fortune. The juncture was favour-
able for *Christiern*, as his friendship might be of the utmost con-
sequence in the competition that was then depending between
Francis and *Charles* for the empire. Fortified with those as-
sistances, *Christiern* prepared to renew the war with *Sweden*,
and made one *Crumpen*, an excellent officer, the minister of
his vengeance, by giving him the command of his troops.
Four desperate battles were fought, and the *Danes* remained
victorious. The archbishop of *Upsal* took part with *Christiern*,
and all the time that *Crumpen* would give to the states of *Swe-*
den, whether they would join the king or elect a new admini-
strator, was eleven days. The states knew it was in vain to
E e 4 contest

contest *Crumpen's* will, who appeared in behalf of his master in the assembly, and *Christiern* was chosen and crowned king of *Sweden*, though *Stockholm*, *Calmar*, and other strong places were held by the widow of the administrator, who had been killed in one of the late battles.

He massacres the *Swedish* senate and nobility. *Christiern* was above using any argument but the sword, when he had power; and upon his return from *Sweden* to *Denmark*, he silenced all opposition of the people and senate, who in his absence had murmured at the manner equally ridiculous and infamous, with which he was governed by *Sigebrette*, even to her attempting to raise a barber, who was her paramour, to the archiepiscopal see of *Lunden*, and procuring *Christiern's* recommendation of him to the pope. Her violent counsels even accelerated the natural impetuosity of *Christiern*, to commit the most shocking acts of cruelty and despotism; and she suggested to him the infernal project of murdering all the senate and nobility of *Sweden*, which he afterwards executed, as shall be seen in the history of that country. It is sufficient to say here, that *Christiern*, under pretence of their being excommunicated, murdered, without any form of trial, ninety-four senators and prelates in one day. The more he tasted of blood, the more he thirsted after it. After massacring the citizens of *Stockholm*, every stage of his march back to *Denmark*, might have been traced by the marks of blood and ruin; nor were even ecclesiastics exempted from his cruelty.

Gustavus Vasa appears.

At this time it was, that the famous *Gustavus Vasa*, the son of *Eric*, who had been butchered by *Christiern*, emerged from the mines of *Dalecarlia*, to be the deliverer, sovereign, and glory of his country; but the particulars of his history must be reserved for that of *Sweden*. *Christiern* was so unmanly as to threaten to put the mother and sisters of *Gustavus* to death; but even that tender consideration made no impression upon his patriotism, for he put to the sword the partizans of *Christiern*, whether *Swedes* or *Danes*, wherever he found them; and he compelled *Theodore*, who was *Christiern's* general, and the archbishop of *Upsal*, to shut themselves up in *Stockholm*. *Christiern* durst not carry his troops out of *Denmark*, where public discontents were every day encreasing, to the relief of his *Swedish* friends. All of a sudden *Theodore* and the archbishop of *Upsal*, who had fled from *Stockholm*, presented themselves before him. *Christiern* ordered *Theodore* to be tortured and put to death, and the mother and sisters of *Gustavus* to be sewed up in sacks, and thrown into the sea; which barbarous commands were executed: But some say, that they died in prison, under the tortures they suffered by his command. No quarter was given on either side after this.

1522. In 1522, *Christiern* sent his first admiral *Norby* with a fleet to relieve *Stockholm*, then besieged by *Gustavus*. *Norby* had himself an eye on the crown of *Sweden*; but landing his men, he was defeated by *Gustavus*, though he threw some stores and reinforcements into *Stockholm* before his return to *Denmark*.
Gustavus

Gustavus engaged the fleet of the *Lubeckers* in his favour; but he found himself, at that time, unable to take *Stockholm*. He was favoured by the general discontents of *Denmark*, which served only to encrease the ferocity of *Christiern*, who demanded *Holstein* from his uncle, duke *Frederic*, whose prudence found means to elude the king's injustice. But while *Christiern's* frenzy of cruelty was at its height, the *Jutlanders* took arms, and being seconded by the voice of all *Sweden*, *Christiern* was formally deposed from the throne by an assembly of deposed the nobles, held at *Wybqurg*. It is said upon good authority, from the that *Christiern* knew nothing of his deposition, till he discovered the parchment upon which it was engrossed, and which *Denmark* had been left in his chamber by *Munce*, the chief justice of *Jutland*, who dined with him that very day, but made his escape. *Christiern*, after this, from being dreadful and detestable, became abject and despicable. Though he was still in possession of *Copenhagen*, *Norway*, and many islands and places of great importance, yet he lost all spirit, and descended to harangue even the peasants with tears in his eyes, for his restoration. Finding all his efforts vain, he equipped twenty ships, to which he committed himself, his wife, his children, his treasures, and the infamous *Sigebrette*, and after a tempestuous passage, he landed at *Wesel*.

The states of *Denmark* did not long deliberate in conferring 1524. the crown upon *Christiern's* uncle *Frederic*, duke of *Sleswick* *Frederic* and *Holstein*; and *Magnus Gye*, *Christiern's* governor of *Copen-* III. engaged, being disappointed in the succours he expected from deavours *Germany*, surrendered that capital in 1524. After this, the to revive *Norwegians* recognized *Frederic* for their king. It is somewhat the union surprizing, that *Frederic*, at this time, should harbour a thought of *Calmar*, of reviving the union of *Calmar*, after the great things that *Gustavus* had done to render *Sweden* independent; but it is certain, that he was instigated by the exiled archbishop of *Upsal*, and he even complained to the senate of *Sweden* of the injustice that had been done him, and the violation of the union of *Calmar*, by the election of *Gustavus*. The moderation of that prince preserved his own dignity and the faith of nations from being violated when so unreasonable a speech was made. He treated the *Danish* embassador with the utmost politeness and magnificence; and the states, to take from *Frederic* all hopes of success, declared to his minister, that out of the great and personal regard they bore to *Gustavus*, they were resolved to invest him with greater powers than had ever been exercised by any former king of *Sweden*. *Frederic's* good sense led him easily to perceive, that it was more proper for him to have *Gustavus* for his ally than his enemy, especially as both of them were convinced that they were equally obnoxious to Peace between *Christiern*, and that his brother-in-law, the emperor, would leave nothing unattempted to replace him on his throne. *Sweden* In short, a league offensive and defensive was entered into between *Den-* mark. between the two reigning monarchs; and *Frederic* sent back the administrator's

administrator's brave widow, and all the other *Swedish* prisoners, who had been long confined in *Denmark*.

Norby
subdued.

It was not long before this newly cemented alliance received a shock by the practices of *Norby*, the *Danish* admiral, who was governor of the isle of *Gothland*, and exercised piracies against the subjects of *Lubec*, and the *Hanse* towns. At their request, *Gustavus* attacked him by land, the *Lubeckers* blocked him up by sea; and *Frederic* fearing that so fine an island might fall into the hands of the *Swedes*, applied to the *Lubeckers* to withdraw their assistance from *Gustavus*, and undertook at the same time, that *Norby* should discontinue his piratical practices. His negotiation was attended with success. *Wisby*, the chief place of the island, which was besieged, was relieved through the connivance of the *Lubeckers*; but *Norby* refused to return to his allegiance to the crown of *Denmark*, and was no sooner at liberty, than he declared himself independent, and ravaged the *Danish* coasts. He was defeated by *Pantzau*, with the loss of four thousand men; and *Norby*, after many other losses, renewed his offers of submission to *Frederic*; but would have again prevaricated, had not *Frederic* forced him to surrender *Wisby*, and evacuate the island, which was thus narrowly saved from falling into the hands of the *Swedes*.

Frederic
declares
himself a
protestant.
1527.

Nothing had prevented the emperor *Charles* from attempting to restore *Christiern*, but the other more momentous affairs he was engaged in; though some feeble attempts of that kind were made by *Margaret* of *Austria*. About the year 1527, *Frederic* declared for liberty of conscience to protestants equally as to the *Roman* catholics, and he himself made use of the liberty he granted to others, by embracing the reformed religion. No nation had smarted under the tyranny of ecclesiastics more than *Denmark*; and after the king had declared himself in favour of protestantism, its progress was incredibly rapid.

Christiern
the king's
fleet ship-
wrecked.

The bigotted house of *Austria* made use of this as an argument with the *Roman* catholics for restoring *Christiern*; but all their attempts, though some of them were formidable, were defeated. The *Flemish* squadron that was in *Christiern's* service, was destroyed to a ship, and *Christiern* himself, who was carrying on the operations by land, was forced to shut himself up in the town of *Congel*, where he surrendered himself prisoner to *Gylbenstiern*, bishop of *Odensee*, who promised him better terms than he had power to fulfil, for *Frederic* shut the royal prisoner up in the castle of *Sunderburg*. *Frederic* died that same year, 1533, with the character of having been a wise and moderate prince, and the glory of being the father and patron of protestantism in *Denmark*.

He is
made a
prisoner.
1533.

Christiern
III.

A liberty of conscience and his own example, was all the legal encouragement that *Frederic* had given to the protestant religion; for the *Roman* catholic prelates and clergy at the time of his death, were possessed of their great temporalities, and opposed the elevation of *Christiern*, *John's* eldest son, to the throne, because he was a protestant. Their influence was so powerful,

powerful, that they procured an adjournment of the diet and Disputes of the election, and even proposed to exclude *Christiern* from about the throne in favour of his younger brother *John*, whom they succession were in hopes to educate a *Roman* catholic. This indecision, to the the interruption which the *Lubeckers* gave to the trade of *Den-* crown. mark, the intrigues of the house of *Holstein*, and of the *Roman* catholics, in favour of the imprisoned *Christiern*, brought *Denmark* to the brink of ruin. Prince *Christiern's* general *Rantzau*, defeated the *Lubeckers*, and made that prince master of the *Trave*; but the *Lubeckers* and their allies, in the mean while, conquered great part of *Denmark*. At last, prince, who by some is called duke, *Christiern*, was chosen king by a majority of the states, who were weary with the long state of anarchy and civil distraction they had suffered. Notwithstanding his election and coronation, the *Lubeckers* and *Christopher*, count of *Oldenburg*, declared for *Christiern II*; but the third *Christiern's* cause was espoused by *Gustavus*, king of *Sweden*, though the count of *Oldenburg* reduced *Fionia* to the allegiance of *Christiern II*. It was owing to the valour and conduct of *Rantzau* and *Eric Banner*, that *Christiern III*. was enabled to keep possession of the throne, for *Copenhagen* was in the hands of the count; and the power of the clergy, together with the factious dispositions of the nobility, threatened some dreadful revolution, when *Gustavus* of *Sweden* appeared on the frontiers of *Denmark*, in favour of *Christiern III*. His arrival changed the face of affairs. The count and the *Lubeckers* were entirely defeated, and the enemies of *Christiern*, among whom were the *Mecklenburghers*, split among themselves, so that *Christiern III*. by the assistance of *Gustavus*, was enabled to form the siege of *Copenhagen*.

While this siege was carrying on, the emperor *Charles V*. *Christiern* formed a project for rendering *Sweden* and *Denmark* fiefs of reduces the empire, to be held by the elector palatine. This pro- *Copen-* duced a personal interview between *Gustavus* and *Christiern III*. *hogen*, but the result is not known. It is, however, certain that the emperor embroiled the affairs of *Christiern III*. in such a manner, that he gained the clergy of *Norway* to his side. *Christiern* was beset with difficulties on every hand, especially after he had made a peace with the *Lubeckers*, without consulting *Gustavus*, who immediately ordered his troops to withdraw out of *Denmark*; but was easily prevailed upon to accept of *Christiern's* apology, on account of the necessity he was under for acting as he did. The submission of *George Munter*, a great partizan for the imperialists, and governor of *Malinoe*, was of decisive service to *Christiern III*. for it was owing to his persuasion that the inhabitants of *Copenhagen*, after suffering incredible miseries during the siege of their city, surrendered themselves to *Christiern*, in 1536. The count of *Oldenburg* was taken prisoner on that occasion, and pardoned by *Christiern* on account of his consanguinity.

1536.

It

and abo-
lishes the
Romish
religion in
Denmark.

It was easy now for *Christiern* to foresee, that the difficulties he had to encounter with against princes so bigotted to the *Roman* religion, as those of *Austria*, left him no alternative but that of his own preservation, or the extinction of the temporalities of the *Romish* bishops, which could not be done without a thorough reformation in matters of religion. In this, he was seconded by his nobility, who were naturally enemies to the prelates, and setting all considerations of their sanctity aside, by a decree of a diet held at *Odensee*, the persons of all the bishops of *Denmark* were ordered to be arrested, their estates to be vested in the crown, and their temporalities for ever abolished. It is surprizing with what tranquillity this important decree was executed; but it was questioned, at that time, whether it was sound policy in *Christiern*, entirely to remove the barrier that could protect the crown from the overgrown power of the nobility. Our opinion is, that *Christiern* could act no otherwise than he did, considering the powerful pretenders he had among the *Roman* catholics to his crown, and the vast opportunities they had of associating themselves with a popish prelacy against a protestant prince. The only remedy which *Christiern* could have applied, perhaps, was impracticable; that of vesting protestant prelates or ecclesiastics with a part, or the whole of the power and property taken from the *Roman* catholics.

His differ-
ences
with *Gus-*
tavus of
Sweden,

1539.

The affairs of *Norway* next drew *Christiern's* attention; but the archbishop *Olaus*, his capital enemy there, no sooner heard of his preparations to reduce it, than he withdrew to *Holland*, and the people returned to their allegiance. This great point being effected, *Christiern* ordered a protestant profession of faith to be drawn up, and to be tendered to the inferior clergy, leaving them at liberty either to embrace it, or to leave the kingdom, which many of them did; and from that period we may date the firm establishment of protestantism in *Denmark*. This alteration in religion was so far from being attended with any commotions, as happened in other countries, that *Denmark* enjoyed an unusual state of tranquillity for two years after it took place. *Christiern* employed this interval in salutary regulations for the good of his people, and in making friends of the *Hamburgers*, who obliged the elector palatine to evacuate the duchy of *Holstein*, which he had invaded with fire and sword. *Gustavus* of *Sweden*, magnanimous as he was, could not without uneasiness see the desirable situation of *Christiern*, especially as the latter had never formally renounced his claims to the *Swedish* crown. About the year 1539, *Gustavus* complained of various insults and injuries which had been done to his subjects by *Danish* soldiers and sailors, and made a demand of large sums of money which he alledged were due to him from *Christiern*. It is probable, that such an intricacy of claims might have produced a quarrel between the two crowns, had not their common danger from *Germany* kept them

them united. *Christiern* knew this, and gave very little way to the *Swedes*. At last those two potentates had a personal conference, in which they found it their mutual interest to fix the term of five years, within which all their differences were to be adjusted, except that relating to *Gothland*, which was referred to a future discussion. It was at this interview that *Christiern* made *Gustavus* fully sensible of the emperor's designs upon both the crowns, that the elector palatine was only his agent, and that their natural ally was *Francis* the 1st of *France*, the inveterate and powerful enemy of *Charles*, and with *Francis* they actually concluded a treaty. This measure was attended by some reprisals, which the governors of the *Netherlands* made upon the *Hamburghers*, whom they considered as the subjects of the *Danes*, but the quarrel went no farther than the commission of some piratical acts on both sides.

About this time, *Christiern* sent to *Sweden* troops, and some money, which enabled *Gustavus* to quell a rebellion which had been fomented against him by the imperial court, and omitted nothing that could testify his friendship and gratitude for *Gustavus*. *Christiern* even published a manifesto, shewing that he looked upon the interest of *Sweden* and *Denmark* to be the same; and we are told that he fitted out a fleet, carrying ten thousand men, to be employed against the emperor in the *Netherlands*, but that it was wrecked or forced back by stress of weather. After this, *Charles* discontinued all his hostilities and intrigues against *Christiern*, and both princes entered into treaties, which rendered the remaining part of *Christiern's* reign tranquil. In 1544, he divided *Holstein* between his two brothers, *John* and *Adolphus*, in express contravention of the act of his accession; but though the nobility complained loudly of this dismemberment, *Christiern* remained firm to his purpose, and the execution of it was attended with no disagreeable consequences, at least, for that time.

Christiern the 11d was still alive, and a prisoner; but in the treaty of *Spire*, concluded between *Christiern* the 11d and the emperor, his cause had been entirely abandoned by the latter, renounces upon *Christiern* promising to grant him some indulgences, and to enlarge his confinement, provided he made an ample renunciation of all his claims upon the crown of *Denmark*, which *Christiern* the 11d accordingly did, in the most comprehensive form. The glory and tranquillity which *Christiern* enjoyed through this renunciation, was somewhat affected by the *Swedes* having rendered their crown hereditary in the family of *Gustavus*, which destroyed the possibility of reviving the union of *Calmar*. *Christiern* expressed his dissatisfaction no otherwise, than by ordering money to be struck with the impression of the three crowns that had been worn by his predecessors; nor could all the remonstrances of *Gustavus* prevail upon him to alter his devise, which is now the arms of *Denmark*, if it was not so before. In 1547, while *Denmark* was enjoying

whom he
assists.

1544.

1547.

Death of
Christiern
the III^d.
1558.

enjoying a profound peace, *Christiern's* eldest son, *Frederic*, was recognized as his successor, by being crowned king of *Denmark* and *Norway*, and the *Vandal* states depending on the crown of *Denmark*, were confirmed in their privileges. The rest of *Christiern's* reign was spent in the internal regulations of his government, and in improving the kingdom, which now bounded all his wishes; for he refused the sovereignty of the city of *Revel*, when offered to him by its magistrates. He died on the 1st of *January* 1558, in the twenty-fourth year of his reign; the happiest prince of his age, and the best deserving to be so, if we except, perhaps, his illustrious contemporary, *Gustavus* of *Sweden*.

Frederic
the II^d.
1561.

Frederic the II^d began his reign by subduing and reducing the *Dithmarsians*, a conquest that could be glorious to his arms only by the defeat which that brave, but barbarous people had given to his predecessor *John*. In 1561, some differences broke out between *Denmark* and *Sweden*, which was now governed by *Eric*, the son of *Gustavus*, but they were terminated by a peace between the two crowns. A dark conspiracy, formed among the princes of the north, broke out at this time, which gave so much umbrage to *Frederic*, that he ordered the *Swedish* ambassadors to be arrested in his country, through which they were passing, under a safe conduct, into *Germany*. It is hard to say on which side the justice of this

His wars
with *Sweden*,

war lay. *Eric* complained of *Frederic's* having seized part of *Finland*, during a late irruption of the *Muscovites* into that country, and that a large sum of money was still due from *Denmark* to *Sweden*. *Frederic*, on the other hand, was uneasy at the claims which he had upon *Sweden* being postponed, and both nations were now rivals for commerce. The *Lubbeckers* declared for *Frederic*, but their joint fleets were beat by that of *Sweden*, and the *Danish* admiral, *Brakenhuisen*, was made prisoner. We are inclined to believe that a treaty of marriage, the particulars of which will be seen in the history of *Sweden*, between *Eric* and queen *Elizabeth* of *England*, and which was pretty far advanced in the time of the late *Gustavus*, did not a little contribute to excite the jealousy of the northern powers towards *Eric* at this time, for a confederacy was formed against him, consisting of *Denmark*, *Muscovy*, *Poland*, and some of the *Hanse* towns, besides *Lubec*. *Eric* would have gladly compromised his differences with *Frederic*, but the latter had now an army of above forty thousand troops on foot, and a strong armament at sea, and did not vouchsafe to give even an answer to *Eric's* complaints and remonstrances. After war had been formally denounced by *Frederic*, he took *Elfsborg*, and, winter succeeding, the elector of *Saxony* and the prince of *Hesse*, who were *Eric's* friends, offered their mediation between the two monarchs, but, though a congress was appointed, it was without effect; for *Eric* thought himself a match for *Frederic*. His fleet, however, was compleatly defeated by the combined squadrons of *Lubec* and *Denmark*; and half

half of it destroyed; but a detachment of his army took *Drontheim* and *Sleenwyckholm* in *Norway*, without being able to hold them, for the *Swedes* were driven out by the viceroy.

Eric, at this time, was supported from *Germany*, and many of the *Hanse* towns, *Stralsund* in particular, took his part. His fleet being reinforced, surprized and defeated that of *Denmark*, and in a bloody obstinate engagement, wherein the whole naval power of both crowns was employed, and which lasted for some days, the *Swedes* remained victorious. The war by land was carried on by the two princes with equal fury, in *Schoonen*, *Bleking*, and *Smalandia*. The *Swedes* took *Wardburg*, and the *Danes* endeavouring to retake it, a general battle ensued, in which the *Swedes* were commanded by *Eric*, but were defeated, with the loss of seven thousand men killed, while the loss of the *Danes* was so great, that they could do no more than keep the field. This war was continued during the years 1565 and 1566, with circumstances of barbarity that were shocking to humanity. The *Danes* had the advantage by land, and the *Swedes* by sea; and we are told of one storm, in which nine thousand *Danes* perished in eight ships; but this loss was in part compensated by an epidemical distemper which broke out among the *Swedish* troops, which however did not hinder *Eric* from making a very unadvised irruption into *Norway*, where he was defeated by the *Danes*, and lost great part of his army; so that, upon the whole, *Frederic* seems to have had the advantage in the war. In 1567, the *Danish* general, *Rantzau*, made an irruption into *Smalandia*, where, after reducing many places, he obtained two glorious victories over the *Swedish* generals.

In 1568, *Eric* being deposed by his brother, *Frederic* granted a truce to *Sweden* for six months, but upon terms prescribed by himself; and this truce was followed by a definitive peace, that gave back to *Frederic* all his ships which had been taken in the war, and besides a vast number of other places which were surrendered to the *Danes*, they were left in undisputed possession of *Gothland*, *Schoonen*, *Halland*, and *Bleking*. The *Swedes* likewise engaged to pay a considerable sum towards the war, and the *Danes* obtained other very honourable and advantageous terms, both for themselves and their allies. *Frederic*, perhaps, failed in his politics in forcing the *Swedes* to agree to a peace so disadvantageous, and so disgraceful to themselves. The proceedings of the ambassadors who made it were disowned by the voice of the nation, and the war was renewed, or rather continued, with equal fury as before: As the bloody fruits of it were equally ruinous to both crowns, without bringing any real advantage to either, a new negotiation was agreed on, and actually concluded, not much different from the preceding. *Livonia* having revolted to the duke of *Holstein*, he, with the consent of the czar and the king of *Denmark*, had been declared king of that country. After this peace was concluded, *Frederic* married the princess *Sophia*,

1575. *Sophia*, daughter to the duke of *Mecklenburgh*, and assisted his father-in-law in a quarrel he had with the cities of *Rostock* and *Hamburgh*. In 1575, *Frederic* compromised some differences that had happened between his troops and the *Muscovites*, who behaved with unparalleled barbarity in *Livonia*; and *Denmark*; after this, enjoyed for some years an uninterrupted state of tranquillity, which rendered *Frederic* very respectable in the eyes of foreigners; for we find that in 1582, queen *Elizabeth* of *England* sent him the order of the garter by the lord *Willoughby*, but could not prevail upon him to mitigate the high duties paid by her subjects in the navigation of the *Sound*. Next year, not only the *English*, but the *Dutch*, the *Lubeckers*, and the *Hanse* towns, complained of the same impositions; and when the latter applied to the emperor, as lord paramount of *Denmark*, *Frederic* ordered the taxes to be doubled, though he afterwards restored them to the same footing as before, not chusing to render the *Lubeckers* his enemies.

He sells *Courland*. About this time died, without issue, *Magnus* duke of *Courland*, and his succession was disputed between *Frederic* and the king of *Poland*. Their differences were referred to the duke of *Prussia*, one of the most artful princes of his time, who prevailed upon *Frederic* to accept of a sum of money instead of the duchy, though it certainly belonged to him, and with the king of *Poland*, to suffer it to remain in his hands, by which he made a noble addition to his other dominions. In 1589, *James* the VIth of *Scotland*, married the princess *Anne*, daughter to *Frederic*, who appears to have entered much deeper than his predecessors ever had done, into the politics of other *European* princes. He kept ambassadors at all their courts, and his was filled with theirs. Not only queen *Elizabeth*, but the *Spaniards* traversed this match with all their art, but without making any impression upon *Frederic*, who was flattered with the prospect of being father-in-law to the first king of *Great Britain*. With regard to *James*, it is certain he could not, in point of interest, have made a better choice, especially as he was apprehensive that his succession to the crown of *England* might be disputed, in which case *Frederic* would have been the most unexceptionable ally he could have had, as being a protestant. About this time *Frederic* died, in the 29th year of his reign, and the 54th of his age. He had all the great and virtuous qualities of his father, but his manners were more polished, and his court more magnificent.

Christiern the IVth, at the time of his father's death, was but eleven years of age, and the care of the government was committed to four regents. Its tranquillity was secured by the distractions which prevailed in *Sweden* and the neighbouring countries, which left the regents at liberty to give an excellent education to their young monarch, who, in 1596, married *Anna Catharina*, daughter to the elector of *Brandenburgh*. *Elizabeth* of *England* sent the lord *Zouch* to compliment *Christiern* a brutal prince.

Christiern upon his marriage, and to insist upon his remedying some hardships which her trading subjects suffered in *Denmark*, but was so far from receiving any satisfaction, that his *Danish* majesty wrote her a letter to inform her, that she might take it as a favour that the ships, as well as the effects of her subjects trading in his dominions, were not confiscated. This letter was followed by a *Danish* ambassador, (in *Rymer's* collections, named *Oragius*) who demanded, in pretty high terms, satisfaction for the injuries the *Danes* had suffered from the *English*, whom he called the younger brothers of the *Danes*. Though that great princess was not used to such a freedom of language, yet she thought proper to appoint a commission to examine into the true state of the case.

Such a proceeding, towards the most respectable character His wars of a crowned head of any in the world, may give us some with *Sweden* idea of *Christiern's* natural disposition, which was fierce, vindictive, lustful, and barbarous beyond belief. Upon the accession of *James* to the crown of *England*, he sent *Christiern* the order of the garter, with a commission to stand godfather to his young son; and in *July* 1606, *Christiern* paid a visit to *James* at *London*. During his residence there, he behaved with unparalleled brutality, especially towards the countess of *Nottingham*; and the vices of him and his attendants, especially that of drinking, shocked the *English*. In 1609, a war broke out between *Denmark* and *Sweden*. Both princes had their complaints to colour their real views, which were each to re-annex to his own crown what the other had taken from it. *Christiern* complained of *Charles* having taken the titles of king of *Lapland*, which he alledged belonged to *Norway*; and upon this ridiculous pretext, in 1611, he besieged and took *Calmar*, where he put to the sword every living soul he found in the place. *Christiern* left the siege of the citadel to his general, *Lucas Crab*, and returned to *Copenhagen*, but *Crab* was beaten, the siege was raised, and the *Swedes* took *Christianstad*. *Christiern* soon recovered this loss, by many advantages he got over the *Swedes*, especially in taking the citadel of *Calmar*, and reducing *Borkholm* and the island of *Oeland*. But a genius now rose in the north, which was to eclipse that of *Christiern*, and all the military characters of that age.

1605.

1609.

1611.

This was the great *Gustavus Adolphus*, whose father's life He is chosen head of the protestants in Germany. was thought to have been shortened by melancholy. *Gustavus* drove the *Danes* out of *Oeland* and *Borkholm*, and dissipated their army. It is hard to say what the consequence might have been, had not *Gustavus* been embroiled with the *Muscovites*, and had not *Christiern's* brother-in-law, the king of *England*, mediated a peace between him and *Gustavus*, upon much better terms than *Christiern* had a right to expect. This peace produced another visit of *Christiern* to *London*, without any other visible reason than to thank *James* for his mediation, and to enjoy the luxuries of eating and drinking, which he could not find in his own country. The war still continuing between

Vol. IX.
p. 145.

1621.

Ibid. p.
151. &
seq.

Is brave,
but over-
matched.

1628.

He is jea-
lous of
Gustavus
Adolphus.

1632.

between *Sweden* and *Russia*, *Denmark* prospered so greatly in her trade, as to become the object of envy to her neighbouring powers. The reader, in other parts of this history, has been made acquainted with the jealousy which the northern courts now entertained of the house of *Austria*, especially as to the succession to the duchies of *Juliers* and *Cleves*. In 1621, upon the defeat of the elector palatine, who had assumed the title of king of *Bohemia*, a league was formed at *Siegeberg*, in which the kings of *Great Britain*, *Denmark*, and *Sweden*, the states of *Holland*, and almost all the protestant princes of the empire, were parties against the house of *Austria*. *Christiern*, who was then the most powerful prince in the north, was at the head of this league, the progress of which has been already related in the history of *Germany*. It is allowed on all hands, that *Christiern* exercised his new dignity with unexceptionable courage, zeal, and no small share of military abilities; and if he was unsuccessful, it was owing to his being opposed by *Tilly* and *Wallenstein*, then thought to be the two greatest generals of the age. He even sometimes foiled them, and kept the field, though he received an unfortunate wound in his head. When he was driven out of *Germany* into his own country, he disputed with these two generals every inch of ground they gained, till at last, his men, daunted by their defeats, lost all spirit. The states of his kingdom interposed, the emperor disregarded all they could offer, and this raised such a spirit of indignation among the *Danes*, that in 1628, the emperor, at the consent of his catholic electors, consented to treat at *Lubec*, where *Christiern's* deputies acted with so much spirit, that he recovered all he had lost, excepting some places that were ceded to the house of *Holstein*, particularly the island of *Femeren*. Those cessions disgusted *Christiern* with that house, but his subjects were so well pleased with the peace of *Lubec*, that he durst not enter upon hostilities, and *Christiern* applied himself to rebuild *Gluckstadt*, and to reinforce the customs and payments due to his government. The measures he took for those purposes, gave umbrage to the *Hamburgers*, and a war broke out between them and the *Danes*, to the advantage of the latter, till the protestant princes prevailed upon *Christiern* to listen to an accommodation.

Though *Christiern* was in his heart a protestant and an honest man, yet he was not proof against the stings of jealousy, when he heard of the wonderful exploits that had been performed by his neighbour of *Sweden*. Being open in his temper, his disgust became so visible, that the imperialists did not fail to fill him with surmises; and *Pappenheim*, the imperial minister, even offered to put the duchy of *Bremen* into his hands, if he would declare against *Gustavus*. The states of *Denmark* interposed, and in a manner obliged *Christiern* to renew his good understanding with *Sweden*. In the year 1632, the astonishing successes of *Gustavus* awakened *Christiern's* jealousy

lously afresh, and he offered himself as a mediator, to put a stop to the miseries of *Germany*, but his mediation was rejected by the king of *Sweden*, who thought them partial to the imperialists. *Christiern* being disappointed in this project, applied himself to the means of preventing the too great aggrandizement of *Gustavus* in the north, in which he was flattered with the assistance of *Spain* and the duke of *Holstein*, who persuaded him that it was practicable for him to ruin the *Dutch*, and to conquer *Sweden*. The principles upon which this plan rested, were romantic to the last degree, for the duke of *Holstein* actually attempted to cut a canal through an isthmus which divides the *Baltic* from the ocean, in order to open an immediate communication with *Persia*, to which country he sent a famous embassy on that account. The project between him and *Christiern* was agreed upon, but the *Spaniards*, who had been principals in the execution of the scheme, were beaten at sea by the *Dutch*. This affair cost *Christiern* large sums of money in maintaining fleets and armies, but gave no kind of disquiet to the *Spanish* ministry, who laughed at the affected secrecy with which the whole was carried on. At last *Holstein* the *Swedes* took an opportunity of revenging themselves, and invaded. all of a sudden their famous general, *Torsten*son, made a sudden irruption into *Holstein*, even while deputies were met from almost all the powers of *Europe* at *Osnaburg*, for the establishment of a general peace. *Torsten*son's progress was so rapid, that he took *Kiel*, *Ransburg*, and *Rantzau*, forced the duke of *Holstein*, in the most mortifying manner, to abandon his connections with *Denmark*, and conquered almost all *Jutland*. *Christiern* certainly brought this chastisement upon himself and his ally, by his underhand connections with the house of *Austria*, which arose from his jealousy of the *Swedes*, and which all his caution could not conceal.

Christiern was far from being wanting to himself when this Vigorous storm fell upon him. His dispositions were so vigorous and conduct of just, that he disappointed the *Swedes* in their attempts upon *Christiern*, the other parts of his dominions, and his marine gave many severe blows to the commerce of *Sweden*. Old as he was, he filled all *Europe* with his manifestos, which were strongly and plausibly penned, against the injustice of the *Swedes*, and prevailed with the imperial court to send count *Gallas* with an army to his assistance, while in his own person he undertook a war of diversion, and besieged *Gottenburg*. That important place must have fallen into his hands, had not count *Horn* and a *Dutch* fleet relieved it, but *Christiern*'s attempt answered so far, that it obliged the *Swedes* to evacuate *Fionia*. While war was thus raging in the north, the *French* and *Dutch* offered their mediation. *Christiern*, whose fire, courage and spirit seemed to grow with his age, rejected it, and throwing himself on board his fleet, he engaged that of *Sweden* with unparalleled intrepidity. He exposed his person equally with the meanest of his sailors; he received two wounds, one in his eye by a musket,

musket, the other in his ear by a cannon ball. Though his ship was a wreck, he could not be persuaded to leave the line, and he must have destroyed the enemy's fleet, had not his wounds rendered his officers so cautious, that it gave *Fleming*, the *Swedish* admiral, an opportunity of retiring in the night-time to *Christianpress*. Next day *Christiern* insulted the *Swedes* in their harbour, where *Fleming* was killed by a cannon ball, but *Christiern* not being able to draw them to a second engagement, returned with part of his fleet to *Copenhagen*, and left the other part under his admiral, *Ghed. Wrangel* was now the *Swedish* admiral, and he in his turn insulted *Ghed*, who refused to fight him, for which *Christiern* afterwards ordered him to be tried, and executed. Though the conferences for a peace were then far advanced at *Munster* and *Osnaburg*, yet all the interposition the mediators could employ, did not divert *Christiern* from again trying his fortune by sea against the *Swedes*. An engagement happened off the island *Femerer*, where the *Danish* fleet was not only beaten, but destroyed; four thousand men were killed, and only two ships escaped, the rest being taken, sunk, and run ashore. Even this disaster did not prevail upon *Christiern* to lower the duties of the *Sound*, which rendered the commercial part of *Europe* his open or secret enemies; nor could all the address of *Tuilleries*, the *French* ambassador, have disposed him to peace, if he could have depended upon the promises made him by the imperialists.

A peace. *Christiern*, at last, seeing himself and his dominions on the verge of ruin, and that a *Dutch* fleet had arrived in the *Sound* to the assistance of the *Swedes*, consented to a peace which had been negotiated at *Brosembroo*. By this treaty, the *Swedes* gave up the conquests they had made in *Denmark*, but *Christiern*, on the other hand, was obliged to give up *Gothland*, *Osel*, and *Femperland*, and to give the *Swedes* possession of the province of *Halland* for thirty years, as a pledge for the observation of the treaty, and likewise to lower the duties of the *Sound*. Soon after the conclusion of this peace, *Christiern* died, on the 28th of *February* 1648, after reigning sixteen years, and living seventy-one. He was a violent, but magnanimous, prince, and inherited many of the great qualities, but more of the failings, of his ancestors. His jealousy and hatred of *Sweden* formed the chief sources of his misfortunes; but it is admitted on all hands, that while he was at the head of the protestant confederacy in the north, no prince ever behaved with greater zeal and good faith than he did. He had a natural son, *Waldemar*, whom he had by a beloved mistress, and who was imprisoned in *Russia*, to which court he repaired in order to marry the czar's daughter, because he refused to conform to the *Greek* church; and his captivity greatly affected *Christiern*.

Frederic the IIIrd. *Frederic* the IIIrd was the only legitimate son of *Christiern* the IVth, but a strong party of the nobility who were insatiably

tiably bent upon the enlargement of their own power, was for calling *Waldemar* to the crown, for two reasons; first, to shew that they could dispose of it as they pleased; and secondly, because they thought they could oblige him to grant them what terms they pleased. The voice of the people, however, was for *Frederic*, and his party among the nobility was so numerous, that his right was acknowledged. Among the first of his public acts, was his receiving two hundred thousand rix dollars, and concluding a treaty, by which he was to have a hundred and fifty thousand florins a year from the *Dutch*, for the free passage of the *Sound*. The empty state of the treasury compelled *Frederic* to agree to this treaty, by which he was a considerable sufferer; and he raised himself enemies among the northern powers, who thought that the *Dutch* had already ingrossed too much of the trade to the *Baltic*. The grand marshal, *Ulefeld*, was then the most powerful subject in the kingdom. His influence was such, that *Frederic* could lessen it no other way, than by encouraging a report of his having poisoned the late king, and this forced him to take shelter in *Sweden*, where he was protected by queen *Christina*, daughter of the great *Gustavus Adolphus*; a proof that matters were then on a very indifferent footing between the two crowns. The year 1651 was distinguished by the establishment of a *Danish* company in the *East Indies*, at the instigation of the elector palatine, who was to advance a fourth part of the joint stock. Next year the *Dutch*, who were then entering upon a war with *England*, required *Frederick* to perform his engagements, by which he was obliged to assist them with four thousand men. *Frederic* found means to evade this demand, by pretending he was not satisfied who was the aggressor; but, about the same time, he was guilty of a breach of public faith, by seizing a fleet of twenty-two *English* merchantmen, to whom he had promised protection against the *Dutch*. *Frederic* might have paid dear for this proceeding, had not the *English*, at that time, depended on their trade to the *Baltic* for all their materials in the ship-building, with which the sequestered fleet was laden. This was the reason why the *English* commodore, *Ball*, who sailed with a squadron to take those ships under his convoy, had no instructions to act offensively when *Frederic* refused to suffer them to depart. In 1653, *Frederic* found it his interest to conclude a treaty of subsidy with the *Dutch*, by which, in consideration of a hundred and forty thousand rix dollars, to be paid him yearly, he engaged to keep in readiness twenty sail of ships. In this and all his other negotiations with the *Dutch* at that time, *Frederic* discovered himself to be a most accomplished politician, for he rose in his demands, because he knew his friendship to be of so much importance to *Holland* in her war with *England*, that the *States General* durst deny him nothing. Next year, *Frederic* prevailed with the *Dutch* to accept of his renunciation of his subsidy for the navigation of the *Sound*.

whose
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Vol. IX.
p. 392.
& seq.

War be-
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and *Swi-
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All this while *Ulefeld* remained at the court of *Sweden*, hatching conspiracies and publishing invectives against *Frederic*. The latter demanded, pretty peremptorily, that he should be given up, which *Christina* refused to comply with, though *Frederic* proved that he had embezzled a large sum of money, which he (*Frederic*) had paid into his hands, for the use of his cousin, *Charles* the II^d, the exiled king of *England*. As yet no hostilities had been entered into between *Christina* and *Frederic*; but upon the accession of her successor, *Charles* the Xth, and upon the progress of his arms in *Livonia* and *Pomerania*, fresh engagements were entered into between *Frederic* and the *Dutch* for checking them. *Charles* was then on the point of besieging *Dantzic*, when, all of a sudden, forty sail of *Dutch* men of war, under the famous *Opdam*, appeared in the *Baltic*. *Frederic* disclaimed his having had any previous knowledge of their arrival, but refused to break his treaty with *Holland*, which made it plain that he intended to take the first opportunity of recovering *Holland*, which had been sequestered to the *Swedes* by the treaty of *Brofembrod*. He was, however, disappointed, for while he thought himself secure of his great point, he saw *Opdam* leave the *Baltic*, in consequence of a secret treaty which had been concluded between the *States General* and the crown of *Sweden*. *Frederic*, on this occasion, acted upon, perhaps, too refined principles, for he had refused to enter upon hostilities against the *Swedes*, in hopes that they would be weakened by the *Dutch*, so that he would receive but little resistance in his favourite purpose. The late treaty of *Elbing* was not, however, well relished in *Holland*, where it was found to be inconsistent with the interest of the republic to disoblige *Frederic*, so that the latter was privately encouraged to enter immediately upon hostilities against the *Swedes*. The *Dutch* merchants fitted out privateers under his colours, and, at last, the *States General* flatly refused to ratify the treaty of *Elbing*, by which refusal, *Frederic* and the *Dutch* were once more connected.

The first hostilities broke out in *Bremen*, where the *Danes* were defeated by *Wrangel*, with the loss of three thousand men; and *Frederic*, after in vain endeavouring, in conjunction with the *Dutch* privateers, to besiege *Dantzic*, retreated to guard his capital. *Charles Gustavus*, though he had suffered greatly in *Poland*, was soon at the head of an army, with which he ravaged *Holslein*; and *Wrangel*, who was both his admiral and general, took by surprize, *Frederic's Odde*, one of the strongest places in the north. *Bilde* was at this time general to *Frederic*, but though he was an able officer, he was not comparable to those of the *Swedes*; so that all he and the other *Danish* generals could do, was to defend the frontiers of the kingdom. A drawn fight by sea happened between the *Danes* and the *Swedes*, in which the former were deserted by their *Dutch* allies, and the *Danes* thought themselves victorious in not being beaten. The truth is, *Frederic's* prerogative

tive was so bounded, and he himself was so much thwarted by his nobility, that he was unable to exert the powers of his kingdom. He had the address, however, to borrow six hundred thousand livres of the *Dutch*, to whom *Charles Gustavus* became every day more formidable. *Charles* perceiving a The king powerful confederacy to be formed against him, took the of Swe- amazing resolution of invading *Fionia* by marching over the den's a- ice. This he performed, though three of his regiments were mazing drowned, by a sudden thaw. He defeated the *Danes*, and march on took *Odenssee* and *Nyburg*, and then he performed the most dar- the ice. ing resolution that is recorded in history, that of marching over the great *Belt* on the ice; an enterprize which he performed with astonishing abilities. *Cromwell*, the *English* usurper, had then a resident (*Meadows*) in *Denmark*, and he met *Charles* in *Laland*, with an offer of his master's mediation. *Charles* durst not affront *Cromwell*, but he appointed *Ulefeld* to be his plenipotentiary in the negotiation. *Frederic's* circumstances were such, that he was forced to submit to the indignity of treating with his own rebel, though he knew he was carrying on intrigues with his nobility to dethrone him. *Charles*, while this negotiation was carrying on in appearance only, was making rapid advances to besiege *Copenhagen*, where *Frederic* resided. The haughtiness of *Ulefeld*, and his imperious demands, were of service to him, for they united his people to oppose *Charles*. The behaviour of *Frederic* at this time, was firm, wise and magnanimous; for though his capital was in no condition to stand a siege, though his army was but a handful, and his nobility discontented, he made dispositions, in case of extremity, either to conquer or to fall with his country. It was not the interest either of *Cromwell* or the *States General*, to see a king of *Sweden* master of *Denmark*; and A treaty they managed with so much address, that a treaty was set on concluded foot and concluded at *Reschild*, by which *Frederic* ceded the provinces of *Halland*, *Bleking* and *Scania*, the island of *Bornholm*, and *Babus*, and *Drontheim* in *Norway* to the *Swedes*.

The famous *Van Buiningen*, one of the wisest and honestest statesmen in *Europe*, was then ambassador from the *States General* to *Frederic*, to whom he was a firm friend. Though he and evad- could not prevent the conclusion of the treaty, which was so ed. disadvantageous to *Denmark*, he advised *Frederic* to evade it, which *Charles* perceiving, he once more marched his army towards *Copenhagen*, but was stopt by the mediating powers, thro' whose great address a personal interview was effected between *Charles* and *Frederic*, who disdained taking the advantage of having his enemy in his power, and peace was again concluded. Notwithstanding all the appearances of personal friendship, with which the two kings parted, yet the resolution of *Charles* to become master of *Denmark*, was rather confirmed than abated, by the visit he paid to *Frederic*, who, he observed, had little more than the appearances of sovereignty. Pretexts were not wanting, drawn from *Frederic's* dilatory

1658.
Copenha-
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A Dutch
fleet again
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performance of what regarded *Holstein*, for renewing the war. All *Europe* was astonished at the vast preparations made by *Charles*, and at a loss to account for their object. *Tarlen*, the *French* ambassador, discovered it. *Charles*, on the 17th of *August* 1658, once more besieged *Copenhagen* by sea and land, and was deaf to all *Frederic's* applications for an accommodation. This struck the *Danish* nobility with such terror, that they came to a kind of a compromise with the commons, by which the latter were enabled to buy lands, to form a part of the assembly of the states, and to pay no taxes, in which the noblemen did not share. Those, and many other immunities to which this compromise entitled them, the tyranny which the *Swedes* exercised, in *Schonen* and other *Danish* acquisitions, but above all, the spirit of the king, who, on this occasion, discovered himself to be equally the champion, and the father of his people, inspired the burghers of *Copenhagen* with a calm, sedate courage, which excelled all military discipline. For the first time, they found that life was worth preserving, because they could enjoy it with liberty, and without liberty death was preferable. The admirable resolution and coolness of *Frederic*, animated them to their duty, and in a few days, when *Charles* arrived, he perceived, that instead of taking possession of a conquest, he was about to undertake an arduous siege, so assiduous had the inhabitants been in fortifying their city. This did not discourage him, and he carried on his operations with the utmost vigour, but was defeated in every attack by the excellent dispositions that had been made by *Frederic*, and the courage of the inhabitants. It is extremely probable, that the *Swedish* nobility and general officers, though the latter were under the best discipline, were at bottom no friends to the enterprize of *Charles*, who they thought, if he was master of *Copenhagen*, might make it the seat of his government. In a council of war, a most unaccountable resolution was taken of besieging *Cronbury*, which *Wrangel* indeed took with great difficulty, but that diversion saved *Copenhagen*, for it weakened the army of *Charles* so much, that his operations of the siege became languid.

Upon the return of *Wrangel's* division, the siege was recommenced, but with vast disadvantage to the *Swedes*. *Charles* was again amused to make a false step, by attacking the isle of *Amack*, where a brisk action happened between him and *Frederic*, each commanding in their own persons. The *Swede* was beat, and must have been taken prisoner, had he not made his escape, favoured by the almost incredible efforts of one of his officers. This action, and a well conducted sally of *Frederic*, did infinite service to his reputation. It is said that he proceeded upon a plan laid by one *Wanderwer*, a *Dutch* officer, who deserted from the *Swedish* service, and betrayed to him all the dispositions of *Gustavus*. All *Europe* was in suspense about the event of this siege, when the *Dutch* sent another fleet, under *Opdam*, into the *Baltic*, to raise it. This brought

brought on a sea fight, which terminated to the disadvantage of the *Swedes* (though they claimed the victory) because *Opdam* threw into *Copenhagen* succours of every kind. We have Vol. IX. already given the particulars. *Charles* by this time had awakened from the dream of becoming the monarch of all *Scandinavia*, and he began to see the effects of the faults he had committed. The system of *Germany* did not admit of *Denmark* being an accession to *Sweden*. The elector of *Brandenburg* marched to *Frederic's* relief; and the advantages he gained in *Holstein* were so great, that the people of *Norway* and other parts of *Frederic's* dominions, rose against the *Swedes*, and cut many of them to pieces. This determined *Charles* to put the war upon a short issue, by storming *Copenhagen*, which he attempted; but he was repulsed, notwithstanding the amazing courage of his generals. Three attacks were formed. The *Swedes* failed in them all, a vast slaughter was made of their bravest troops, and some of their best generals (among whom was *Bannier*) were taken prisoners. This success was owing to the personal courage and conduct of *Frederic*; but *Charles* had still great resources. He was the favourite ally of *Crom-* and an well, who sent a fleet into the *Baltic*, under *Montagu*, to his *English* assistance. This checked the progress of the elector of *Branden-* one. burgh, who was driven out of *Fionia* (or *Funen*) by the *English*.

The intention of *Cromwell* was to favour *Charles*, but he had no idea of his becoming master of *Denmark*; and while the success of the siege of *Copenhagen* was yet disputable, both the *English* and the *Dutch* offered their mediation, the consequence of which was, that the siege of *Copenhagen* was entirely raised. *Montagu* then left the *Baltic*, to the vast disappointment and mortification of *Charles*. The *Dutch* were now Great ser- in a manner masters of that sea; but *Frederic*, with great rea- vices of son, complained that they acted upon interested motives. To the *Dutch* convince him that he was mistaken, *Ruyter*, who commanded to *Frede-* under *Opdam*, made extraordinary efforts, and before *Charles* *ric*. was apprized of their motions, reduced *Odensee* and *Cartermonde*, in *Fionia*. This brought on a battle, in which the *Swedes* at first were victorious, but the *Danish* cavalry, seconded by their *Dutch* allies, at last totally defeated them, and drove them out of *Fionia*. This great event was owing to *Ruyter* and *Schack*, the *Dutch* admiral and general, who, to the simplicity and modesty of the founders of their republic, joined their discipline and intrepidity. The few remains of the *Swedish* army took refuge in *Nyburg*, which the *Danes* reduced, and thus the *Swedish* army were almost to a man destroyed or taken prisoners; their two generals alone escaping to carry the news of their own defeat. The policy of the *Dutch*, whose great aim was to preserve the balance of power in the north, did not suffer *Frederic* to improve those glorious advantages. *Charles* resumed his courage and his operations against *Denmark*, and the *Dutch* were again compelled to send *Ruyter*

A peace.

Ruyter to deliver *Copenhagen*, which was a third time besieged by the *Swedes*, and which he bravely effected. The death of *Charles*, king of *Sweden*, altered the whole system of politics in the north, and by the mediation of *France* and *England*, a new peace was concluded at *Copenhagen*. By it the treaty of *Roschild* was partly confirmed, *Cronenburg*, and the island of *Bornholm* returned to the *Danes*; but the island of *Rugen*, *Bleking*, *Halland* and *Schonen* remained with the *Swedes*, of whose expectations this peace fell far short. They were favoured by the duke of *Holstein*, who demanded, in consequence of the treaty of *Roschild*, an absolute independency upon the court of *Denmark*, with several other cessions, which *Frederic* was obliged to grant, before the *Swedes* would withdraw their army out of his dominions.

Frederic
made
an abso-
lute king.

1660.

The scene that followed was one of the most extraordinary that perhaps ever was exhibited. We have already seen how the commons obtained a place among the states, and *Frederic* artfully made his subjects sensible that the dangers they had so narrowly escaped, was owing to the bounded powers of the crown, which did not suffer him to exert the natural strength of his kingdoms in their defence. The commons of *Denmark* knew that this was true in fact. They loved, adored and esteemed their king. His ministers made them sensible, that when the regal and the popular powers were conjoined, the aristocracy, or the intermediate order, must give way. They pursued their plan with firmness and temper, but it is said that the execution of their scheme was privately directed by the king, or his ministers. We cannot enter into the mazes that conducted to the grand event, but it is certain that the commons of *Denmark*, in a diet held at *Copenhagen* in 1660, made the kingdom hereditary, forced the nobles to consent to an abolition of their privileges, and raised *Frederic* the III^d to be the most absolute monarch in *Europe*. It is ignorance alone that condemns this proceeding. The commons exchanged one degree of slavery for another that was more tolerable, and gave themselves one master, whose interest it was to cherish them, instead of some hundreds, who sought their advantage in oppressing them. Add to this, that no prince of his time better deserved, than *Frederic* did, the confidence reposed in him by his people.

His com-
promise
with the
duke of
Holstein.

The late treaty being ratified, the duke of *Holstein* connected himself with *Sweden*, which *Frederic* wisely winked at, and allowed him half the revenues of *Sleswick* and *Gottorp*, out of the common treasury, into which they were paid; but with the express condition, that the money should not be employed to the detriment of *Denmark*. By this time, *Charles* the II^d was established on the throne of *England*, and his family relation with *Frederic* prevailed on the latter to reject the advances made by the *Dutch*, and to agree to an alliance, in which *England* and *Sweden* were the other two parties. It is difficult to acquit *Frederic* of ingratitude for this measure, when we reflect

reflect on the vast services done him by the *Dutch*, unless we admit his own plea, that they had always assisted him from selfish considerations, and that if they had been his sincere friends, they might have served him far more effectually than they did. Those considerations, however, did not hinder him to conclude a fresh alliance with the *Dutch*, notwithstanding their all-ingrossing spirit of commerce, which he likewise complained of, the elector of *Brandenburgh*, and the duke of *Brunswic*. The good effects of this alliance were afterwards seen, in the protection which the *Dutch* fleet met with at *Bergen*, the particulars of which we have already related. After this, *Frederic* applied himself to domestic concerns, and the internal affairs of his government; and in *May* 1667, his eldest son married the princess *Charlotte* of *Hesse*. Towards the end of his reign, he was ruffled with some pecuniary disputes between him, the *Dutch*, and the duke of *Holstein*, who married his daughter. Notwithstanding that alliance, the duke adhered so firmly to his engagements with *Sweden*, that in all probability a war must have broken out between him and *Frederic*, when the latter died, in 1670. No prince ever merited, more than *Frederic* did, the glorious appellation of the Father of his People, whom he loved to a degree even of weakness, because his affection for them made him fail in the engagements he had entered into with other states. Besides his son, *Christiern* the Vth, who succeeded him, he had another son, *George*, who married the princess *Anne* of *England*, afterwards queen of *Great Britain*. His eldest daughter, *Anna Sophia*, was married to the elector of *Saxony*, as was his second, *Frederica Amelia*, to the duke of *Holstein*. His third daughter was the wife of the elector palatine, and his fourth, *Ulricca Eleanora*, married *Charles* the XIth of *Sweden*.

Vol. IX.

p. 403.

1667.

1670.

His death.

The first care of *Christiern* the Vth, after his accession to the throne, was his putting his frontiers in a state of defence, foreseeing that a storm must break from the close alliance between the duke of *Holstein* and the court of *Sweden*. *Christiern* hearing that the *Swedes* had been defeated in *Germany*, invited the duke to a friendly conference at *Rendsburgh*, where he found himself a prisoner. It is difficult to clear *Christian* from a charge of the very worst nature, on this occasion, without admitting that the duke had entered into very dangerous connections with the court of *Sweden*, which was now become too powerful for the tranquillity of the north. It is certain, that before he was restored to his liberty, he signed a treaty with *Christian*, by which he gave up all that he had acquired by the treaty of *Roschild*, and consequently his independency upon the crown of *Denmark*. *Christiern* having secured this great point in 1675, declared war against *Sweden*, but this declaration being against the sentiments of his queen and ministry, his success at first, especially by sea, was very indifferent. He afterwards made an alliance with the elector of *Brandenburgh*, and other *German* princes, and with great valour passed the

Christian
the Vth,imprisons
the duke
of *Hol-*
stein,

1675.

the *Reckintz*, and forced the strong post of *Damgarten*. He then besieged the strong town of *Wismar*, and the siege continued till the winter had almost ruined his army, but famine and continual hardships at last compelled the garrison to capitulate. *Rebnitz* followed the fate of *Wismar*, and *Christian* would probably have reduced the isle of *Rugen*, had it not been for the treachery of his first minister, *Griffendelt*, who secretly favoured the *Swedes*. The campaign of 1676, was favourable to *Christiern* and his allies. They took *Carlestadt*, but *Christian* quarrelled with them about the reduction of *Stade*, which they thought would have made him too powerful. In short, a variety of interests divided and disconcerted *Christian* and his allies, nor does he seem to have had right ideas of the interest of *Denmark*, for to the great prejudice of her commerce, he imposed a most oppressive capitation tax upon his subjects, that he might carry on his warlike operations. He had already forced the duke of *Holstein* to demolish the fortrefs of *Tonningen*, and had entered into all the views of the court of *Vienna*, the *Dutch*, and the protestant *German* princes, for preserving the balance of power against *France*, but without losing sight of his own interest. His intelligence was so good, that he discovered the treachery of his minister, *Griffensfeldt*, and the connections the duke of *Holstein* had formed with the court of *Sweden*. The duke escaped to *Hamburgh*, *Griffensfeldt* was tried and condemned, but his sentence of death was changed, by the king, to disgrace and perpetual imprisonment. *Christian* now thought himself secure against treachery, and in conjunction with his allies, he besieged and took *Stade*; the possession of which proved a bone of contention.

1676. His fleet
and op- During the operations of this campaign, the *Dutch* and
presses his victorious. *Danish* fleets, in conjunction, were victorious; *Wisby* was re-
subjects. duced, *Juel*, the *Danish*, being joined by *Van Tromp*, the
Dutch, admiral, entirely defeated the *Swedish* fleet, and the
elector of *Brandenburgh* was equally successful against the
Swedes by land. *Christian* then invaded by land, and made a
descent by sea upon, *Schonen*, with the assistance of *Van Tromp*,
where he took *Helsingburg* and *Landscroon*. The strong fortrefs
of *Christianstadt* soon after fell into his hands, though *Charles*
the Xth, the young king of *Sweden*, was in the field at the
head of an army. Fortune was not constantly on the side of
Christian, for his general, *Duncamp*, was defeated by the
Swedes, who about the same time, intercepted thirty ships
laden with provision for the use of the *Danish* army. In *Nor-*
way, the campaign was not very successful for *Christian*, who
could not bring the *Swedes* to a battle. Before the end of the
summer, however, his admiral, *Royster*, who had been for
some time under a cloud, for suffering a great convoy of pro-
visions to fall into the hands of the *Swedes*, took *Carleshaven*.
Malme, a place of the utmost consequence for *Sweden*, was
then blocked up. The king of *Sweden*, unable to relieve it,
took *Helsingburg*, but was repulled in the attack he made upon
the

the citadel. This brought on the battle of *Lunden*, which was fought with great bloodshed; and the courage of *Charles* the XIth supplying his want of experience, the *Danes* were so far from having reason to boast of the victory, to which however both sides laid claim, that the *Swedes* relieved *Malmoe*; and *Christian* returning to *Copenhagen*, exhausted his finances, and depopulated his country, in making new levies to continue a ruinous war. The negotiations for a general peace were then proceeding at *Nimeguen*; but though *Christian* sent his ambassador to that congress, it was evident that he was not in earnest for peace, before he recovered all the *Danish* dominions that had been ceded to *Sweden*. His demands were so exorbitant, and the behaviour of his plenipotentiary so insolent, especially with regard to the duke of *Holstein*, that the preparations for war still continued. After various operations, which were attended by nothing decisive, *Christian* again formed the siege of *Malmoe*, and pushed it with incredible ardour, but was forced to raise it, after losing two thousand men in one attack. To compensate for this miscarriage, the *Danish* admiral, *Fuel*, entirely defeated the *Swedish* fleet in two different engagements, notwithstanding his vast inferiority of strength, ships, and numbers. In the mean while, *Christian* was defeated by *Charles*, in a bloody battle fought between *Helsingburg* and *Landskroon*, after performing the duties of a general, and acting as a hero, for he saved himself from being taken prisoner, by killing several of the *Swedish* officers with his own hand; and he made an orderly retreat to his camp at *Landskroon*.

In *Norway*, the *Swedes* were entirely defeated, and the arms of *Christian* and his allies were so successful in the empire, that they were in hopes of driving the *Swedes* out of *Germany*. *Van Tromp* reduced the isle of *Rugen*, but count *Coningsmark* and the *Stralsunders*, retook it in 1678, and defeated the *Danes*, with considerable slaughter, owing to their want of discipline in their army. The *Swedes* formed the siege of *Christianstadt*, on the fate of which that of the province of *Schonen* depended, and took it, in sight of the *Danish* army, headed by *Christian* himself. The latter, however, in conjunction with the elector of *Brandenburgh*, retook the isle of *Rugen*; but the negotiations which still continued at *Nimeguen*, disconcerted all *Christian's* designs, for the *Dutch* at first, and afterwards the elector of *Brandenburgh*, signed a separate peace, by which, he was left to bear the brunt of *France* and *Sweden*. It was in vain he exclaimed at being thus deserted, for he was obliged to give orders to his ministers to sign the treaty on the terms prescribed by *France*, on the 2d of September 1679. By this peace, the treaties of *Roschild*, *Copenhagen*, and *Westphalia* were re-established, and the duke of *Holstein* was reinstated in his sovereignty and independency. Another treaty, offensive and defensive, was concluded between the crowns of *Denmark* and *Sweden*, and it was agreed that the *Swedish* monarch should marry the princess *Ulrica Leonora* of *Denmark*.

During

Hamburg
saved,

1680.

During the negotiations at *Nimeguen*, *Christian* had formed a design against *Hamburg*, which he actually besieged; but by the interposition of *Lewis* the XIVth, and the troops of *Brunswick*, who marched to the relief of the city, he accepted of two hundred and twenty thousand crowns, in full of all the demands he had on the besieged. In 1680, he entered into engagements with the elector of *Brandenburgh* and the bishop of *Munster*, to guaranty the peace of the empire. Scarcely was the tranquillity of the north thus re-established, when the fleets of *Denmark* and *Sweden* quarrelled, and great differences arose between the *Dutch* and *Danes*, who had by this time formed a settlement at *Tranquebar*, on account of their *East Indian* commerce, but were not attended with any considerable effects.

1685.

but again
besieged
by the
Danes.

We are now to consider *Christian* not only as the ally, but the subsidiary, of *France*. *French* money enabled him to raise a large army, with which he besieged *Hamburg*, and demanded to be its protector against the encroachments of the emperor, which had raised a kind of civil war in that city. The siege of *Hamburg* was formed by *Christian* in 1685, and the *Hamburgers*, after a brave defence, were reinforced by bodies of *Lunenburgers*, *Brandenburgers*, and *Swedes*. All *Europe* exclaimed against his *Danish* majesty for this attempt; and even the *English*, as well as the *French*, interested themselves in the cause of the *Hamburgers*. The *Danes* were repulsed in every attack, and *Christian* was obliged to desist from his enterprize, and to agree to an armistice. This difference was no sooner compromised, than *Christian* raised the tolls in the *Sound* upon the *Dutch*, with whom the treaty concluded in 1647, was now at an end. The *Dutch* resented this, and took such measures as prevailed on *Christian* to refer the matter to a future discussion. In 1688, the duke of *Holstein*, supported by the *Swedes*, demanded an abolition of the treaty of *Rensburgh*, and entered a claim upon several very considerable estates in *Christian's* possession. He likewise complained that his duchy was in a manner sequestered into the hands of *Christian*, to whom he continued to be little better than a vassal. We have not room for the papers and arguments published by both sides on this occasion. It is sufficient to say, that an accommodation took place, under the mediation of *England* and the elector of *Brandenburgh*, by which the duke was once more restored to his sovereignty and independency, upon his giving *Christian* an acquittance for all the claims he had on account of the arrears due to him while the king received the revenues of his duchy. This accommodation, which was chiefly effected by the interest of prince *George* of *Denmark*, who generously sacrificed his own patrimony to bring it about, was signed on the 20th of *June* 1689.

Treaty
between
Christian
and the
duke of
Holstein.

1689.

Next year *Christian* renewed his treaty with *Lewis* the XIVth, which gave such umbrage to the *Dutch*, that they intercepted a *Danish* fleet that was sailing to *France*; upon which

Christian

Christian seized all the *Dutch* vessels that were in his harbours, and this vigorous measure brought the *Dutch* to reason; so that they consented to leave the trade between *France* and *Denmark* open and at full liberty. Few matters of any great consequence succeeded during the reign of *Christian*, who died on the 4th of *September* 1699, after reigning twenty-nine years, and living fifty-four. He has the character of having been a most accomplished prince in his own person, and of his having a better understanding than the ministers on whom he depended; and the *Danes*, to this day, revere his memory.

1699.
Death of
Christian.

Frederic the IVth, upon his accession to the throne of *Denmark*, found himself involved in various difficulties, especially with the family of *Holstein Gottorp*, which was befriended by many of the *European* powers. The connections between that duchy and the crown of *Denmark*, were of such a nature, that it was almost impossible they should be permanent, because both the king and the duke claimed the exercise of sovereignty in the same duchy, and the kings of *Denmark*, by the treaty of *Altena*, were obliged to renew the unions every change of a successor. The duke of *Holstein* dying, fresh altercations arose concerning the spirit of that treaty. The duke called to his assistance his brother-in-law, the king of *Sweden*, and raised forts, of which the king of *Denmark* demolished some, and claimed the demolition of others. The king of *Sweden* sent an army into *Holstein*, for the duke's defence, which now became the theatre of war; but before its arrival, the duke of *Wintenberg*, who commanded the *Danish* troops, had reduced all the ducal *Holstein*, excepting *Tonningen*, which suffered a severe siege, but the *English* and the *Dutch* fleets raised it, in conjunction with the *Swedes* and *Lunenburgers*, who marched to its relief by land. The young king of *Sweden* began now to distinguish himself, and landed fifteen thousand men within eight miles of *Copenhagen*, which he probably would have taken, had not his *Danish* majesty agreed to the treaty of *Travendahl*, which was entirely in favour of the duke. It is certain, that during this dispute, the young king of *Sweden* behaved with unparalleled generosity and moderation, for though he might have taken *Copenhagen*, he no sooner heard of the peace of *Travendahl* than he withdrew his troops. The king of *Denmark* still kept up his army, and threatened to march to the protection of the electorate of *Saxony*, in direct violation of the late treaty, which prohibited his favouring the enemies of *Sweden*. In 1701, his *Danish* majesty entered into a fresh alliance with the *States General*; the heads of which were, 1. That his majesty shall remain neuter, in case there be a rupture upon occasion of the *Spanish* monarchy. 2. That his subjects shall have liberty to traffic in all foreign ports, without exception, and without any embargos upon their ships or goods. 3. That his majesty shall enjoy the toll that is settled upon the *Elbe*, till he be paid a million of rix-dollars, due from the empire and the emperor. 4. That he shall

Frederic
the IVth.

War with
Holstein.

1701.

Treaty of
Travendahl.

shall be paid three hundred thousand crowns, which are due to him for arrearages. 5. That his subjects shall have satisfaction for their damages, by the loss of their ships and goods during the last war. 6. The king engages to furnish the states with fourteen thousand men, who shall be ready to march upon their high mightinesses first orders. 7. That the said forces shall enter into the states pay from the day of the ratification of the treaty, and shall be paid according to the *Dutch* pay. 8. That upon the first muster, which shall be made in the presence of the states commissioners, eighty crowns shall be given to every horseman, sixty to every dragoon, and between twenty-five and thirty crowns to every foot soldier. 9. That if the king happens to be attacked, the states shall send back the said fourteen thousand men, and furnish him with fourteen thousand more, or else with a squadron of men of war, at their own charges.

War re-
newed
between
Sweden
and *Den-*
mark.

1707.

Soon after the conclusion of this treaty, *Frederic* concluded another with the emperor, by which the latter obliged himself to pay within the term of six years, to his *Danish* majesty, the sum of five hundred thousand crowns, in part of his pretensions to a million of crowns upon the empire, and to procure the payment of the other five hundred thousand crowns. On the other side, his *Danish* majesty obliged himself forthwith to supply the emperor with six thousand men, then in *Saxony*, and the next year with two thousand more, upon condition, that those men should be in the service, and under the pay of the emperor, so long as he should have occasion for them. After the conclusion of those treaties, the house of *Holstein* acted as an independent sovereign power, but attached itself more to *Sweden* than to *Denmark*. In 1707, we find *Frederic* making the tour of *Europe*, and in the history of *Sweden* we shall have an opportunity of mentioning his wars with that crown, upon his return home. In the mean while, he sent missionaries to the coast of *Malabar*, for the conversion of the *Pagans*, in which we are told they were very successful. After the battle of *Pultowa*, when the king of *Sweden* was in a manner ruined, *Frederic*, in consequence of an interview he had with the kings of *Poland* and *Prussia* at *Berlin*, declared war against the *Swedes*, but with more success by sea than by land. He invaded *Scania* or *Schonen*, where he was beaten, but his fleet defeated that of *Sweden*. In 1711, he made a descent upon the *Swedish Pomerania*, where he took *Damgarten*, but failed in his attempts upon *Wismar* and *Stralsund*. *Charles* the XIIth of *Sweden*, was at this time in *Turkey*, in exile, and little better than a prisoner. He never could forgive *Frederic* for endeavouring to dismember his dominions during his absence, especially when, in the year 1712, he made a descent upon *Bremen*, and took the city of *Stade*. His troops, however, were defeated near *Gadesbusch*, by the *Swedes*, and soon after, the fine city of *Altena* was burnt to the ground. In the next campaign, *Frederic* forced the *Swedish* general, count

1712.

Stein-

Steinbeck, to surrender himself prisoner, with all his troops, and he seized great part of the ducal *Holstein*.

In 1714, some essay was made for a peace at the congress of *Brunswick*, but all hopes of that kind vanishing, *Frederic* took *Tonningen*. In 1715, his fleet beat that of *Sweden*, and in conjunction with the king of *Prussia*, he took the important town of *Stralsund*. In 1716, he drove the *Swedes* out of *Norway*, and became master of *Wismar* in *Pomerania*. His allies began now to suspect that his views were more extensive than was consistent with the balance of power in the north, by his aiming at making himself master of all *Scandinavia*. This created a coldness between him and his allies, and upon the death of *Charles* the XIIth of *Sweden*, his *Britannic* majesty, *George* the IIIrd, offered his mediation between *Frederic* and the crown of *Sweden*, which was accepted of, and a peace was accordingly concluded at *Stockholm*, by which the possession of the duchy of *Sleswick* was guarantied to *Frederic*. In 1721, he lost his wife, who was of the house of *Mecklenburgh-Gustrow*, upon which he married the duchess of *Sleswick*, daughter of count *Raventbau*, grand chancellor of the kingdom. Before his death, which happened in 1730, he had the mortification to see his capital laid in ashes by an accidental fire.

Frederic was succeeded by his son, *Christian Frederic*, who was born in 1699, and married in 1721, *Sophia Madeleine*, of the house of *Brandenburgh-Culmbach*. The ambition of this prince, unlike that of his father, was to live at peace with his neighbours, and he made no other use of the absolute power with which he was invested, than to promote the happiness of his subjects. He abolished the monopoly of wine, salt and tobacco, because it was oppressive to his people, though very beneficial to his crown. In 1732, he acceded to the alliance between the courts of *Vienna* and *Petersburgh*, by which the contracting parties guarantied each other's dominions, and promised to stand by one another against all other powers that should attack them. *Christian* soon after guarantied the pragmatic sanction, in consequence of which, in 1734, he sent fix thousand troops to the assistance of the emperor, *Charles* the VIth, in the dispute that happened concerning the succession of the crown of *Poland*. Notwithstanding *Christian's* pacific disposition, no prince could be more jealous than he was of his just rights. He revived his family claims upon *Hamburgh*, the magistracy of which he thought assumed powers that were too sovereign and independent, and he even seized some of their administrations which were trading, without his leave, to *France*. The *Hamburghers* apprehending that he had a design upon their city, procured the mediation of the king of *Prussia*. *Christian* however, though he disclaimed all intention of seizing their city, obliged them to abolish their bank, to admit the coin of *Denmark* as current, and to pay him a million of silver marks; upon which a convention was signed between them and *Christian*.

1736. *Christian* in 1736, and matters were restored to the same footing they were on before 1710.

Few princes were ever known to enter so thoroughly as *Christian* did, into the knowledge of the internal interests of *Denmark*. His commercial regulations were admirable, and he spared no expence or pains to introduce into his dominions learning, arts and manufactures of every kind. He hired able professors and workmen in every branch of science or trade. He established a royal bank, and a council of commerce. He prohibited the importation of foreign commodities into his dominions, and his fleets and armies were in so respectable a condition, that his friendship was courted by the greatest powers in *Europe*, and particularly *Great Britain*, which, at that time, was lavish in granting subsidies to the princes of the continent. *Frederic*, who carried his plans of œconomy very high, availed himself of the predilection that his *Britannic* majesty, *George* the 1st, always discovered for his *Hanoverian* dominions. In 1738, that prince had obtained from the duke of *Holstein Gottorp*, a cession of all his title to the lordship of *Steinborst*, which had formerly been mortgaged by the dukes of *Lauenburg*, which duchy was then held by *George*. His *Danish* majesty pretended that *Steinborst* belonged of right to him, and both he and the regency of *Hanover* marched troops to support their respective claims, in consequence of which some blood was spilt. By the mediation of friends a treaty was set on foot, and *Christian*, who probably never was in earnest in the dispute, succeeded in his great view of obtaining a subsidy of seventy thousand pounds a year from *Great Britain*, upon his undertaking to maintain six thousand men for the service of his *Britannic* majesty, to be employed when required. This was a gainful bargain for *Frederic*, who knew the pacific dispositions of the *English* court, and he quitted his pretensions to *Steinborst*, which in fact, was too inconsiderable to be an object of dispute between two sovereign princes.

1740. In 1740, *Frederic* ordered some *Dutch* ships who were fishing on their coasts of *Iceland*, which belonged to his kingdom of *Denmark*, to be carried into *Copenhagen*; but this quarrel was soon compromised by the mediation of *Sweden*.

It has been generally thought that *Christian*, about this time, had an eye upon reannexing the crown of *Sweden* to that of *Denmark*, and that he had entered into some intrigues for that purpose, which were rendered ineffectual by the jealousy of other powers. It is certain that the wisdom of his measures, and the success of all his plans for the benefit of his subjects, recommended him to a great party among the *Swedes*, who inclined to have chosen his son to be the successor to their crown; and we shall see, in the history of *Sweden*, by what means their intention was frustrated. *Christian* died in 1746, justly lamented by his people, and admired by all *Europe*.

1746. He was succeeded by his son *Frederic* the 5th, who in 1743, married the princess *Louisa* of *England*, daughter to *George* the 3rd.

the II^d. He adhered to his father's maxims, by dedicating all his application to the welfare of his subjects, and he improved upon the excellent plans of the late reign. During the late war in *Germany*, he acted the part of a mediator in the convention of *Closterseven*, between his royal highness the duke of *Cumberland*, and the *French* general *Richelieu*; but took no other concern in the quarrel. Upon the death of his first queen, by whom he had the present king of *Denmark*, and three daughters, he married *Juliana Maria*, sister to the duke of *Brunswick Wolfenbuttel*, by whom he has a son, prince *Frederic*, born *October* the 11th, 1753. *Frederic* died in 1767, and was succeeded by his son, *Christian* the VIth, who was born *January* 29th, 1749, and is now betrothed in marriage to his *Britannic* majesty's youngest sister, the princess *Carolina Matilda*, born *July* 22, 1751.

Vol. IX.

p. 247.

His death.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
S W E D E N.

S E C T I O N I.

Biorno
king of
Sweden.

853.
He is con-
verted to
christia-
nity.

890.

940.

THE early antiquities of this country, like those of *Denmark*, are uninteresting and uncertain, and we can with no propriety begin its history sooner than the introduction of christianity, by the preaching of *Anscharius* the monk, who was sent thither by *Charles* the Great, or some of his immediate descendents. *Bero*, or *Biorno* the III^d, was then king of *Sweden*, and he is said to have been the son of *Reyner*, king of *Denmark*. Authors are divided concerning the success of this monk's mission, but the general opinion is, that he made a much greater progress among the people than he did at court, for we are told, that both *Biorno* and his father were driven out of *Sweden*, for not embracing christianity. It is probable, however, that another prince of that name, was the first christian king of *Sweden*. *Biorno* was succeeded by one *Asmund*, who shewed an aversion to christianity, and was dethroned; upon which one *Olaus* was raised to the thrones of *Sweden* and *Gothland*, which were then distinct kingdoms. This was in the year 853, about which time *Anscharius* returned to *Sweden*, and converted *Olaus* and his court to the *Christian* faith, for which he was murdered by his pagan subjects. *Olaus* is said to have conquered and reigned over *Denmark*, and it is pretended that his son *Ingo*, who succeeded him, was killed in a war with the *Russians*, in the year 890. We know little more of his son *Eric*, than that he was reputed to be a great magician, and his son *Eric* the II^d, conquered *Denmark*, reigned in *Scotland*, or rather *Ireland*, and died about the year 940. His son *Stenbild* was a good *Christian*, invited missionaries into his dominions, demolished the heathen temple at *Upsal*, and was murdered for his zeal, by the *Pagans*.

Sten-

Stenchild was succeeded by his brother *Olaus* the IId, who *Olaus* the was likewise a *Christian*, and invited into his kingdom *English* IId pays missionaries, one of whom was called *Sigefrid*, or *Sigefroy*, tribute to who baptized *Olaus* at a spring, which is to this day called St. the pope. *Sigefrid*'s well. This prince paid a shameful tribute, called *Romer's scot*, to the pope, for which he is branded with the name of the Tributary. We have already, in the history of *Denmark*, had occasion to animadvert upon the conduct of the *Christian* convert princes of those days; and there is but too much reason to believe, that such of them as were sincere, were no better than tools to the popes, who persuaded them to fleece their subjects for the emolument of the church. Others adopted the cause of religion from motives of interest, and we find this pious king at war with *Oluf Trygeson*, king of *Norway*; but at last he united the kingdom of *Gothland* to that His suc- of *Sweden*. *Olaus*, or *Oluf*, was so strict a *Christian*, that he cessors. put to death his *Pagan* subjects, which we are told occasioned a rebellion against him, in which he perished. His son, *Asmund* the IId, succeeded his father, and in his zeal for christianity. He is said to have been defeated and killed, in a battle with *Canute*, king of *England* and *Denmark*; but of this there is no certainty. His son, *Asmund* the IIId, troubled himself but little about religion, and we are told that he likewise fell in a battle with *Canute*. He was succeeded in the crown of *Sweden* by *Haquin* the Red; but the *Goths* chose *Stenchild* the IId. After some dispute, it was agreed between the two princes, that each should reign peaceably in his own dominions, but upon the death of *Haquin*, *Stenchild* succeeded to both crowns, and proved an excellent prince. He is said to have carried on war against *Swen*, king of *Denmark*, and it is pretended that he was killed in battle.

Ingo, a nobleman, but not of royal blood, next mounted the throne, but there is great reason to believe, that all his piety was *Ingo king.* a cloak for enslaving his subjects, and that the wars we so often meet with on account of religion, were no other than quarrels between tyrants and the free part of their people, for we find that this *Ingo* was killed by his subjects, while he was endeavouring to root out idolatry. His brother *Halfan* succeeded him, and both his reign and that of his son *Philip*, are said to have been tranquil and happy. *Ingo* the IVth, whom some call the son, and others the brother of *Philip*, next mounted the throne, and by his wife *Raguid*, who received divine honours at her death for her virtues, he had two daughters, one married to *Eric*, king of *Denmark*, the other to *Magnus*, king of *Norway*. His piety acquired him the epithet of the Holy; but he is said to have been poisoned by the *Ostrogoths*, as he was labouring for their conversion to christianity. One *Ragwald*, a tyrant, succeeded him, but he was cut off by conspirators. The *Ostrogoths* then chose for their king *Magnus*, a *Danish* prince. The *Swedes* elected another king; but both people agreed in bestowing their crown on *Swercher*, and in

dethroning or putting to death the other princes. *Swercher* was unhappy in a profligate son, who was killed for his enormities, but in what manner is uncertain; and *Swercher*, tho' an excellent prince, was murdered by his subjects, about the year 1150.

1150.
Swercher
king of
Sweden,
and *Eric*
of *Goth-*
land.

The history of *Sweden* begins at this period to acquire some degree of consistency. The *Goths* chose for their king *Swercher's* son *Charles*, and the *Swedes* fixed upon *Eric* for theirs, whose great merit was his having married *Christina*, the daughter of *Ingo* the III^d. A new compromise took place. It was agreed that *Eric*, during his life, should possess both crowns; that upon his demise, he should be succeeded by *Charles*, upon whose death, the crown was to go alternately to the descendants of both. This compromise shews the barbarity of the *Swedes* at that time. The bulk of the nation was still

1154.

Pagan, and *Eric*, about the year 1154, from his zeal for christianity, carried on a war against the *Finlanders*. Upon his return, he set on foot a cruel persecution against his *Pagan* subjects, who called in the *Danes* to their assistance, and *Eric* was killed in a battle fought upon the plains of *Upsal*. The rebels then proclaimed the prince of *Denmark* king, but the loyal part of the *Swedes* revenged their monarch's death, by defeating and killing in battle *Magnus*, and his father, the king of *Denmark*. The joint crowns of *Sweden* and *Gothland* now reverted to *Charles*, who punctually fulfilled the family compact he had entered into with *Eric*. It appears that christianity by this time had obtained a strong footing in *Sweden*, and that the clergy there were very powerful. It was owing to them, and his scandalous concessions to the court of *Rome*, that *Charles* for some time reigned peaceably and prosperously, though there is great reason to believe that he was concerned in his predecessor's death. *Canute*, the son of *Eric*, who has been since known by the name of *Ericson*, certainly believed him guilty, for though *Charles* offered to declare him the presumptive heir of his crown, *Canute* raised an army in *Norway*, which surprized *Charles*, who was publicly beheaded, while his wife and children took refuge with *Waldemar* the 1st of *Denmark*. A numerous party, however, both in *Sweden* and *Gothland*, assisted by the *Danes*, refused to recognize *Canute* as their king, but he proved victorious over them all, and he reigned over the two kingdoms with, almost, absolute power. By this time the see of *Upsal* had been erected into an archbishopric, as had that of *Steeka*; and *Canute*, after defeating the *Esthonians* and *Courlanders*, who had made an irruption into *Sweden*, ended his life in 1197, after a glorious reign of twenty-three years. He possessed all the qualities of a great and a fortunate prince; but it is remarkable, that after his death, the family compact, that had been made between *Charles* and *Eric*, took place, and *Swercher*, son to the former, succeeded to the crown of *Sweden*, even with the consent of *Eric*, the son of *Canute*.

King
Charles
beheaded.

1192.

Swercher

Swercher took a *Danish* princess for his wife, and was supported by that crown in many cruelties he practised upon his subjects. He massacred all the family of the late king, excepting an infant son, who escaped to *Norway*. During his absence, *Swercher* rendered himself detestable in *Sweden* by his tyranny, and the *Swedish* nobility inviting young *Eric* to their relief, *Swercher* fled to *Denmark*, from whence he returned at the head of an army, but was defeated in three pitched battles, and at last killed. Though *Eric* was now undisputed master of the two crowns, yet he thought proper to re-establish the mode of succession we have already taken notice of, and at his death, he bequeathed his dominions to *Swercher's* son *John*, who has left a great name in history as a wise moderate prince, but far from being successful in his wars. He was succeeded, according to the alternate rule of succession, by a rebel-*Eric*, surnamed the *Stammerer*, son to *Eric Canuteson*. His reign in *Sweden* was disturbed by the ambition of the family of *Falkunger*, who forced him to fly to *Denmark*, and one of them, *Canute Falkunger*, usurped his crown. *Eric* was soon at the head of an army and attacked the usurper with so much vigour, that he was defeated and wounded, and his son taken prisoner and beheaded. *Eric* had married two of his sisters to two of the *Falkungers*, and had himself made a lady of that family his queen. His general, *Birger Jeryl*, was of the same family, and employed by him in massacring all the *Finlanders* who did not embrace christianity. It was during his reign that a nuncio from *Rome* first established celibacy among the clergy in *Sweden*. About the year 1250, *Eric* the *Stammerer* died, and in him the alternate mode of succession failed; for his nephew, young *Waldemar*, son to *Birger Jeryl*, was chosen king. This was a disappointment to the father, who expected the crown himself; but perceiving the states to be resolute, he acquiesced, and was made regent of the kingdom, during his son's minority.

1250.

According to the best *Swedish* antiquaries and historians, *Jeryl*, in the old *Scandinavian* language, is the same as earl in *English*; but *Birger* was raised by his son from the dignity of earl, to that of duke. His administration was unexceptionable, and he proved to be the legislator of *Sweden*. It was, however, interrupted by a rebellion raised by the house of *Flockenger*, one of the most powerful in *Sweden*. An indecisive battle happened, and a negotiation took place, but the *Flockengers* were basely seized and put to death by *Birger*, in violation of his solemn oath, only one of them, *Charles*, escaping to *Prussia*, and he afterwards took service under the grand master of the *Teutonic* order. In 1263, *Birger* laid the foundation of *Stockholm*, having before that time married his son, the nominal king, to the king of *Denmark's* daughter. It is remarkable, that *Birger* exercised all the duties of the government, even after his son was of age, and he died in the year 1266, leaving behind him, besides *Waldemar*, *Magnus* duke

1263.

1266.

of *Sudermania*, *Eric*, prince of *Smaland*, and *Benvit*, duke of *Finland*. Those princes were too powerful for subjects, and *Waldemar* became particularly jealous of the great accomplishments of *Magnus*. Notwithstanding this, in a ridiculous pilgrimage, he made first to *Rome*, and then to *Jerusalem*, *Magnus* was left regent of the kingdom. He governed with great fidelity, but *Waldemar*, upon his return home, accused him of treasonable views upon his crown; and being strongly supported by the *Norwegians*, despising the intercession of the states of *Sweden*, he forced *Magnus* and his brother *Eric* to fly to *Denmark*. Returning from thence with an army, about the year 1276, they defeated *Waldemar*, who, notwithstanding his vast superiority of numbers, was made prisoner by *Magnus*. The states of *Sweden* again interposed, but it was in favour of *Magnus*, and *Waldemar* was obliged to give up all his kingdom, excepting *East* and *West Gothland*, and the province of *Smaland*. *Magnus* refusing to pay his *Danish* auxiliaries their arrears, a bloody war succeeded between the two crowns, and some attempts were made to restore *Waldemar* to all he had lost. An accommodation at last took place, but *Waldemar's* interest was so much neglected during the conferences, that he was obliged to retire to *Denmark*, and *Magnus* remained sole master of *Sweden*.

1276. *Magnus* sole master of *Sweden*,
 is made a prisoner. By the late treaty, *Magnus* was to pay his *Danish* majesty a sum of money, which the latter assigned to one *Peter Portze*, who finding himself trifled with by *Magnus*, actually made him prisoner in one of his own castles, and compelled him to pay the debt before he set him at liberty.

1279. In 1279, *Waldemar* was forced to make a formal cession of the crown in an assembly of the states, and *Magnus* was crowned at *Upsal*, king of the *Swedes* and *Goths*; but his tranquillity began now to be interrupted. He had married *Hedwig*, a princess of *Holstein*, who persuaded him to introduce so many of her countrymen to places of power and profit, that the *Swedish* nobility, instigated by the *Flockengers*, took arms, and put to death *Inge-mar*, the reigning favourite of the court, with all the other noble *Holsteiners* attending *Magnus* and the queen, and threw the duke, the queen's father, into prison at *Jernsburgh*. Her majesty would have shared the same fate, had she not escaped to a monastery; and the conspiracy was so general, that *Magnus* was forced to temporize. He soon found an opportunity of being revenged. He persuaded the *Flockengers* to lay down their arms, and to give his father-in-law his liberty; but watching his opportunity, he put them all to death, except one *Philip de Rundi* (whose money saved his head) for their rebellion. After this, *Magnus* ordered his wife, *Hedwig*, to be solemnly crowned, and he confined his brother, *Waldemar*, for his seditious practices, to the castle of *Ninoping*, where he died in 1288. The remaining part of this reign was equally glorious as tranquil, through the providence of *Magnus*, who, by intermarriages and other alliances, kept up an excellent correspondence

A rebellion punished.

dependence with the court of *Denmark*. Before his death, which happened in 1290, he appointed *Torkel Cnutson*, or *Cannutson*, to be regent of the kingdom, and to take charge of his son's education, who was but eleven years of age. *Magnus* was so great a prince, both in peace and war, that it is thought, if he had lived longer, he would have fixed the point to which great princes aspire, that of rendering the crown absolute in his own person, and those of his successors.

The regency of *Cnutson* fully answered the intention of *Cnutson Magnus*. He seized on the sons of *Waldemar*, who were mere regent, ditiating innovations, and quelled the *Carelians* and *Russians*, and *Birger* who had invaded *Sweden*; so that *Carelia* was rendered a province of that kingdom, and the *Russians*, by his building *Wyburg*, were restrained from their incursions. *Cnutson*, in conformity to the customs of those times, never conquered without christianizing. In 1299, *Birger* married the *Danish* princess, to whom he had been espoused in his father's lifetime; but though he was of age, *Cnutson* still continued to manage the affairs of government. He built *Landskroon*, but it was demolished by the *Russians*. By his persuasion, *Birger* regulated and contracted the intricacies of the *Swedish* law, and abolished the infamous practice which then prevailed in the north, of suffering even *Christians* to sell each other. Even after *Birger* and his queen were crowned, he continued *Cnutson* in all his posts, and gave him additional exercises of power. It was probably by the advice of *Cnutson* that *Birger* declared his son, *Magnus*, his successor, when he was no more than three years of age.

The *Swedes*, at this time, had no settled form of hereditary government, and *Birger's* two brothers quarrelled with *Cnutson* for being partial to the reigning king's interest, without regard to the other branches of the royal family. They even shook off his guardianship, and intrigued with the king of *Denmark*. *Birger* had, or pretended to have, intelligence of this, and was instigated to severity by his queen and *Cnutson*, who was accused of leading the king into many oppressive and unjust measures. *Birger* trepanned his brothers into his power, and forced them to sign a paper, containing such terms as he was pleased to prescribe for their future behaviour. As this was obtained by force, the two princes possibly did not think themselves bound to the performance of the terms, and therefore they fled to *Denmark*, where they endeavoured to interest the king, *Eric*, in their favour. *Eric*, however, abandoned them, at the persuasion of *Cnutson*, and they fled to *Norway*, where they were protected, assisted, and encouraged by king *Haquin*, whose sister or daughter prince *Waldemar* had married. He and his brother *Eric* were soon at the head of an army, with which they invaded *Gothland*, committed great devastations, and defeated the troops sent against them by *Birger*, who, upon that, marched against his brothers in person. A bloody battle must have been the consequence, had not some senators

1290.

1299.

His brothers rebel.

An accommodation.

Cnutson
put to
death.

1307.
Sweden
invaded.

Uncer-
tainty of
the *Swede-
dish* his-
tory.

Continu-
ance of
war and
rebellions

senators interposed, and effected an accommodation, to which *Cnutson* fell a sacrifice; for being abandoned by all parties, he was tried, and publicly executed at *Stockholm*. The consequences shewed the injustice that had been done to *Cnutson*, whose greatest fault was his fidelity to the service of the king, and his endeavours to curb the overgrown powers of the clergy. His death was far from cementing the union among the three brothers. Fresh jealousies broke out. The king, who, after the sacrifice he had made of *Cnutson*, had expected an entire submission on the part of his brothers, was made prisoner, compelled to resign his crown to *Eric*, who besieged *Stockholm*, where the citizens considered the king's compulsive cession as being invalid, and desolated such provinces as held for *Birger*. His eldest son, *Magnus*, however, made his escape. His *Danish* majesty took part with his brother-in-law, *Birger*, and prevailed with the king of *Norway* to do the same. Duke *Waldemar*, in 1307, at the head of a body of *Germans*, who served for plunder, took quarters in *Gotthland*, where they soon came to blows with the inhabitants, and many were massacred on both sides. The *Danes* invaded *Sweden* in *Birger's* right, and at last it was agreed that *Birger* and his family should be set at liberty, and a congress held at *Smaland* to restore the tranquillity of *Sweden*.

We must either conclude the whole of the history of *Sweden*, at this time, to be no better than a fiction, or that the *Swedes* (and indeed all the other northern powers) were a set of lawless, perfidious barbarians; nor can we wonder at that, when we reflect on the vast influence the clergy had in all their deliberations. The congress of *Smaland* restored *Birger*, upon his promising to pass an act of amnesty, to part of his dominions; and according to *Puffendorf*, both the senate and his brothers renewed their oaths of allegiance to him. *Birger*, dissatisfied at not being reinstated in the whole, applied to the kings of *Denmark* and *Norway*, who assisted him with an army of sixty thousand men; and *Haquin* not only gave his daughter to *Birger's* son, *Magnus*, in marriage, but declared him and his wife his presumptive heirs to his kingdom of *Norway*. The great army of *Danes* and *Norwegians* continued still in the field, and *Birger*, by their assistance, took *Jenekoping*, and drove his two brothers out of *East Gotthland*. By the subsequent operations of the war, *Birger* seems to have been restored to but an inconsiderable part of his dominions. *Eric* was still possessed of *Calmar*, and *Waldemar* of *Stockholm*, while *Nicoping* was besieged by the *Danes*, as *Kongel* was by the *Norwegians*. The severity of the siege of *Nicoping* induced the *Danes*, against the consent of their king, to abandon it, and this brought on a new treaty between the brothers at *Helsingburg*. By this treaty, *West Gotthland*, *Delia*, *Halland*, *Wernland* and *Smaland*, were to continue in possession of duke *Eric*, and duke *Waldemar* was to retain *Upland*, the isle of *Oeland*, and part of *Finland*; but the two dukes renewed their oath of homage to *Birger*. This

This peace seems to have lasted from the year 1310 to 1317, 1310. when the two brothers were persuaded to pay a visit to *Birger* at *Nicoping*, where, by *Birger's* orders, they were seized in their beds, loaded with irons, and thrown into dungeons, because he had been treated by them in the same manner some years before. It aggravates the barbarity of *Birger*, that he was present, and directed the execution of this infamous transaction, and then put himself at the head of some troops to surprize *Stockholm*. The defence made by the inhabitants was so brave, that he was not only beaten from *Stockholm*, but besieged in *Nicoping*, where *Eric* was now dead of his wounds, and *Waldemar* of hunger. *Puffendorf* says, that *Birger* apprehending that *Nicoping* might be taken, threw the keys where his brothers were confined into the river, with orders that none should open the doors, upon pain of death, before he returned from *Stegburg*, to which he fled.

The *Stockholmers*, in the siege of *Nicoping*, were headed by *Mathew Kettlemunson*, who took the place, and by exposing the bodies of the murdered princes, confirmed and encreased the public detestation of *Birger*. The latter at first fled to *East Gothland*, but in the mean while *Kettlemunson* defeated his son, *Magnus*, drove him into *Stegburg*, where he besieged and took him prisoner in 1319, and from thence he was sent to *Stockholm*, together with all his attendants, who were known to be the principal advisers of *Birger* in the inhumanities he had perpetrated. The vast services performed by *Kettlemunson*, against *Birger* and his son, induced the states of *Sweden* to declare him regent, during the minority of *Magnus Smeek*, son to duke *Eric*, whom they raised to their throne. *Kettlemunson* next invaded *Denmark*, and laid *Schonen* waste, in revenge of the assistance which that prince had given to *Birger*, who by this time had been obliged to fly from *Gothland* to *Denmark*. His *Danish* majesty thought proper to conclude a truce, but he died before it could take effect, and his successor, *Christopher*, discovered no great regard to *Birger's* interest.

This neglect encouraged the *Swedes* to give full scope to their natural ferocity. Though by the capitulation of *Stegburg*, the life of prince *Magnus* was to have been safe, yet he was brought to a trial, and executed on a public scaffold, by a sentence of that very diet which but a few years before had declared him heir to their crown. The noblemen who were taken along with him underwent the same fate. During some years after this, the wise and vigorous administration of *Kettlemunson*, especially by embroiling the *Danes* at home, preserved *Sweden* in a tolerable degree of tranquillity. He died about the year 1336, and *Magnus* took upon himself the government. *Kettlemunson*, before his death, had reduced *Schonen*, and forced the people to take an oath of fidelity to *Magnus*. He had married *Blanche*, daughter of a count of *Namur*, and his favourite minister was one *Bengt*, a *West Gothlander*. Nothing could be more desirable than the situation of

Kettlemunson
regent of
Sweden.
1319.

Magnus
king.

Barbarity
and trea-
chery
of the
Swedes.

1336.
Magnus
the III.
king.

See p.
Magnus 400.

- Magnus* at his accession to the throne, for *Waldemar*, whose great character we have already seen, actually confirmed to him by oath, the cession of *Schonen*, *Bleking*, the isles of *Lyſter* and *Hacr*, with the province of *Halland*. This did not satisfy the ambition of *Magnus*, who solicited at the court of *Rome*, the investiture of the crown of *Denmark* itself, on pretence of its being a fief of the holy see, and forfeited by its princes. In this application he was defeated, by the intrigues of *Waldemar* and the firmness of the pope. It was not before the year 1343. that *Magnus* discovered any glaring marks of that violence and levity of conduct, which afterwards stained his reign. He then fell into the common weakness of the *Scandinavian* princes, of introducing foreigners into his court and army. He hired a large body of *German* mercenaries, the command of whom he gave to a duke of *Holstein*, to make war upon the *Russians*, in which he succeeded so ill, that after suffering several defeats, he was forced to buy his peace of those barbarians, by a cession of *Carelia*. The expences of this war, his profusion to foreigners, and to his favourite, whom he created duke of *Halland*, joined to the lavish and criminal indiscretions of queen *Blanche* to the same favourite, obliged *Magnus* not only to oppress his people, by exorbitant taxations, but (which was perhaps of still more consequence to him) to apply to his own use the tribute money that had been stipulated to be paid to the court of *Rome* by *Olaus* the 11d, for which he was excommunicated by his holiness.
- No sooner was this excommunication published, than the nobility and people gave a loose to the hatred and indignation which they had long entertained against *Magnus* and his government. He had, soon after his accession to the crown of *Sweden*, taken possession of that of *Norway*, likewise, by virtue of king *Haquin*'s will; and the senate of *Sweden*, without any ceremony, required him to give the former to his eldest son, *Eric*, and the latter to his second son, *Haquin*. *Magnus* rejecting this demand, was actually deposed from the government, and the senate placed their crown on the head of his son *Eric*. As to the throne of *Norway*, some writers pretend he had resigned it several years before, but it is probable that *Haquin*, if he did govern it, held it precariously of his father. Be that as it will, *Eric* was crowned, and *Magnus* fled to *Schonen*, where he entered into a negotiation, about the cession of that province to *Waldemar*, which at first had no effect, *Magnus* having secret assurances of assistance from *Germany*.
- An unnatural war was all this while carrying on between the father and the son. The latter defeated and put to death the favourite, but the duke of *Mecklenburgh* and the count of *Holstein* interposing, an accommodation was concluded, by a partition of the kingdom in 1357, by which *Magnus* reserved to himself *Upland*, *Gotland*, *Wernland*, *West Gotland*, *Oeland*, and part of *Halland*, while the son was to possess all the rest of the *Swedish* dominions, *Schonen* in particular. Scarcely had

had this accommodation taken place, when queen *Blanche* persuaded her husband to invite his son *Eric* to his court, where, under pretence of business, she presented him with a cup of poison from her own hand, which killed him in twenty days after he drank it. It is said her motive for this wicked act was, lest *Eric*, who had been declared king, should marry, and thereby introduce into the kingdom, a rival to her authority. We have related this fact from the *Danish* and *Swedish* writers; but though it seems to be pretty certain that the prince died with a conviction of his having been poisoned by his own mother, yet the atrocity of the fact, from some circumstances, admits of great doubt.

Upon the death of *Eric*, *Magnus*, under the sanction of the Treaty most solemn promises to reform his conduct, reassumed the undivided government of *Sweden*. He now entered into very near connections with the court of *Denmark*, as we have had already occasion to observe. He carried his son *Haquin* to *Copenhagen*, where he espoused him to *Margaret*, daughter to *Waldemar*, who was then but seven years of age, and was afterwards the *Semiramis* of the north. As the price of the marriage, *Magnus*, without consulting the states of *Sweden*, surrendered all the archives belonging to *Schonen*, and though the discontent of his subjects induced him afterwards to make a faint opposition to *Waldemar's* taking possession of it, it is certain, that in the year 1360, he confirmed the cession of it, by a solemn treaty with the *Dane*, and *Waldemar* thereby became its sovereign master. One of the terms upon which the cession was made, was, that *Waldemar* should assist *Magnus* in punishing the rebellious *Gothlanders*. Accordingly, in 1361, *Waldemar* joined with his ally in a descent upon *Gothland*, where he ravaged the country, and plundered the rich town of *Wifby*. Next year he repeated the like inhumanities in the island of *Oeland*. Those proceedings served to render *Magnus* more detestable, if possible, than he had ever been in the eyes of his subjects, who made the most moving applications for protection to *Haquin* of *Norway*, which they accordingly obtained. He marched to the assistance of his father's subjects, and confined him in the castle of *Calmar*. The states then demanded of *Haquin* to renounce his proposed matrimonial alliance with the princess of *Denmark*, and to espouse a princess of the house of *Holstein*, to which *Magnus* and *Haquin* seemed to agree. The *Holstein* princess was intercepted, and detained by *Waldemar*, in her voyage to *Sweden*. The duke of *Mecklenburgh* and the count of *Holstein* endeavoured to deliver her by force of arms, but *Waldemar* persuaded *Haquin* to marry her, in utter breach of his oath. This alienated the affections of the *Swedish* nobility from *Haquin*, as well as from *Magnus*; and the chiefs of the malecontents applied to *Henry* of *Holstein* to accept of their crown. He declined the honour, but recommended to their choice duke *Albert* of *Mecklenburgh*, whose mother was sister to *Magnus*. That prince likewise declined

declined the honour offered him, and the deputies elected for their king his second son, *Albert*.

Albert
chosen
king of
Sweden.

Magnus
defeated
and made
prisoner,

See p.
404,
& seq.
1371.

and is
drowned.

See p.
406.

Albert de-
posed for
malverfa-
tion.

1376.

1380.

This young prince accepted of the proffered honour without any difficulty, and was immediately carried to *Gothland*, where the rendezvous of the malecontents was held, and from thence, after taking upon himself the title of king, he easily became master of *Stockholm*. He was there proclaimed king a second time; but *Magnus*, who was powerfully supported by the kings of *Denmark* and *Norway*, so far from consenting to his own deposition, invaded *Upland* at the head of an army. He was met by the *Swedes*, under *Albert*, and a desperate battle ensuing, *Magnus* was taken prisoner, and his son *Haquin* with great difficulty escaped wounded out of the field. The number of *Danes* who still were possessed of the strong holds of *Sweden*, and the opposition made by *Haquin*, obliged *Albert* to propose terms of accommodation with *Denmark*. They were accepted of by *Waldemar*, to whom *Albert* ceded the island of *Gothland*, with the cities of *Wisby* and *Helsingburg*, and many other valuable territories. We have already seen in what manner a confederacy of the princes of the north, in which *Albert* became a party, drove *Waldemar* out of *Denmark*, while *Albert* recovered possession of *Schonen*. In 1371, *Haquin* made such a progress in an invasion of *Sweden*, that he defeated *Albert* and laid siege to *Stockholm*, where *Magnus* still continued a prisoner. Negotiations were proposed, and an accommodation ensued, thro' which *Magnus* recovered his liberty, by paying twelve thousand crowns to *Albert*, and his renouncing all right to the crown of *Sweden*, and the province of *Schonen*, and only reserving to himself the provinces of *West Gothland*, *Wernland* and *Dali*. *Magnus* did not long survive this treaty, which he punctually performed, and retiring to a private life, in *Norway*, he was accidentally drowned near *Bloncnfort*.

We have already seen, about the year 1376, how *Albert* engaged himself in his nephew, the duke of *Mecklenburgh's* quarrels about his succession to the crown of *Denmark*, after the death of *Waldemar*; but the affairs of the north now took an unexpected turn. *Haquin* of *Norway* died soon after his father, and his son *Olaus* was chosen king of *Denmark*, upon the death of *Waldemar*, his grandfather; but a dreadful tempest dissipated the fleet of the *Mecklenburghers*, and their allies, and, in fact, obliged the duke of *Mecklenburgh* to abandon his claim upon the crown of *Denmark*, though his grandson, *Albert*, was descended from *Margaret's* eldest sister. The death of the duke and his grandson *Albert*, in 1380, left *Olaus* without a competitor to the crown of *Denmark*; but upon his absence in *Norway*, *Albert*, king of *Sweden*, made an irruption into *Denmark*, and was repulsed. *Margaret* then managed her son's affairs in *Denmark*, and it was with pleasure she saw that *Albert* was grown extremely unpopular in *Sweden*. His vast prodigality to *Germans*, and other foreigners, against the ex-
press

press laws and constitutions of that country, had impoverish-
 ed his finances, which he sought to replenish, by laying ex-
 cessive taxes upon his people, without sparing the properties
 of his clergy and his nobility. The insolence of the foreign-
 ers, whom he placed in the chief posts of the kingdom, that
 they might be subservient to his arbitrary views, encreased his
 unpopularity, and the states of his kingdom, at last, laid be-
 fore him the illegality and madness of his proceedings. *Olaus Margaret*
of Denmark was now dead, and *Margaret* was sole queen of *Den-*
mark and *Norway*, the first by hereditary right, the latter *mark cho-*
 by election. To her the malecontent nobility of *Sweden* ap- *sen queen*
 plied for protection against *Albert*, who was preparing to seize, *of Sweden,*
 by force, a third part of the rents of the church and the no-
 bility. She agreed to their request, and entered into the
 scheme of dethroning *Albert*, provided the *Swedish* nobility
 would secure her their crown if she was successful, and to
 establish the succession in her family. They were forced to *Ibid.*
 embrace her terms, and *Albert*, as his last resource, being de-
 stitute of money, gave her battle on the plains of *Faloping*,
 in which he was entirely defeated and taken prisoner, toge-
 ther with his son. This victory was far from placing *Mar-*
garet on the throne of *Sweden*. Unhappily for the *Swedes*,
Stockholm, and their strongest fortresses, were in possession of
 the *Holsteiners*, the *Mecklenburghers*, and *Albert's* other *Ger-*
man allies, who looked upon the *Swedes*, as well as the *Danes*
 and *Norwegians*, as their enemies. They reduced to ashes all
 the places where they thought *Margaret's* interest was preva-
 lent. They were joined by the inhabitants of the *Hanse*
 towns; and the sea was equally a scene of devastation as the
 land. *Margaret* laid siege to *Stockholm*, where the *German*
 garrison plundered, tortured, and butchered the chief inhabi-
 tants, whom they accused of favouring *Margaret's* cause; and
 to such a degree of barbarity were they carried, that after re-
 sisting the torture, they shut them up, and burnt them in
 houses. While those tragical scenes were acting, *Albert's* *P. 406,*
 friends in the north of *Germany* covered the seas with pirates, *407.*
 who committed barbarities that befriended the cause of *Mar-*
garet, by giving the *Swedes* a disgust for her antagonists. A
 strong reinforcement of *Germans* which arrived at *Stockholm*
 about the same time, drove *Margaret's* troops from the siege of
Stockholm, but without being able entirely to raise it. *Albert*,
 in the beginning of the war, had mortgaged the isle of *Goth-*
land to the grand master of the *Teutonic* order, for ready mo-
 ney, which had been spent before his imprisonment. The
 cities of *Rostock* and *Wismar*, as well as the dukes of *Mecklen-*
burgh and *Stargard*, and the counts of *Holstein*, had laid out
 immense sums in fitting out fleets and armies for his relief; but
 all the return they received, was from their equally plunder-
 ing the friends of both parties. *Margaret* was sensible of their *A treaty*
 situation, and returning to *Denmark*, she made such advances is con-
 to the house of *Holstein* and *Sleswick*, as detached them from cluded.
 the

1394.

the confederacy against her. The duke of *Mecklenburgh* followed their example, and the *Hanse* towns, receiving no profit from the war, joined in the general disposition to restore peace to the north, and to clear the *Baltic* from pirates. A congress was held at *Helsingburgh*, but a magistrate of *Stralsund* being killed, it came to nothing. The conferences were renewed at *Labholm*, in 1394, in the presence of *Margaret* and the duke of *Mecklenburgh*, and deputies from all the allies attending, *Margaret* agreed to restore *Albert*, and his son, prince *Eric*, to their liberty, on condition of their renouncing, in three years time, all pretensions to the crown of *Sweden*, or returning to their claims. *Stockholm* was to be put into the hands of the *Hanse* towns in the interim, and they agreed to pay sixty thousand marks of silver, in case of the non-performance of the treaty. *Albert* accepted of those conditions, and returned to *Mecklenburgh*, where he reigned jointly with his nephew. He refused, however, to comply with the terms of the treaty, and the ladies of that duchy, by selling their jewels, generously assisted him in raising the sixty thousand marks, which were to be paid by the *Hanse* towns as the forfeiture.

Death of
Albert and
his son.

It was pretty extraordinary, that though *Margaret* was acknowledged to be queen of *Sweden*, yet her capital was to be possessed for three years by a neutral power. But her situation, even at that time, was very delicate. The *Swedes* hated *Albert* more than they loved her, and ever since the battle of *Faloping*, she found them trifling about the performance of their obligations to receive her as their queen; and a great party of the senate thought, that while *Albert* was in being, and had not renounced his sovereignty, their allegiance to him could not be dissolved. The performance of the late treaty, on the part of *Margaret*, removed those objections, and she now found herself the greatest monarch that for many centuries had reigned in the north. As to *Albert*, he compromised the affair of his mortgage upon the isle of *Gothland*, where he established a court for his beloved son, *Eric*, and he was preparing to renew the war, by the assistance of his allies, when the death of that prince mortified in him all ambition to remount his throne. He sent orders that *Stockholm* should be delivered up to *Margaret*, with all the other places he held in *Sweden*; so that, in all probability, the 60,000 marks forfeiture never was paid. He died in the year 1412.

P. 406,
407.

Wife con-
duct of
Margaret.

Whatever private or political vices *Margaret* might be guilty of, it is certain she was an accomplished politician, and a princess of high spirit, if we except the boundless wealth and power she bestowed upon her clergy. We have already seen how she had adopted young *Eric* of *Pomerania* to be her successor, though some say, that even in her lifetime he was crowned, and that *Margaret* held the reins of government only as regent. Her view was, to establish in futurity the three crowns of the north under her successors, and to con-
quer

quer any dislike the *Swedes* might have for this measure; she began her reign with many popular acts of government. She displaced the foreigners who had been introduced by *Albert*; she razed the fortresses he had built for bridling the people; she resumed his extravagant gifts; she repealed his arbitrary acts, and in all she did, she took advice of her *Swedish* senate. To keep the revenues of the crown and of the public as distinct as possible, she obtained *East* and *West Gothland*, *Wernland*, *Westermanland*, *Dalcarlia*, and all its mines, for her demesnes, and she filled up all places of power and trust with such *Swedes* as had the greatest property and credit in their country. We have already given the history of the union of *Calmar*; p. 407, by which she united the possession of the three northern kingdoms in her own person, with some remarks on the defects of that treaty. The truth is, the *Swedish* deputies were so jealous of her predilection for *Denmark*, that they never could be brought to consent to an incorporate union upon the principles *Margaret* proposed, not to mention the national animosities that subsisted between the two people. It is even uncertain whether a true copy of the articles of that union has come to our hands, as those exhibited by the *Swedes* and *Danes* are different. 408.

Union of
Calmar.
1397.

As by the union of *Calmar*, the crowns of *Denmark* and *Sweden* were in possession of *Margaret*, we must refer the reader to the history of *Denmark*, after this union, till its dissolution, as to many particulars. *Margaret* is represented in so different a light, that even the great transactions of her administration, after that period, are not sufficiently ascertained. It seems, however, to be undoubted, that after obtaining her great end, she pulled off the mask, and gave way to her affection for her countrymen, the *Danes*. The *Swedes* accuse her of loading them with taxes, though we cannot see with what justice, if she had a separate revenue of her own, and was obliged to consult her senate as to all extraordinary subsidies. It is perhaps, not without reason, that the same authors blame her for carrying money out of *Sweden*, to be spent in *Denmark*; but that was probably the money arising from her own demesnes. She answered the complaints of the *Swedes*, but she recommended to young *Eric* to depend upon the *Danes*, more than upon either the *Swedes* or the *Norwegians*. Partiality of *Margaret* to the *Danes*.

Notwithstanding the late king *Albert*'s compromise with the knights of the *Teutonic* order, we find them in possession of *Gothland*, and their grand master pretended, that, instead of its being a mortgage, he held it by right of conquest, having taken it from the pirates during the late commotions. This determined her to employ force in retaking it, and in 1404, she sent troops into the island, under *Algoth Magnus*, and *Abraham Broder*, who besieged its capital, *Wifby*. While the *Danes* were pressing the siege with great fury, the emperor, as protector of the *Teutonic* order, called a congress at *Helsingburg*, where *Margaret*'s deputies attended, and agreed to pay a certain p. 408. 1404. *Wifby* besieged.

tain sum to the knights, who were to keep possession of the isle till it was paid, which was not till some time after; but the dates assigned by authors to the whole of this transaction, are confused and contradictory; for we are told by some that the *Swedes* were driven entirely out of the island.

1406. In 1406, *Eric* married the daughter of *Henry* the IVth of *England*, and took upon himself the administration of government, by putting to death *Margaret's* favourite, *Abraham Broderfon*. The *Danish* historians pretend, indeed, that *Margaret*, to the day of her death, retained all her power and influence in the government; but this is contrary to the testimony, not

Death of *Margaret*. only of the *Swedish*, but all other, historians. Perhaps their accounts may be reconciled, by admitting that *Margaret*, tired with the toils of government, relinquished them to *Eric*, especially in *Sweden*, where, at the time of her death, which

1412. happened in 1412, she was detested. Besides what we have already observed of the character of this princess as queen of

Her character. *Denmark*, we are to observe, that the *Swedes* accuse her of the most ungenerous and unjust violations of the treaty of *Calmar*, not only by spending her time and revenues in *Denmark*, but by filling the chief civil and military posts in *Sweden* with *Danes*. When deputies from the *Swedish* senate had the courage to remonstrate against those infractions, she insultingly advised them to be as careful in preserving their privileges, as she was in possessing their fortresses.

Eric the VIIth, of *Pomerania*. We have already mentioned the scheme which *Eric* and *Margaret* had formed for reannexing the duchy of *Sleswick* to the crown of *Denmark*, and the difficulties they met with from the *Holstein* princes, whose general, *Scharwenburg*, defeated the *Danes* in a great battle. Though this affair was entirely foreign to *Sweden*, yet *Eric* forced the *Swedes* to serve in his armies, and to raise large taxes for prosecuting the war. As

p. 408. their provinces and fortresses were in the hands of *Danish* tyrants, their remonstrances, instead of procuring them relief, encreased their sufferings. A *Dane* filled the see of *Upsal*, and

Cruelty of the *Danes*. the inhumanity of the *Danish* governors, exceeded what is related of the worst of eastern tyrants. One of them, *Ericson*, out of mere wantonness, used to flay and broil them alive, and the smallest misery they underwent, was to be yoked together to draw his ploughs. One *Jesson Asdal*, governor of

p. 412. *Dalecarlia*, was equally inhuman, and the brave *Engelbert*, the *Dalecarlian* deputy, was, as we have already seen, driven out of *Denmark* for demanding the punishment of the tyrant. Upon *Engelbert's* return, the *Dalecarlians* revolted, and chose him for their leader. *Jesson* was expelled out of their country, and retired to *Denmark*. *Engelbert* animated his countrymen to a total expulsion of the *Danes* out of *Sweden*, which he said was the only remedy that could be applied to their sufferings.

An insurrection in *Sweden*. He was joined by the north *Hallanders*, under *Eric Pache*, and the *Uplanders* declared themselves of the same sentiments. The avowed resolution of the *Danish* governors, to reduce the

the insurgents by force of arms, augmented *Engelbert's* army, and *Eric* ordered the senate of *Sweden* to assemble at *Wadestene*. *Engelbert* intrepidly entered their assembly, and after laying before them, in the most forcible and pathetic manner, the miseries of his country, he concluded, that *Eric*, their king, not having performed the terms on which he was raised to their throne, they were absolved from their allegiance. The senate having been long accustomed to slavery, at first were far from being of his opinion, but upon *Engelbert's* threatening to treat them as the adherents of the tyrant, they formally disclaimed all allegiance to *Eric*. The progress of *Engelbert*, after this, was extensive and rapid, and though the *Schoneners* were inclined to oppose him, yet both parties came to an accommodation.

In 1434, *Engelbert* assembled the states general at *Stockholm*, 1434. where *Cropelin*, the governor of that capital, and the intrigues where of *Eric's* friends, defeated the public spirited efforts of *Engelbert*. *Eric* arrives. *Engelbert* still kept the field, and *Eric* set sail from *Denmark* with a great fleet, which was wrecked or dispersed by a storm, but the ship that carried *Eric* arrived at *Stockholm*. We are not sufficiently informed of the particulars that followed, for we are told that *Eric* prevailed with the senate and nobility to give him a meeting, after *Engelbert* had besieged him in his capital. The nobles bravely asserted their own rights of resistance in *Eric's* face, and though he did not recede from his tyrannical demands, yet he prevailed with the members to grant him a truce for a year, upon which he returned to *Denmark*. Though this is an undoubted, yet it is an unaccountable, fact; unless we suppose that the senate was divided in itself, and favoured *Eric's* escape, for it can be called no better; or, what is still more probable, that the most considerable fortresses in the kingdom were still in his hands.

Whatever may be in this, it is certain that the senate, notwithstanding all the provocations that their country had received, was extremely tender of *Eric*, and his prerogative. After his return to *Denmark*, another diet was held at *Abo*, where *Cropelin*, and the grand master of the *Teutonic* order attended on the part of *Eric*, and prevailed with the assembly not to come to extremities, till they should try what a fresh representation of their grievances would produce. This assembly sat down on the 4th of *May*, and having drawn up a recapitulation of their rights and sufferings, *Eric* arrived at *Stockholm* before the end of *July*, where he solemnly swore to grant them redress of all their grievances, and for the future, to govern according to their laws, and the constitutions of *Calmar*. He agreed, at the same time, that *Engelbert* should possess, for his life, the city of *Orebro*. Scarcely was the ink which ingrossed those conventions dry, before *Eric* broke them in every particular, by acting with greater despotism than ever, and breathing vengeance against *Engelbert*. He even

dispossessed his friend, *Cropelin*, because he thought him too moderate. He reinforced his garrison of *Stockholm*, and by means of a large fleet and army he had prepared, he dispossessed all the *Swedish* governors of their places, and filled them with *Danes*. In short, he treated *Sweden* in every respect as a rebellious, and a conquered country. The miserable *Swedes* obtained some respite by a storm, which dissipated his fleet, and obliged him to return to *Denmark*. They renewed their remonstrances with incredible moderation, and *Eric* returned to *Stockholm* with his nephew, *Bogeslaus* of *Pomerania*, to whom he proposed to resign his crowns, and to whom the *Danish* governor of *Stockholm* actually swore allegiance.

Engelbert
murdered
by *Canut-*
son.

The voice of distressed liberty again called *Engelbert* into the field, who immediately invested *Stockholm*. He was attended by the senate, and the citizens, overpowering the foreigners, gave him admittance, upon which the *Danish* governor retired to the citadel. This glorious period, which ought to have been the era of *Swedish* liberty, had almost proved its ruin. *Charles Canutson*, the grand marshal of the kingdom, had the ancient kings of *Sweden* for his ancestors, and he was the most respectable of all the nobility, not only for his birth, but for his courage, and an air of majesty, which commanded respect, and attended all his actions. Whether in his heart he was a patriot, may be justly questioned, because he had secretly, for some time, aspired to the crown, and envied the glory that *Engelbert* had acquired. He was the darling of the senate and the nobility, as *Engelbert* was of the gentry and peasantry. By the assistance of mediators, it was agreed that *Canutson* should carry on the siege of the citadel of *Stockholm*, while *Engelbert* was employed in driving out the *Danish* governors. As *Engelbert* was proceeding, with great success, in this commission, he was infamously assassinated by the procurement of *Canutson*; and his command devolved upon his friend, *Eric Pache*, who resolved to revenge his death. A civil war ensued among the insurgents, which, in the end, restored the king to his authority.

The con-
federacy
against
Eric
broken.

The senate, by this dissention, losing all hopes of recovering their liberty by force, summoned another diet at *Calmar*, where *Eric*, renewing all his promises of governing according to the laws, he was again admitted to the exercise of royalty. In a subsequent diet, held at the same place, a new treaty of union, in which the old treaty was confirmed, and all its defects supplied, was proposed. The mode of succession was fixed, but it is uncertain whether the proceedings of the diet were ratified by *Eric*, who by this time had retired to his favourite isle of *Gotland*, with all the royal treasures and archives of *Sweden*. According to some authors, he signed the act of settling the succession of the crown, and upon his going to *Gotland*, the senate, fearing that he had been drowned, put the administration of affairs into the hands of *Canutson*. *Canutson*, before this time, had given many proofs of an un-
bounded

bounded ambition; and though they conferred upon him that trust, they renewed their oaths of fidelity to *Eric*, if living; and when they found he was in *Gothland*, they sent deputies to induce him to return to *Sweden*, and to confirm the late constitutions that had passed at *Calmar*. The first instructions of the deputies were, to apply themselves to the senate of *Denmark*, but they found the *Danes* were as much exasperated against *Eric* as the *Swedes*; upon which they went to *Gothland*, where *Eric* treated them with all imaginable indignity, and refused to agree to any one of their propositions. The *Swedish* deputies, after this, entered into strong, but secret, connections with the discontented *Danish* nobility, and it was concerted between them, that *Christopher* of *Bavaria* should be invited to take their crowns.

Upon the report of the *Swedish* deputies, to their senate, a resolution was formed to depose *Eric*, and according to some authors, his deposition was formal; but though this is not quite ascertained, it is certain that *Canutson*, by virtue of his administratorship, forced many of the *Danish* governors to resign the places they held, into his hands, and he filled them up with his own creatures; so that he became, in the opinion of the people, too powerful for an administrator. *Pache* assembled the peasantry, whom he exhorted to revenge the death of *Engelbert*, and defeated the troops of *Canutson*, who, under pretence of a treaty, decoyed *Pache* into his power, and most treacherously struck off his head. *Canutson*, after this, grew detestable in the eyes of the *Swedes*, and the nobility was confirmed more than ever in their resolution to call in *Christopher* of *Bavaria*. Several insurrections, particularly one under *Melson*, and another under *Stenson*, whom *Eric* had constituted his captain general in *Sweden*, happened; but they were suppressed by *Canutson*, who cut off the heads of all who durst so much as expostulate against his tyranny. Had it not been for the frantic behaviour of *Eric*, he might have been once more recalled to the throne of *Sweden*; but the states were now so absolutely determined upon the election of his nephew by his sister, *Christopher* of *Bavaria*, that all *Canutson*'s arts could not prevent it. He however obtained, in consideration of the debts he had contracted during his administratorship, a grant for himself and his heirs of the province of *Finland*, with the isles of *Oeland* and *Bergholm*.

The situation of *Eric*, who continued in *Gothland*, and employed his treasures in fitting out ships, to ravage the coast, and interrupt the trade of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, was very extraordinary, and the more so, as his depredations were continued at by *Christopher* of *Bavaria*, who accepted the crown on the same terms as had been prescribed to his two immediate predecessors. He copied *Eric* in every part of his tyrannical government, and married the princess *Dorothy* of *Brandenburgh*. To appease the clamours of his people, he fitted out an armament, under pretence of acting against *Eric*; but upon his arrival

He is deposed.

Pache treacherously put to death.

Christopher of *Bavaria* accepts the crown.

rival in *Gothland*, he paid him a friendly visit, and he and *Christopher* parted in good terms, excusing himself to the *Swedes*, by saying that it was unreasonable he should deprive his uncle of his bread. The *Danes*, as well as the *Swedes*, had come to a resolution of deposing *Christopher* for his repeated acts of tyranny; and he endeavoured to reform his government, but died in *January* 1448.

Upon his death, the two brothers, *Jansons*, were appointed joint regents of *Sweden*, which on this occasion was split into two parties. One was for deferring the election of a king till an assembly of the deputies of the three kingdoms was held, and it could be known whether it was possible to revive the union of *Calmar*. The other party, at the head of which was *Canutson*, very properly urged that the union of *Calmar* was now at an end, and *Canutson* acted with so much address, that he was preferred to the two regents, and crowned king of *Sweden*, at *Upsal*. He found himself, on his accession to the throne, without warlike stores, ships or treasures, all which had been carried to *Denmark* by his two immediate predecessors. That he might do something popular, he made a descent upon the isle of *Gothland*, the event of which we have already seen. All we have to add, is, that *Eric* was much more exasperated against the *Swedes* than the *Danes*; because he said the former wanted to deprive him of that spot of ground which the latter left him unmolested. Though *Canutson* failed in this expedition, yet, upon an invitation from the *Norwegian* nobility, he passed into that kingdom, where he received their crown, at *Drontheim*. Upon his return to *Sweden*, he called a diet at *Abroga*, and appointed commissioners to treat with the *Danes* concerning the rendition of the isle of *Gothland*. *Magnus Green*, his first general, was at the head of this commission, and being secretly disgusted with *Canutson*, he and his fellow commissioners entered into very close connections with the *Danish* commissioners, for renewing the union of *Calmar*, which, in fact, implied the stripping *Canutson* of both his crowns, in favour of *Christiern* king of *Denmark*. Their conferences, however, ended in the conclusion of a peace. *Canutson* more than suspected what had passed, and upon the return of his commissioners, he deprived them of all their employments, and some say, sequestered their estates. It is certain, he punished them as far as his power permitted him, or he durst in prudence, on account of their high rank and quality, even the archbishop of *Upsal* being involved in their guilt.

1454. In 1454, though the late peace had been renewed in an interview between the two monarchs, the *Danes*, who were still War with *Denmark*, in possession of *Gothland*, made a piratical descent upon the neighbourhood of *Stockholm*, which was resented by *Canutson*, by invading *Sweden* with seventy thousand men. We have already seen the *Danish* account of this expedition, which we are inclined to believe rather than that of the *Swedes*; because, had

Canutson
elected
king.

p. 415.

Canutson
chosen
king of
Norway.

p. 416.

had *Canutson* been so successful as they represent him, it is improbable he would have returned so quickly to *Sweden*, or that he would have entirely abandoned all his conquests in *Schonen*. During his absence, the discontented party in *Sweden*, with the archbishop at their head, renewed their connections with *Christiern*, who fell with an army into *West Gothland*, where he took *Lodese*, and compelled the inhabitants to send notice to *Canutson*, that they no longer acknowledged him for their sovereign. While *Canutson* was on his march to repel this invasion, he had intelligence that *Green* and his party had joined the *Danes*, whose fleet, under *Axelson*, was actually besieging *Stockholm*. *Canutson* instantly proceeded to the relief of his capital, and drove the *Danes*, with considerable loss, out of that part of *Sweden*. He was equally successful against them in *East* and *West Gothland*, for his general, *Thorde Bonde*, recovered all the last mentioned province, and *Christiern* was obliged to evacuate the former.

Canutson's successes against the *Danes* overawed the male-contents, who had not yet declared themselves, and the arch- Policy of *Christiern*. bishop renewed his oath of fidelity. The politic *Christiern*, without being discouraged by those appearances, amused *Canutson*, sometimes with fruitless negotiations, and sometimes with alarming invasions, which *Canutson* durst not repay, because of the dangerous ferment, which he knew was still lurking among his people. It obliged him, however, to keep on foot great armies, and to levy oppressive taxes, which encreased the public discontents, especially after he had put to death *Thorde Bonde*, his best and most faithful general, and made free with the revenues of the clergy. At last, the popular discontent rose so high, that the archbishop of *Upsal* privately sent intelligence to *Christiern*, that if he then began his operations, all *Sweden* would declare for a revival of the union of *Calmar*. *Christiern* had then a good fleet, and in 1455, he re- 1455. duced the isle of *Oeland*, and took *Borkholm*. He was equally successful in *Finland*, and *Green*, who was then in his service, burnt *Wyburg*, but was unable to reduce its citadel. Amidst so many distresses, *Canutson* had no other resource than to assemble the states at *Stockholm*; but they met in so bad humour, that they condemned him to pay for certain ships which the *Danes* had taken from the archbishop of *Upsal*. *Canutson* lost all patience at this treatment, and resolved to defend himself by a standing army, and his garrisons. The clergy declared themselves against him, almost to a man, and when he marched to retake *Oeland*, the archbishop posted him up in his cathedral as a heretic and a tyrant, and then exchanged his ecclesiastical for a military habit. He, at the same time, put all his great officers of state and his household, under arrest, and plundered the palace. *Canutson*, hearing of this rebellion, returned of a sudden with fourteen hundred horse, thinking to surprize his enemies; but he himself was surprized, by the vigilant and warlike prelate, who cut in pieces or took prisoners

his party, wounded himself, and obliged him to fly to *Stockholm*, which the archbishop immediately invested.

Canutson
flies to
Dantzic.
1458.

It was in vain for *Canutson* to offer his pardon to the rebels. Their head told his followers that he was not to be trusted, and produced repeated instances of his perfidy. *Canutson*, finding his capital untenable, and his subjects, almost to a man, disaffected, put part of his treasures on board a ship, but hid the remainder in the house of the *Dominican Friars*, and escaped to *Dantzic*.

Christiern
crowned
king of
Sweden.

After the flight of *Canutson*, *Stockholm* and its citadel surrendered, and the archbishop declared himself protector of the kingdom. *Christiern's* schemes were now ripe, and in consequence of an invitation he received from the protector and the states of *Sweden*, he landed with a fine fleet at *Stockholm*, and after signing articles for the due administration of the kingdom, the preservation of the liberties of the subject, and redress of grievances, he was elected and crowned. Having under him a powerful fleet and army, he did not think himself obliged to answer the extravagant expectations of the archbishop, and his other *Swedish* friends. This stung the archbishop with resentment, which he called remorse, for having dethroned his lawful sovereign, and for which he is said to have received absolution from his holiness. *Christiern* went even so far, as to declare his intention of resuming, without paying any equivalent, the crown lands that had been granted away during the late reigns, but in all other respects, he adhered strictly to the letter of his capitulation.

His ty-
rannical
govern-
ment.

The history of no country, perhaps, produces more instances than that of *Sweden* does, of princes who did not profit by the misfortunes, or the examples of their predecessors. *Christiern* renewed all the oppressive practices of former kings. He discovered and seized the treasures left by *Canutson*, with the *Dominicans*, and imposed additional taxes, in violation of his capitulation, to pay the purchase money for some duchies he had bought, with which *Sweden* had no manner of connection. Being reconciled to the archbishop, in appearance, though they privately hated each other, they formed sham plots, for which they, whom they suspected to be their enemies, were put to death, under racks and tortures. The nature of this confederacy between *Christiern* and his archbishop, is not new in history, and was built on both sides upon wicked principles. The king made the prelate his first minister, that he might be rendered unpopular, and the latter, under pretence of executing the royal commands, rendered the king detestable. Both of them acted, as appears from the event, with more cunning than wisdom. The archbishop compelled the peasants of *Finland* to an insurrection, on account of an extraordinary tax he demanded, when the king was absent in *Finland*; and *Christiern*, on his return, put the archbishop under arrest, for having stirred up sedition among his subjects, by his oppressions. In the mean while, the party of the exiled *Ca-*
nutson

Canutson was daily gathering strength, and making profelytes, as the public did not find itself bettered by its change of kings. The peasants and the clergy took part with the archbishop, and the king cut in pieces some of the former; but the bishop of *Linköping* had not only the boldness to demand the archbishop's release, but reprimanded *Christiern* for the abuses of his government; upon which the archbishop was sent prisoner to *Copenhagen*. The bishop of *Linköping*, whose name was *Katil*, was soon at the head of an army, which in 1453, defeated the royal troops, besieged *Christiern* in *Stockholm*, and compelled him to fly to *Denmark*. He flies to *Denmark*. 1453.

Katil, pretending the throne was now vacant, and that the *Swedish* nation had renounced its allegiance to *Christiern*, for the reasons already mentioned, declared himself protector of the kingdom, though *Eric Nelson* was the only senator of his party. We are to observe, that *Stockholm* was still possessed by the royal garrison, but blocked up. *Christiern*, while in *Denmark*, levied a numerous army, and being joined by the senators and nobility, who were still of his party, marched to the relief of his capital, not to fight, as he thought, but to destroy, the rabble of peasants who besieged it. He was deceived, for the dispositions made by *Katil* and *Nelson* were so excellent, that his own troops were cut in pieces, and it was with difficulty that he himself, with a few attendants, escaped to *Stockholm*, which was besieged anew by *Katil*, who, in every respect, approved himself worthy of the power he had assumed, by relieving the people, and lowering their taxes. *Katil*, even after his first successes, had been so moderate as to propose terms to *Christiern*, provided he would release the archbishop, who was his uncle, which *Christiern* refused. *Katil*, upon this, encouraged the peasants of *Dalia* and *Upland* to address the senate against *Christiern*, and to demand the restoration of *Canutson*. That prince, who, ever since his exile, had, by the assistance of the *Dantzickers* and *Poles*, been waging perpetual hostilities upon the *Danes*, no sooner appeared with a handful of forces before *Stockholm*, which had been a second time abandoned by *Christiern*, than the inhabitants received him with loud acclamations, into their city and citadel. *Katil* declared protector.

History is here again at a default, with regard to the views and conduct of *Canutson* and *Katil*. What we can collect from jarring authorities is, that *Canutson*, upon his restoration, was less solicitous about rewarding his friends than obliging his enemies. Without consulting *Katil*, he generously set at liberty all his *Danish* prisoners; but no sooner were they embarked, than the offended prelate pursued, and brought back the ships which carried them. By this time, *Christiern*, sensible that he never could recover the crown of *Sweden* without the assistance of the two prelates, apologized to the archbishop for his imprisonment, which he said had been occasioned by suborned and malicious evidence, and not only

Uncertainty of history at this period.

The arch-
bishop of
Upsal de-
feats *Ca-
nutson*,
who re-
nounces
the crown.

only set him at liberty, but gave him greater proofs than ever of his esteem and friendship. He furnished him with large sums of money; he appointed him a splendid retinue to attend him back to *Sweden*; he declared him viceroy there, and impowered him to act as if he himself were present. The prelate knew that this profusion of favour was meant only to induce him to declare against *Canutson*. Upon his return, he consulted with *Katil*, and they resolved to espouse the cause of neither prince, but to act independent of both, and to have nothing in view but the liberties of their country. This declaration being seconded by several popular measures, the two prelates soon saw themselves at the head of a numerous army, with which they besieged *Canutson* in *Stockholm*. *Canutson* thought a crown was not worth the wearing that was at the disposal of its subjects, and resolved to venture his on the fate of a single battle, which was accordingly fought upon the ice near *Stockholm*, with almost unparalleled fury and bloodshed; but after a long and obstinate dispute, victory remained with the prelates, though they did not think proper to pursue *Canutson*. A body of *Dalecarlians*, who were in his interest, and coming to his relief, being likewise defeated, he was forced to renounce the crown of *Sweden*, to swear that he would not accept of it, even if it was offered him, and to retire to a private life, upon a revenue so small, that it scarcely supplied him with necessaries.

Axelsson
declared
admini-
strator.

Prosperous as the archbishop was at this time, the nobility of *Sweden* saw through his designs, which, in fact, tended either to raise himself to the sovereignty, or to give them a creature of his own for their king. *Nils Sture*, and *Eric Axelsson*, who had married *Canutson*'s sisters, had the boldness to impeach his conduct, and even to put to death some of the magistrates he had appointed. It appears as if by this time *Katil* had been dead, and the truth is, we are somewhat in the dark, as to the provocations the nobility and the people had received from *Canutson*, after his restoration. All we know is, that the two prelates were his mortal enemies, and that *Nils Sture* and *Eric Axelsson* were his friends and relations, and that the states were so much convinced of the archbishop's falshood, that they forced him to resign all his power to *Axelsson*, whom they declared administrator of the kingdom. This produced a most cruel civil war in *Sweden*. Two parties were formed, the one headed by the archbishop and *Nelson*, and the other by the administrator and *Nils Sture*. The two former were supported by the gentry and the magistracies of the towns, and the other by the peasantry, whom the miseries of their country soon rendered excellent troops. History instructs us, that the civil, of all wars, is the most inhuman, and this in *Sweden* was carried on even to internecion, for neither party gave quarter; but upon the main, the administrator prevailed. The vast resources, however, which the archbishop had among the clergy, who possessed the greatest part of the national wealth, enabled

A cruel
civil war
breaks
out.

enabled him to form the siege of *Stockholm*; but he died before it could be taken, and the administrator's party gave several signal defeats to their enemies. The latter were not discouraged; they collected their troops, and fought a decisive battle with the administrator, in which they were totally defeated, few escaping out of the engagement. The consequence of the administrator's victory was, that *Canutson* was again placed on the throne of *Sweden*. This second restoration did not restore tranquillity to the kingdom. *Nelson* was still at the head of the archbishop's party, and being joined by *Carlson*, they defeated *Canutson*. The *Danish* historians here mention a fact which is not at all improbable, for they tell us, that the archbishop's party was vigorously supported by *Christiern*, who gained a victory over the administrator's brother, and obtained so many other advantages, that both parties offered to treat with him at *Lubec*. *Christiern* accordingly repaired to that city, but the *Swedish* deputies not attending, he left it in disgust.

In 1470, the two brothers, *Nils* and *Steen Sture*, defeated *Carlson*, as he was about to lay siege to *Stockholm*, and forced him to fly to *Denmark*. *Christiern*, at his instigation, made a winter campaign in *East Gothland*, where he was defeated by the *Stures*, and forced to return to *Denmark*. While this bloody war was at its height, *Canutson* died at *Stockholm*, and on his death bed, put his nephew, *Steen Sture*, in possession of that city. The public was in hopes that the election of a new king would restore tranquillity, but *Carlson* and the late archbishop's party, stuck by the union of *Calmar* and *Christiern*, to whom they said they had already sworn allegiance. *Steen Sture* was so vigorously supported by the *Stockholmers* and the *Dalecarlians*, that he was declared administrator; while *Christiern* received such encouragement from *Carlson* and his party, that he again invaded *Sweden*, made an attempt upon *Stockholm*, in which he failed, but was proclaimed king at *Upsal*. Returning from thence, he renewed the siege of *Stockholm*, but he was beaten by the two *Stures*, with considerable slaughter, and his grand master was taken prisoner. The consequence of this victory was, that *Sture* recovered all the places that *Christiern* had taken in *Sweden*, and continued for some years in the peaceable possession of the administration, which he had gained by his courage, policy and patriotism. By the death of *Christiern*, in 1481, *Sture* might have mounted the throne of *Sweden*, but he perceived he could not enjoy it in peace, as *Christiern's* party there was still so powerful, that they proposed to revive the union of *Calmar*, and *Sture* even consented to a congress for that purpose, to be held at *Helmstadt*. His consent was only a stroke of refined policy, in order to break that spirit, which he foresaw would one day make his country a province to *Denmark*. He pretended to fall sick on the road, and embarrassed the whole affair so artfully, that though the *Swedes* and *Norwegians* chose *John*, son of *Sweden*.

1470.

Death of
Canutson.*Steen Sture*
declared
admini-
strator.

1481.

King John
of *Den-*
mark cho-
sen king
of *Sweden*.

See p.
418.

1487.

Sture de-
prived of
the admi-
nistrater-
ship,

in which
he is a-
gain rein-
tated.

1496.

of the late *Christiern* for their king, yet *Sture* still retained the administration with an almost unbounded power.

In 1487, *Kvar Axelsson* became his enemy, and after committing various acts of piracy, which disgraced the *Swedish* name, he surrendered the island of *Gothland* to *John*. About this time the *Russians* made a cruel irruption into *Sweden*, and after massacring the *Carelians*, they were with difficulty driven out of *Finland*. All the abilities of *Sture*, could not defend him from a powerful confederacy then formed against him, at the head of which was *Suante Nelson*, whom the administrator upbraided with cowardice, for refusing to attend him in an expedition into *Russia*. Their differences were brought before the senate, who not only took *Nelson's* part, but upbraided *Sture* for his despotic administration; and after repeated recriminations had passed between them, they deposed him from his government. This was occasioned by the intrigues of the archbishop of *Upsal*, and the clergy having engaged a numerous party of the senate to re-establish the union of *Calmar* in the person of *John*, which *Sture* had always opposed. The *Finlanders* and *Dalecarlians* remained faithfully attached to *Sture*, who carried on war against the clergy, and besieged the archbishop in *Upsal*. By this time, the senate had invited *John* to accept of their crown, and arriving in *Sweden* with an army, he besieged *Stockholm*, which held out for *Sture*, who was defeated in two bloody battles, and then came to an accommodation with *John*, upon terms which testified that prince's high opinion of his merit. It was agreed that the administrator should acknowledge *John* as king of *Sweden*, in terms of the union of *Calmar*, and that *Sture* should have the revenues of *Finland*, the two *Bothnias*, and *Nicoping*, during his life. After this, the *Dalecarlians* were persuaded to recognize *John's* authority, upon *Sture* being appointed their governor.

Sweden, at this time, felt the smart of civil dissensions so severely, that they invested *John* with more unlimited powers than had been enjoyed by any of his predecessors. The clergy's resentment against *Sture* was such, that perceiving he had received a full pardon from *John*, for all that was past, they made several attempts to murder him, for having been an enemy to the church; and upon *John's* return from *Denmark*, in 1496, he was prevailed upon to deprive *Sture* of great part of the revenue that had been granted him. This made *Sture* his bitter enemy; and *John* having now given himself up into the hands of the *Danes* and *Germans*, was hated more by the party that had raised him to the throne, than *Sture* had ever been. This general disaffection, which was fomented by *Sture*, terminated in the latter taking the field, at the head of his friends, and their renouncing their allegiance to *John*, for the very reasons that had induced them to dethrone so many of his predecessors. *John*, finding the spirit of disaffection to his government more general than he had suspected, left a garrison under

under his queen, *Christina*, in *Stockholm*, which *Sture* immediately besieged. The inhabitants admitted him into the city, but the queen defended the citadel with astonishing intrepidity, till her garrison was reduced to a handful, and those threatened with famine, and then she capitulated. The terms were, that the garrison should remain prisoners of war, and the queen be permitted to return to *Denmark*; but *Sture* violated the capitulation, and sent her prisoner to *Wadstena*. The war between the two crowns was now carried on with great vigour. *Sture*, who had been declared administrator, pushed his successes with such rapidity, that he recovered all the strong holds in *Sweden*, excepting *Calmar* and *Borkholm*, and then he released her *Danish* majesty from her confinement. After returning from escorting her to the frontiers of her own kingdom, he died at *Jenckoping*.

The diet of *Sweden* were divided, at first, in their sentiments, whether they should restore *John* or chuse a new administrator. The latter opinion prevailed, and the administratorship, in 1504, was conferred upon *Suante Sture*, a descendent of the ancient kings of *Sweden*. From the sudden death of *Steen*, it was suspected that he had been poisoned, by a lady who was in love with *Suante*, who shewed himself worthy of the dignity conferred on him, by reducing *Calmar*, where a congress was appointed to be held between *John* and the *Swedish* deputies, for restoring the public tranquillity. The hostile dispositions of *John* deterred the deputies from attending, upon which he pronounced sentence of deprivation upon all the nobility who opposed him. Being without power to carry this sentence into execution in *Sweden*, he confiscated the effects of all the *Swedes* in *Denmark*; he prevailed with the emperor to banish them out of *Germany*, and with the pope, to lay *Suante* and the kingdom under an interdict. The *Swedes* would have despised those proceedings, had not *John* opened the harbours of the island of *Gothland*, as rendezvous for shipping and pirates of all nations, to the inexplicable suffering of the *Swedes*, who felt their miseries even in their inland provinces. The invasions, murders, and depredations that followed, are as unprofitable to read as they are irksome to recount, especially as they were attended by nothing decisive, till both parties were so weakened with fighting, that they agreed upon negotiating. We have already seen the issue of the treaty, by which *John* was to receive an annuity of thirteen thousand marks in silver, till either he or his son, prince *Christiern*, mounted the throne of *Sweden*. The senate rejected those terms, because *John* had refused to give up the city of *Calmar*, with the islands of *Gothland* and *Oeland*, which they made the condition of their granting the annuity; and the *Swedes* made an alliance with the *Lubeckers*, then intent upon revenge against *Denmark*. *John*, however, gave them such terms, that they abandoned the *Swedes*, who, notwithstanding, made a good head against the *Danish* invasions;

1504.
Suante
Sture chosen
administrator.

See p.
421.

His death. fions; but in the mean time, the administrator, *Suante Sture*,
1512. died.

Succeed- The senate was divided about the choice of his successor.
ed by *Steen* The clergy inclined to elect *Eric Trolle*, and the nobility *Steen*
Sture. *Sture*, son to the administrator of the same name; but before
they could fix on their choice, a treaty was brought on with
the king of *Denmark*, who died before it was concluded, and
Steen Sture was chosen administrator of *Sweden*. The cruelties
which the young king of *Denmark* had committed, while he
commanded his father's armies in *Norway* and *Sweden*, gave
the *Swedes* a horror for his person; when he insisted upon their
reviving, in his favour, the union of *Calmar*. His interest
with the court of *Rome*, procured an excommunication to be
issued against *Steen Sture* and his party; and *Steen* endeavoured
to avoid its effects, by agreeing to the election of the young
Gustavus Trolle, son to the candidate for the administratorship,
into the vacant see of *Upsal*. The *Swedes*, at this time, seem
never to have carried their views farther than their own coun-
try, excepting by making a few slight alliances with the *Lu-*
beckers and other *Hanse* towns, and in general, they were stran-
gers to the arts of corruption. Their enemy, *Christiern* of
Denmark, was of a different disposition. He knew the value
of foreign alliances, and how to apply money. He married
the sister of the archduke of *Austria*, afterwards *Charles* the
Vth; he formed alliances with the inseparable crowns of
France and *Scotland*; he was a favourite at the court of *Rome*,
and he bribed the archbishop elect, as he was journeying
through *Denmark* to take possession of his new see, which he
did in the year 1516. His first exercise of authority, was to
excommunicate *Sture* and all his adherents; and he proceeded
in a manner so frantic, that even the court of *Rome*, violent as
it was at that time, advised him to a more moderate conduct.

Archbish-
op *Trolle*
reduced.

The great abilities of the administrator, who put the arch-
bishop's father, *Eric Trolle*, and the governor of *Stockholm*,
into arrest, for inviting *Christiern* to *Sweden*, checked his mad-
ness. He fortified himself in *Stecka*, where he was besieged,
but notwithstanding the lateness of the fact, we know not the
event. It is said by the *Danes*, that *Christiern* sent a fleet
and an army to the relief of the prelate, under admiral *Norby*,
who raised the siege, and carried the archbishop in triumph to
Denmark. *Swedish* authors pretend that the *Danes* were bea-
ten, and that all the favour the archbishop could obtain from
the administrator, was his being admitted to a hearing, in his
own defence, before the senate of *Sweden*, which condemned
him, razed his fortresses, and sequestered his temporalities.
We are inclined to believe the *Swedish* accounts, because it is
certain that the prelate was afterwards confined, whether vo-
luntarily or not, we cannot say, in the monastery of *Westenas*,
and that the pope interposed in his favour, but without effect.

Cruelties
of *Cbri-*
stern.

His fate did not discourage *Christiern*. He invaded *Sweden*
with very powerful armaments, and the *Swedes* obtained over
him

him a complete victory, vast numbers of the *Danes* being either killed, or drowned in their precipitate flight to their ships. Before he returned to *Denmark*, he invited the administrator to a conference, but *Christiern's* perfidious conduct was so notorious, that the senate dissuaded *Sture* from attending. He then offered to repair to *Stockholm*, on pretence of concluding a perpetual treaty with *Sweden*, provided six noble hostages were sent for his safety. The hostages were sent, and among them was the famous *Gustavus Vasa*, or *Ericson*, afterwards king; but *Christiern* immediately set sail with them for *Denmark*. Next year, being 1520, *Christiern* again invaded *Sweden*, and defeated and killed the administrator; though the historians of the two nations differ widely as to the particulars, *Christiern* marched to *Stregnitz*, and archbishop *Gustavus*, who now secured his episcopal functions, proclaimed him king of the three northern crowns, at *Upsal*. *Christiern* advanced with all the horrid barbarities that were agreeable to his infernal nature, but told the *Swedens* that he was ready to grant them their own terms, to sheathe the sword, and publish an act of amnesty. They were obliged to comply; they presented him with the conditions of the election, which were such as became a brave free people to demand. He signed and sealed them, as did the senators of *Denmark*, who became sureties for the performance. Perceiving that, with all his force, he could not take *Stockholm*, which was defended by the brave widow of the late administrator, he again swore to the capitulation of *Upsal*, he agreed to her and her children entering into the possession of all her late husband's estates and effects, upon which he was invited into *Stockholm*, and crowned by the archbishop *Gustavus*. Besides *Danes*, *Christiern* was attended by numerous bodies of *French* and *German* troops, and he thought himself strong enough to execute the most execrable scheme which he had long and deliberately formed, of murdering all the *Swedish* senate. Even his *Danish* favourites could not divert him from his bloody purpose. Archbishop *Gustavus* was his wicked tool, and exhausted all his zeal and eloquence in bringing a formal charge against the senators, and the late administrator. All the senators, on various pretexts, but particularly on account of the demolition of *Stecka*, were put under arrest, excepting those who escaped. After a mock trial, they were condemned, and hanged upon gibbets, on a charge of heresy, to the number of three-score. He intended to have burnt or flayed alive the widow of the late administrator, but upon the strong intercessions made in her favour, he was contented to doom her to perpetual imprisonment, as he did her mother, though she had surrendered to him all her great estate. The relation of the other mean but monstrous barbarities, even to the whipping boys of seven years of age to death, committed by this tyrant before his return to *Denmark*, would disgrace our page.

But

But we are now to attend the dawn of *Swedish* liberty, amidst those diabolical scenes of cruelty.

G. flatus
Vasa ap-
pears.

After *Vasa* (for so we shall call him by way of distinction) was carried to *Denmark*, he narrowly escaped being put to death by *Christiern*, who reserved him only in hopes that he would be his convert, and assist him in bringing over his countrymen to his interest. He was soothed in those sentiments by *Banner*, a *Danish* nobleman, but *Vasa's* relation, who seeing that some of the other hostages had perished miserably in prison, persuaded *Christiern*, under pretence of advancing the conversion of *Vasa*, to commit him to his custody at *Calo* in *Jutland*, to which *Christiern* consented, after *Banner* had given a bond for the payment of six thousand crowns, in case of *Vasa's* escape. *Banner* treated *Vasa* as his guest; and the neighbourhood of a hunting country, where he was attended by crowds of noblemen and gentlemen, who admired his graceful qualities, was his only place of confinement. All diversions proved insipid to *Vasa*, on hearing the fate of his dearest friend, the administrator, the murder of his own father, and the miseries of *Sweden*. *Vasa* thought that no personal attachments ought to dispense with his obeying the voice of his distressed country. He one day withdrew himself from a hunting match, put on the habit of a peasant, escaped to *Hensburg*, and engaged himself as a servant to a merchant of *Lower Saxony*, who carried him to *Lubec*, where *Banner* overtook him. We leave it with casuists to determine how far *Vasa* was justifiable in his behaviour to his generous friend. The best apology offered for him is, that he intended to remit to *Banner* the price of his liberty, and we are told that *Banner* was satisfied with that assurance, and with the patriot reasons urged by *Vasa*.

His re-

markable
adventures

During *Vasa's* abode at *Lubec*, he employed all his eloquence in persuading the *Lubeckers* that their existence as a republic, nay that of the *Hanse* towns likewise, depended upon their taking vigorous measures against preventing the union of *Calmar* from being revived in *Christiern's* person. The senators were convinced by his arguments, without being converted to his sentiments; and all he could obtain was, an assurance from *Geminus*, the first senator (who was entirely in his interest) that if, upon his return to *Sweden*, he could make but the face of a party, he might depend on the assistance of *Lubec* and the other *Hanse* towns, and that this was the resolution of the other senators, though prudence forbade their declaring themselves at that time. Those incidents in *Vasa's* life, happened about the time that *Christiern* was besieging *Stockholm*.

and dis-
cuss.

Though *Vasa* failed in his main application, yet his friend *Geminus* found means to procure him money and a ship. He desired to be carried to *Stockholm*, but he was carried to *Calmar*, then in the hands of the administratrix. *Vasa* was in hopes

hopes of commanding the garrison, and the governor threatened to put him to death, if he did not leave the town, with which he complied. We are now to behold *Vasa* once more disguised like a peasant. His escape was known to the *Danes*, and it alarmed *Chriſtiern* so much, that he ordered his general, *Crumpen*, to omit no means of apprehending him. His ruin must have been inevitable, had he not thrown himself into a hay-waggon, in which he passed through the heart of the *Danish* army, and reached an old castle belonging to his family in *Sudermania*. Nothing but the most disinterested patriotism could have supported him under the toils he there underwent, to reanimate his countrymen to a sense of their condition; but all was in vain, such was their dread of the *Danish* power. He went from house to house, from assembly to assembly of the peasants, who were all of them deaf to his exhortations, because, as they said, their condition could not be worse under a *Danish*, than it had been under a *Swedish*, government. Even this insensibility did not discourage the heroic *Vasa*. He traversed the country, though ruin was always at his heels, but still without success; till, at last, his only consolation lay in the misery of his country, which he hoped would animate the *Swedes* to a sense of their misery. After hearing of the bloody tragedy which was acted at *Stockholm*, and which cut him off from his nearest and most important connections, he resolved to retire to the almost impenetrable country of *Dalecarlia*; and, attended only by one peasant, he surmounted, in disguise, fatigues that the spirit of liberty alone could have supported. His guide was his cashier; and no sooner was he arrived in *Dalecarlia*, than he fled with all his money, which reduced *Vasa* to work in the dreary mines of that country for his subsistence. His air, his conversation, and the glimpse of an embroidered vest which was seen by a woman under his clownish attire, excited, first the curiosity, and then the attention, of those peasants, whose situation rendered them inaccessible to *Chriſtiern*'s troops. Their reports reached the ears of *Andrew Lackinta*, one of the wealthiest gentlemen of that poor province, who burned to see the illustrious stranger; and upon seeing him, recognized him to have been his schoolfellow at the university, and the son of the noble *Ericson*. From him he learned, with pleasure, the disposition of the *Dalecarlians*, with regard to the *Danish* tyranny, and that the province could furnish out for the field, twenty thousand brave hardy inhabitants. This information encouraged *Vasa* to open to *Lakinta* the design he had formed for the deliverance of his country, but the *Dalecarlian* was so struck, with the danger and difficulties attending his projects, that he began to retract what he had said, and to question the practicability of *Vasa*'s undertaking. Finding *Vasa* determined, he advised him to wait till the tyranny of the *Danes* should be felt by the *Dalecarlians*, in which case he made no doubt they would fly to arms. *Vasa* was far from relishing his temporizing

ing counsel, and after thanking him for his entertainment, left his house secretly in the night-time. After a tedious journey, he put himself under the protection of one *Peterfon*, whom he found possessed with a zeal seemingly stronger than his own, against the *Danes*; but, in the mean time, he gave intelligence to a *Danish* officer in the neighbourhood, who surrounded the house with a party. *Peterfon*'s wife had generously acquainted *Vasa* with her husband's villainous intentions, and consigned him to the care of a clergyman, who, like herself, was full of truth and honour, and concealed *Vasa* in a small closet within the church, where none had access but himself. The conversation of our hero added patriotism to the clergyman's other virtues, but a patriotism guarded by prudence and directed by caution, for he advised *Vasa* to trust himself to the peasantry, rather than the gentry, who lived too quietly and independently to risk their properties and lives for any change of government.

His success with the *Dalecarlians*.

To quicken the peasants, the clergyman privately instructed his friends, who were numerous in the province, to give out that the *Danes* were on their march to invade their country; and he counselled *Vasa* to repair to an annual assembly, held by the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages, who had been disposed to believe the approach of the *Danes*, and had received some intimations of their future deliverer. No man could make a more illustrious figure than *Vasa* did among those honest peasants. His habit was answerable to his high birth. His mien added to his misfortunes, his father having fallen by the butcher of his country. His eloquence heightened the beauty and dignity of his person, and he painted the miseries of *Sweden* so pathetically, that he astonished the boors; but it was an astonishment that was soon converted to rage, and resolution to be revenged. Without lending the least ear to more moderate counsels, they instantly besought *Vasa*, who carried command in his robust make and manly aspect, to head them. Four hundred of them devoted themselves in the most solemn manner to the destruction of the *Danes*, and the deliverance of their country. *Vasa* left no time for their ardour to cool, and his first exploit was to lead his chosen band to the governor's castle, which they took, and put all its garrison to the sword. This fortunate adventure covered *Vasa* with lustre. The peasants, always superstitious, discovered a thousand predictions and omens that pointed him out to be the saviour of his country. The plunder of the *Danish* merchants in the neighbourhood, invited many to join him, and at last their numbers amounted to fifteen thousand, among whom were several of the *Swedish* nobles, who had escaped from the tyrant's fury, and many *Dalecarlian* gentlemen.

Out of this body he formed a corps of five thousand men, with whom he defeated several detachments of the *Danes*, and over-ran the provinces of *Halsingia*, *Gestrícia*, *Ingermania* and *Medilpad*. Every day added to his numbers, and at last he defeated

defeated the archbishop of *Upsal*, who continued obstinately attached to the tyrant. *Christiern's* behaviour, from the beginning of the insurrection, carried with it the appearance of infatuation. Depending on his being possessed of all the fortresses in *Sweden*, he only sent inconsiderable bodies against *Vasa*, whose strength he thought must vanish of itself, and their defeat, gave fresh spirits and vigour to *Vasa's* followers. At last the tyrant was roused, but it was to a most unmanly resentment. He forced the noble *Swedish* ladies to make sacks, into which they were sewed, and thrown from precipices into the sea. To touch *Vasa* in his most tender affections, he imprisoned his mother and sisters, and threatened to put them to death under the most exquisite tortures, if he did not desist from his enterprize; and finding his menaces made no impression on *Vasa*, he most diabolically put them in practice, though historians are not agreed on the particular manner. *Vasa* still proceeded, and every hour seemed to inspire him with fresh courage. At last, his success was such, that he forced the viceroy, whom *Christiern* had left behind him, to retire to *Stockholm*, after having thrown a strong garrison into *Westeras*. *Vasa* did not think it proper to leave such a place behind him, and, concealing part of his troops, he seemed to make dispositions to besiege it with a handful. The garrison falling out, were cut in pieces, and the *Dalecarlians* entered the place with the fugitives.

The reader is not to imagine that those peasants possessed the virtues of primitive nature. If they had, they would perhaps have been unfit for *Vasa's* purposes. They were brave but brutal, obstinate and intractable; nor could *Vasa*, with all his address (and no man had more) always keep them in their duty. The inhabitants of *Westeras* received such of them as entered the town as their deliverers, and cherished them as their friends. The *Dalecarlians*, in return, plundered their houses and drank out their liquors. Such of them as had not entered the town, rushed into it to partake of the drink and the plunder, and the whole of them must have been sacrificed by the *Danish* garrison in the citadel, had not *Vasa* and a few sober officers who had not yet entered the town, interposed and beat back the *Danes*. Not being able to force the citadel, he blocked it up, and continued his march to *Stockholm*. On the road, his numbers increased so greatly, that unable to subsist in one body, he divided them into three. *Upsal* was taken and plundered, but *Vasa* saved the archiepiscopal palace, in hopes of softening its master. *Vasa* had now scarcely an enemy in the field, and the cruelties he committed upon the *Danes*, were in some measure justified, by the orders which the tyrant issued to give no quarter to any *Swede*, whether friend or foe. *Vasa* was now on the eve of an event which would have crushed any spirit less determined than his own. He had been obliged to abandon his project of besieging *Stockholm*. To say the truth, his followers were little better than

Their
character
and pro-
gress.

a rabble, and, they too, unarmed. He had left *Dalecarlia* the latter end of *December*, or the beginning of *January*, and it was now *August*, when the *Dalecarlians* abandoned him without much ceremony, that they might get in their harvest. His chosen band of four hundred however still continued with him, because they were miners, and had no corn to cut down. *Vasa* had foreseen this, and had claimed from the magistracy of *Lubec* the performances of their promises. The terms they demanded were so extravagant, that they amounted, in fact, to little better than a refusal; but *Vasa* had been so provident as to save some money, by which he engaged one *Stephen Sassy*, a *German*, the colonel of a body of military adventurers, to enter into his service, with twelve hundred men.

Vasa reduced to the brink of ruin,

but escaped,

Before this reinforcement could arrive, *Vasa* was reduced to the brink of ruin. His whole force did not amount to above six hundred men, besides a few straggling parties, whom he called in. He was then at *Upsal*, from whence he wrote a mollifying letter to the archbishop, who imprisoned the bearer, and advanced to *Upsal* at the head of three thousand five hundred regular troops, with such quickness and secrecy, that *Vasa* had not above two hours notice to provide for himself. He retired towards the forest of *Nostan*, but before he could reach it, the prelate overtook him, and *Vasa's* troops being seized with a panic, deserted him, all but a few of his horse guards. To encrease his misfortune, he was thrown into the water from his horse, by the unruliness of that of one of his officers. Nothing could daunt *Vasa*. He remounted, got possession of a narrow pass, which he defended with his horse guards, till his troops had reached the forest, nor did the prelate think proper to pursue him any farther, for he returned to *Upsal*.

This action appears to have been the crisis of *Vasa's* fate. His detached parties, and his *German* mercenaries soon joined him, and he placed an ambuscade so happily between *Upsal* and *Stockholm*, that the prelate, who was returning in security to that capital, fell into it. Almost all his troops were cut in pieces (for *Vasa* made no prisoners) and he himself, with difficulty, escaped to *Stockholm*, which *Vasa* instantly besieged, being in hopes that the panic occasioned by the archbishop's defeat, would gain him admission. It was, we apprehend, about this time that he renewed his negotiations with the senate of *Lubec*, who sent to his assistance, but upon very exorbitant terms, a fleet and a body of land troops, who being debarked, refused to be commanded by *Meilan*, one of *Vasa's* officers, or by any but himself. *Vasa* found his advantage in complying; for his auxiliaries were struck with admiration and affection for his person, and served him bravely. The viceroy, the archbishop, and the bishop of *Odensee* fled to *Denmark*, where they were but coldly received by *Christiern*, and left the defence of *Stockholm* to an old *Danish* officer, who performed his duty with great abilities. While *Vasa* lay before that capital, he received intelligence that *Arviedo*, one of his

his officers, had reduced *East Gothland*, to which province he immediately repaired, committing the care of his army to *Sassy* and *Freytag*, who blocked up *Stockholm*. He found the inhabitants of *East Gothland* well disposed, and their fortresses in excellent condition. There was no *Danish* army in the field, and the few troops he had were better disciplined and armed than before. He thought it was now high time to introduce to his assistance the sanction of civil authority, and he called a meeting of the states at *Wadstena*, to deliberate upon an established form of government. The reader cannot well suppose the meeting to have been very numerous, or that it consisted of many more members than *Vasa's* friends and officers. He opened it with a noble, but modest, speech, in which and is he submitted his actions to their judgment, and offered to chosen serve his country in any station they pleased to allot to admini- him, or under any head they should elect. He was in no strator. danger of not being nominated to the chief command. They hailed him king, but he accepted of the title of administrator. It was at *Wadstena*, he received an account that *Christiern* had put to death his *Swedish* viceroy, and the bishop of *Odensee*, for deserting their posts, but had spared the archbishop of *Up- sal*, for his inveterate enmity to *Vasa*, and his great conse- quence in *Sweden*.

Vasa, after receiving the administratorship, acted upon a Remark- new plan. Being invested with the estates belonging to that able sea office, he mortgaged them, as well as his own private fortune, action to raise money, not only for levying and arming new troops, with the but for gratifying such of the *Swedish* governors as delivered *Danes*. him up the places they held. While he was making those dispositions, *Norby* landed at *Stockholm* with a *Danish* fleet, and routed the troops under *Sassy* and *Freytag*, but he found the mouth of the harbour blocked up by *Fleming*, *Vasa's* admiral, and the *Lubeck* squadron; and *Vasa* being now arrived at his camp before *Stockholm*, he reinforced and reassembled his troops, which had suffered but inconsiderably. *Norby* endeavoured to throw provisions into the town, but the convoy, which was commanded by the governor of *Abo*, was taken by *Fleming*, and *Vasa* ordered the governor to be executed, for his former cruelties to the *Swedes*. Nothing but the great provocations which *Vasa* had received from the inhumanity of the tyrant, can justify his putting every *Dane* to death that fell into his hands. *Norby*, who was an excellent seaman, cannonaded the combined fleets, but in the morning, he found his ships immoveable, through a hard frost which had happened in the night. *Vasa* formed the bold design of marching over the ice to burn his enemy's fleet, and put himself at the head of the *Lubeckers*, whom he preferred to his own *Swedes*, for the execution of such an enterprize. They did not deceive him. They advanced with astonishing intrepidity, with lighted torches, and an unusual scene of slaughter ensued. The *Lubeckers* made undaunted efforts, either to take or burn the *Danish*

Danish ships, and were bravely repulsed by the *Danes*. At last, they succeeded so far, that many of their ships were actually set on fire. The *Danes*, to avoid being burnt, left their ships, and were butchered by *Vasa's* order; and the action happening in the dead of a very dark night, under excessive discharges of musketry, imagination can scarcely form to itself more horrid images than were then presented. Some authors, with great reason, say, that *Vasa's* spirit of revenge saved his enemies fleet. The *Lubec* commander, *Stammel*, could not bear to see the defenceless *Danes* slaughtered as they endeavoured to save themselves from the flames, and he gave orders for a retreat, which was performed against all the remonstrances of *Vasa*. Some policy, perhaps, mingled with *Stammel's* humanity; but it is certain that *Norby* acted with the greatest skill and intrepidity, and a thaw that happened next morning, saved the remainder of his fleet, with which he retreated to *Calmar*.

See p.
425.

Revolu-
tion in
Denmark.

While those terrible scenes were acting in *Sweden*, the revolution we have already described, by the repulsion of the tyrant, happened in *Denmark*. This altered the course of *Norby's* proceedings, and instead of again attempting the relief of *Stockholm*, he projected the securing to himself the government of *Gothland*, on pretence of securing it for *Christiern*. He left a garrison in *Calmar*, with orders, that if they were attacked, they should cut the throats of the inhabitants, plunder the city, and repair to him with their booty. Those orders were not kept secret from the citizens who, the moment *Vasa* appeared before the place, admitted him; and here, we believe, for the first time, he received the *Danish* garrison prisoners of war, having profited possibly by *Stammel's* behaviour. The reduction of *Calmar* was followed with that of all *Sweden*, by *Vasa*. The siege of *Stockholm* was renewed, and *Vasa* refused to give the garrison any terms, but that of surrendering at discretion, which his known enmity to the *Danes* deterred them from doing. In this dilatoriness *Vasa* shewed a masterpiece of policy, according to some writers, (who, we think refine too much upon his conduct) as we can see no reason why he might not have been elected king of *Sweden* after as well as before, the reduction of that capital. We hazard little in saying, that his obstinacy was owing to his hatred of the *Danes*, and to his knowledge of the wants and weakness of the garrison.

Vasa is
chosen
king, and
reduces
Stockholm.

While he was almost certain of reducing the capital, he summoned the states to meet at *Stegwitz*, and filled up the vacancies in the senate, which had been occasioned by the execution of the senators at *Stockholm*. The speaker of the assembly described to the members the necessity of choosing a king, and the virtues of *Vasa*, who was acclaimed as such with a zeal that fell little short of adoration, their unanimity being such, that there was no occasion to put a regular question to the assembly, which seemed to be inundated by torrents of loyalty

loyalty and gratitude for their glorious deliverer. The tumult among all ranks and degrees of men swelled to such enthusiasm, that it was with difficulty *Vasa* could obtain a hearing, but it was only that he might seem to decline the honour to which his heart aspired, and which he knew he must accept of. At last he appeared to be conquered, and mounting the throne, he received the homage of his states as king of *Sweden*, and the two *Gothlands*; but wisely deferred his coronation, on pretence of returning to the siege of *Stockholm*; but, in reality, because he was unwilling to take the oath for preserving the clergy in their privileges and possessions. Upon his return before *Stockholm*, the town capitulated at discretion, but the garrison was saved, probably by the intervention of *Stammel*, to whom it was delivered up, and who immediately put *Vasa* in possession of his capital. He entered it amidst most extravagant acclamations, and he gave an additional lustre to his character, by repairing first to the church, and practising acts of devotion, before he entered upon those of government.

In our history of *Denmark*, we have represented the proceedings of *Frederic* (who succeeded *Christiern* in that throne) with regard to *Sweden*. *Vasa* resented them, by attainting the archbishop of *Upsal*, who had crowned *Frederic*. *Vasa* had no sooner reduced all *Finland*, than *Frederic* found it his interest to make him his friend instead of his enemy, and not only concluded a peace with him, but sent back to *Sweden* the widows and daughters, who were still alive, of the *Swedish* nobility who had been put to death by *Christiern*, and among others, *Christina*, the widow of *Steen Sture*. *Vasa*, like a true politician, recommended those ladies to the noblemen and officers of whose fidelity he was most assured, who, by marrying them, became possessed of some of the best estates in *Sweden*, *Vasa* having abolished a foolish prepossession that prevailed among the *Swedes*, as if a woman debased herself by marrying a man below the rank of her first husband. The cares of *Vasa* were now as much employed in civil, as they had been before in military, matters. It is to his honour, that he nobly rewarded those who had served him in his dangers and distresses. Finding that the wise clergyman, who had concealed and counselled him in his adversity, was dead, he adorned the steeple of his church with a gilded crown; but it does not appear that he inflicted any punishment upon the perfidious *Peterfon*. *Swedish* authors have endeavoured, at this time, to impress the readers with ideas of the politeness and magnificence of *Vasa's* court, after he was firmly settled in the throne. But those ideas can only be comparative, for it is certain, that in those days, the arts and elegancies of life had made but a slender progress in *Sweden*, and before the reformation took place, her kings were little better than first ministers to her clergy; and this brings us to different, but equally important scenes as those we have recounted. That we may keep the narrative as even as possible, we shall here enter upon

the history of the establishment of the reformation in *Sweden*, without mixing it with other matters.

Introdu-
ces the re-
forma-
tion.

Vasa found himself a beggar, with regard to gold and silver metals, which were engrossed by the clergy, and his crown rich only in iron and copper. The great exports which brought treasure into the kingdom, were mostly carried on by ecclesiastics, who acted as merchants, and had fleets of their own; but no abuses of that kind were so serviceable to *Vasa*, as the dissolute scandalous lives they led. A modern author (*Voltaire*) tells us, that *Christiern* and archbishop *Gustavus*, who is better known by the name of archbishop *Trolle*, at one entertainment, to which they invited two bishops, all the members of the senate, and ninety-four of the principal noblemen, murdered them all in the midst of their festivity, massacred the common people, without distinction of age or sex, and that they ripped up the breast of the grand prior of the order of St. *John* of *Jerusalem*, and plucked out his heart. Those, and a thousand other barbarities, rendered the introduction of the reformation practicable, and *Vasa* saw that he could not be king without it. *Olaus Petri*, a *Swede*, was the apostle of protestantism in his native country. He was the disciple of *Luther*, and his labours were seconded by some young gentlemen from the university of *Wirtemburgh*, and by many *Germans* who served in *Vasa's* armies. Without entering into any disquisition concerning that prince's religious motives, it is sufficient to say, that he gave the first alarm to the *Roman* catholics, by coining some of their church plate to pay his army, and to discharge his debts. *Brusk*, the bishop of *Licoping*, instantly took arms, and would have filled *Sweden* with blood and devastation, had not the pope's legate been a prelate of uncommon moderation, and, possibly, secretly gained over by *Vasa*. He called the affair before his own tribunal, which gave *Vasa* leisure to finish the reduction of *Eleking*, and to cooperate with his new ally of *Denmark* in that of *Borkheim*. The see of *Rome* quickened the moderation of the legate, who was obliged at last to summon *Petri* before him, but he appealed to the king, who, though he had hitherto dissembled his religious sentiments, became now a party in the quarrel. He was then employed in the expedition we have mentioned, and in his absence, a number of fanatical *German* anabaptists arrived in *Stockholm*, where they destroyed the churches; for which *Vasa* punished them on his return.

His diffi-
culties.

Though he was fully resolved upon embracing the reformed religion, yet he was overawed by the dispositions of the obstinate *Lutherans*, who were *Roman* catholics, as they were barbarians by birth, and through habit. The clergy had sent their missionary friars among them, to alarm them with the fears of protestantism, in which they succeeded but too well, and they were seconded by the inflammatory publications of the bishop of *Licoping*. The king found there was no time to be lost, and that the dispute now lay wholly between him
and

and the pope. He gave *Olaus Petri* the use of the archiepiscopal pulpit; he authorized the translation of the holy Scriptures into *Swedish*, and he ordered a disputation to be held between *Petri* and *Peter Gallas*, the champion of popery, from which, it was his majesty's pleasure that the former should depart victorious. This defeat of popery gave *Vasa* a plausible handle for pushing on the reformation, and, at last, he raised a protestant to the see of *Upsal*. This promotion was of infinite use to *Vasa*, who having now the metropolitan on his side, proceeded step by step, and in defiance of the clergy, declared himself the head of the church. This declaration, probably, induced the new archbishop to throw off the mask, and to declare that he had always been a *Roman catholic* in his heart. *Vasa* still preserved his moderation, and persevered in his purpose, and about the time that the troops of *Charles* the Vth held the pope prisoner, he very artfully summoned his states to meet at *Westeras*, where he publicly embraced *Lutheranism*, renounced popery, declared his intention of taking into his own hands the temporalities of the clergy, and justified all he had done by the example of *Charles* the Vth, who, though himself a popish prince, was then holding in his chains the head of the *Roman catholic* religion. From this period it is, we are to date the commencement, though not the establishment of the public profession of protestantism in *Sweden*.

Vasa, however, does not seem to have been perfectly well acquainted with the difficulties attending his declaration. The clergy were still powerful, for they were favoured not only by the *Dalecarlians* and peasantry, but by the body of the states themselves, the profession of protestantism being chiefly confined to the trading cities; so that the situation of *Vasa* was far more perilous than he imagined. The clergy found out a young peasant, whose name was *Hans*, to personate *Nils Sture*, the son of *Steen Sture*, whose memory was adored in *Dalecarlia*. The imposture was carried on with so much art, and *Hans* behaved with such an air of caution, that the common people in the distant provinces believed him to be what he pretended, and the imposture was secretly favoured by the king of *Denmark*; but above all, by the archbishop of *Drontheim* and the *Norwegians*. *Vasa* prevailed with *Christina*, the mother of the true *Nils Sture*, to sign a letter, wherein she certified that her son, *Nils Sture*, had been dead, and was buried twelve months before, which was countersigned by the inhabitants of *Stockholm*, who had assisted at the funeral, and that she had only one young son, to whom the king was a tender and affectionate guardian. This circular letter had so much effect, that *Hans* was abandoned by all, but the violent *Swedish* clergy, who recommended him to the bishop of *Drontheim*, where he was received as the prince of *Sweden*. He promised, as soon as he mounted that throne, to restore to *Norway* the province of *Wych*, which had been dismembered from it; and what is more amazing than all, after the proofs that had been given

given of his being an impostor, his *Danish* majesty consented to his marrying an heiress of a great family and fortune in *Norway*. At last, the credit of *Hans* rose to such a pitch, that he was at the head of an army of *Norwegians*, and set out on his march for *Stockholm*, with the profest design of rooting out heresy. His cause brought him followers, and *Vasa* assembled the states to deliberate upon an effectual resumption of the lands and fortresses held by the clergy in *Sweden*. This was a very interesting point to the senate, independent of any religious consideration, as the liberties of *Sweden* must be in a precarious state, if her ecclesiastical power and property was added to her regal. Though the young nobility and the trading part of the nation inclined to gratify his majesty, yet the majority of the states, headed by *Thure Johanson*, made such an opposition as drew from *Vasa* a declaration, that he was resolved to leave a country, fond of slavery, to its own fate, by throwing up the reins of government. He insisted, however, in being reimbursed for all the expences he had laid out from his private fortune, and withdrawing from the assembly he shut himself up in his palace for four days.

but fully
establishes
protestan-
tism.

This short interregnum displayed the vast credit of the royal party. The states, upon deliberation, foresaw the unavoidable ruin of their country, if the king should persist in his resolution; they resolved to gratify him in all he demanded, and even *Johanson* was obliged to submit. *Brusk*, the bishop of *Lincoping*, still made a strenuous opposition, but the hand of power was now upon him. He and his brother were obliged to give up their castles, and *Vasa* wisely contented himself with resuming only such donations as had been made to the church since the year 1454, together with all its plate, rich furniture, and other effects, which brought prodigious sums into the royal treasury. A set of resolutions passed by the states, was published at the same time; in which the extraordinary powers of the clergy were entirely cut off, by their being subjected to the civil magistrate, their being put on a level with the laity, and confined to the strict exercise of their ecclesiastical duties. In short, the protestant religion, in its full extent, obtained now a legal settlement in *Sweden*.

An im-
postor ap-
pears.

The impostor, *Hans*, remained still unsubdued, though *Christina's* letter had undeceived great numbers of his followers; but the proceedings of the king, in favour of the reformation, revived his cause, and the *Dalecarlians* again took arms, but laid them down upon the appearance of the royal troops. *Vasa*, who always with reluctance chastised a people, however turbulent, to whom he owed his crown, agreed, however, to two of their requests. The first was, not to force them to embrace *Lutheranism*, and the other to suffer the impostor to depart out of his dominions. *Hans* accordingly retired to *Norway*, where he joined the few friends that the tyrant *Christiern* still had in that country, and he is said to have been afterwards beheaded at *Rostock*, at *Vasa's* desire.

In

In 1528, *Vasa* was crowned, and, soon after, he quelled several seditions of the *Dalecarlians* and the *West Gothlanders*, who still favoured popery. *Thure Johanson* and his third son, who was provost of the cathedral of *Upsal*, attempted to raise a rebellion, and they were secretly abetted by the king of *Denmark*; but the firmness and wisdom of *Vasa* defeated all their machinations, though the spirit of disaffection had even proceeded to open violences. *Vasa's* marriage with *Catharine*, daughter to the duke of *Saxe-Lauenburg*, was performed by *Lourence Patri*, his protestant archbishop of *Upsal*, with great magnificence, for he assigned the prelate a guard of five hundred men, that he might appear with greater lustre on the occasion; but a storm now impended upon *Vasa*, which he little expected. The tyrant, *Christiern*, had still friends in *Sweden*, who gave him intelligence of all that passed there, and by the assistance of his brother-in-law, the emperor *Charles* the Fifth, the *Swedish* malecontents, and above all, archbishop *Trolle*, who continued still to be the active enemy of *Vasa*, he raised a body of men in the *Netherlands*, whom he put on board a fleet, and invaded *Sweden*; at first, with an appearance of success; for he took *Oljio*, *Olusburg* and *Congel*, and marched towards *Dalecarlia*, where his great dependence lay. Many discontented *Norwegians* joined his standards, as did archbishop *Trolle*, with a body of *German Roman Catholics*. Before these junctions could be effected, the snows that fell rendered *Dalecarlia* inaccessible to his army; but that did not prevent his besieging *Okerhuys*. *Frederic*, king of *Denmark*, sent a fleet to its relief in the spring, which beat that of *Christiern's* in *Babus* bay. This defeat obliged *Christiern* to retire towards *Gothland*, where he was defeated by *Vasa's* troops, upon which he secretly put *Johanson* to death, for having misrepresented to him the state of *Sweden*, and for having assured him, that he (*Johanson*) could conquer it with three thousand men. It was with difficulty that *Christiern* could throw himself into *Congel*, where being besieged by the bishop of *Odensee*, he surrendered himself prisoner, in which state he continued to his death. *Vasa* being delivered from this invasion, severely punished the *Dalecarlians*, by putting their chief ringleaders to death.

Among the other articles which *Vasa* was obliged to grant to the *Lubeckers*, was that of an exclusive trade with *Sweden*. But the *Dutch* and the *Netherlanders* had, since the vast discoveries and improvements made in navigation, almost engrossed the commerce of the *Baltic*. The *Lubeckers* remonstrated against this, and insisted upon a monopoly of the *Swedish* trade. *Vasa* refused to comply with their demands, or to gratify their exorbitant claims of money. The *Lubeckers* offered some of the inhabitants of *Stockholm* to take their city under their protection, and to admit it into the society of the *Hans* towns; but it was necessary, in that case, to destroy the king and kingly government. To do this the more effectually, the conspirators entered into the most infernal design, which seems

Detestable
plot of the
Lubeckers,
and their
war with
Sweden
and *Den-*
mark.

to

to have been the pattern of the gun-powder plot in *England*. A quantity of powder was lodged in a room under the king's throne, in the great church, which was to have been fired by a train, in order to blow up his majesty and his chief nobility. The design was discovered, and the conspirators punished. The defeat of this villainous scheme was far from extinguishing the ambition of the *Lubeckers*. Perceiving that the *English* and the *Dutch* were every day acquiring accessions of commerce in the *Baltic*, they formed the extensive scheme of converting the three crowns of *Sweden*, *Denmark* and *Norway*, into one great republic, which might be powerful enough to give laws to all *Europe*. The *Swedes* and the *Danish* traders, who had been witnesses of the immense power and riches of the *Hanse* towns, would gladly have adopted the proposal, but it took air, and the kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark* entered into an alliance to defeat it. *Vasa*, being apprized of his danger, ordered all the *Lubeck* shipping in his dominions to be seized; but the *Lubeckers* gave the command of an army to the count *de Hoyer*, brother-in-law to *Vasa*, and *Christopher*, count of *Oldenburg*, to set *Christiern* at liberty, which they thought was necessary for their purposes. The *Danes* electing *Christiern* the III^d for their king, defeated the whole plan, in the execution of which archbishop *Trolle* was wounded and killed. We have already seen the other particulars of this war, the grounds of which were much deeper than *Vasa* was informed of, and even shook his throne, till his fleet, in conjunction with that of *Denmark*, defeated the *Lubeckers* and *Hanse* towns by sea.

See p.
427.

Vasa's
alliance
with
France.

Though his *Danish* majesty, *Christiern* the III^d, after this, paid a visit to *Vasa*, and even became a convert to the protestant religion, yet a coldness sprung up between the two kings, on account of a separate peace which *Christiern* made with the *Lubeckers*. *Vasa* sought to counterbalance this alliance, by one with *Russia*, and being now a widower, he married *Margaret* the daughter of *Abraham Ericson*, one of his most powerful nobility, though she had been before affianced to *Suante Sture*, the surviving son of the administrator. The similarity of religion between *Denmark* and *Sweden*, was far from uniting the interests of the two monarchs, for they were perpetually, either secretly or openly, at variance. The *Dane* could not forget that his ancestors had been the monarchs of the north, and entered into many dark designs against *Sweden*. He instigated the *Smalanders* to a rebellion, which was quickly crushed by *Vasa*; but the common dread which both kings had of the emperor, *Charles* the Vth, kept them united in appearance. *Vasa* did not depend on the friendship of the *Danes* alone, for he made an alliance with *Francis* the Ist of *France*, by which each prince was to assist the other, in case of necessity, with twenty-five thousand men, and twenty ships of war, besides establishing many commercial arrangements, which never took place. This was one of the wisest measures that
any

any king of *Sweden* ever pursued. *Vasa* had nothing to apprehend from *France*, but every thing from *Germany* and the *Hanse* towns, whose machinations he defeated by this alliance, which, with a few interruptions, has remained to this day, and raised his figure and importance among his own subjects.

Nothing now remained to complete his happiness, but to cut off the hopes of the *Danes* to see the union of *Calmar* re-established, by making the crown of *Sweden* hereditary in his family. To accomplish that great end, he summoned an assembly of his states at *Westeras*, where, without opposition, he obtained all he desired, and his son, prince *Eric*, with his future descendants in the male line, were recognized as his successors in the throne of *Sweden*, to the no small disappointment of his *Danish* majesty. This act of family recognition, from a people so tenacious of their elective rights as the *Swedes* were, and so jealous of their crown's prerogative, is a noble testimony of the great things done by *Vasa* for the deliverance of his country. He had even credit enough with the states to prevail with them to join with him in an oath inviolably to preserve the protestant, and never to tolerate the *Roman* catholic, religion in *Sweden*. *Vasa* was then in the decline of life, and without minding the showy claims of the young *Danish* monarch, by assuming the titles and arms of *Sweden*, he had an interview with that monarch, and they agreed to adjourn the discussion of their differences for fifty years. See p. 429.

Vasa then thought himself secure against all foreign attacks, Prince and he applied himself to the domestic regulations of his kingdom and family. His marine and commerce in general were put on an excellent footing, his army was rendered respectable, and some encouragement was given to arts, that of architecture particularly; but we dare not follow the panegyrics bestowed on *Vasa* on this head, farther than by saying that he rendered *Sweden* less barbarous than he found it. He assigned appenages to his children; but he was particularly cautious not to make his eldest son, *Eric*, too independent in his own lifetime. *Gustavus* was so true a judge of mankind, that he saw the failings of that prince, but was so passionately fond of advancing his family, that he wished to have seen him married to *Elizabeth* queen of *England*. He sent his son, duke *John*, to feel her pulse on that head, but he could receive no determined answer, though he met with so magnificent and affectionate a reception, that upon his return to *Sweden*, he advised *Eric* to make his addresses in person. *Vasa* summoned the states upon the subject, and it was thought in *Sweden* that the marriage was as good as concluded. Nothing prevented *Eric* from proceeding directly for *England*, but the jealousy he had of his brother *John* setting him aside from the succession during his absence; and in order to quiet the minds of his father and the people, he promised, in an assembly of the states, that if ever

Death of
Vasa.

1560.

Accession
of *Eric*
XIV.

1561.

His regu-
lations.

ever he became king of *England*, he would employ all the power of that kingdom in defence of *Sweden*. After making that declaration, he resumed his preparations to pass over to *England*, but in the mean while the great *Vasa* died, *September* the 9th, 1560, of a gradual consumption, in the 70th year of his age. His history forms his encomium, and exhibits his character; nor can his real actions be exceeded, even in the extended fields of imagination and romance.

Eric the XIVth came to the crown of *Sweden* at a time when the *Swedes* made a considerable figure in the affairs of *Europe*, which they never had done before the reign of *Vasa*. The artful queen *Elizabeth* of *England* had flattered his vanity to such a degree, that immense sums had been spent in embassies to *England*, where they were soon absorbed, almost without notice; but however inconsiderable this expence might appear at *Elizabeth*'s court, ready money was a very serious subject to that of *Sweden*. The princes of the blood had advanced great part of the expence, but found *Eric*, upon his accession, backward in repaying them, and likewise in assigning them the appenages left them by their father. This possibly might be owing to *Eric*'s haughtiness, as he thought his match with *Elizabeth* was as good as concluded. He was crowned in 1561, and at the time of his coronation he made several hereditary creations of earls and barons, on a footing with those of *England*, for the mode of *England* then governed his court. Some disturbances that happened in *Livonia* retarded his matrimonial journey, but in recompence he had the glory of adding *Revel* to his dominions, the grand master of the *Teutonic* order being no longer in a condition to protect it. This acquisition, with some advantages which he obtained over the *Poles*, who endeavoured to retake *Revel*, elated *Eric*. He quarrelled with the king of *Denmark* for assuming the arms of *Sweden*, and he set sail with a fleet of forty ships for *England*, but he was forced back, and narrowly escaped shipwreck. Though the *Swedish* historians are silent as to the facts, yet the behaviour of *Elizabeth*, on this occasion, was indefensible. Without the smallest intention of marrying *Eric*, she suffered him to be at a prodigious expence in courting her; and it appears from the papers of lord *Burleigh*, that prints of both appeared on the same sheet of paper. Upon *Eric* being forced back to *Sweden*, *Elizabeth* declared her real sentiments to her privy counsellors; and they wrote a letter to *Eric*'s chancellor, informing him that his master had been all along imposed upon by some *English* fugitives who were at his court, and who deserved punishment.

Eric, notwithstanding this disappointment, continued to suit his conduct to the modes of the *English* constitution. He introduced military services among his nobility, and failing of that, escuage money. He treated the *Lubeckers* with a high hand, for renewing their unreasonable demands, and shewed dispositions for humbling the haughtiness of *Denmark*. Thus far

far his conduct was laudable; but his inconstancy rendered him despicable, for he courted a princess of *Lorraine*, and the beautiful queen of *Scots* at the same time; but dropt his addresses to both, that he might renew his courtship with *Elizabeth*, who despised them. His brother, duke *John*, married *Catherine*, the daughter of *Sigismund*, king of *Poland*, to whom he sold some castles in *Livonia*, but refused to obey the summons sent him by *Eric*, to appear and answer for his behaviour at *Stockholm*. The violence of *Eric's* conduct affected his ambassadors, who were put under arrest at *Copenhagen*, and the *Muscovites*, the *Danes*, and *Lubeckers*, formed a confederacy against him. *Eric* bore up against it with great spirit. He beat the *Poles* in *Livonia*, and the *Danes* by sea; and while the allies were regaining their strength, the landgrave of *Hesse*, whose daughter *Eric* was courting, offered his mediation, to put an end to the war, but without effect. He had, however, the good fortune to make his brother *John* and his family prisoners, and a lurking insanity in his constitution (which his father seems to have known) tinged with superstition, often prompted him to put *John* to death with his own hand. Nature, however, preserved her ascendancy in his heart, for *John* was spared, though he had been capitally convicted by the king and the states. The war still continued with various success, and the *Danes* took *Elfsburgh*, as the *Swedes* did *Drontheim*, in *Norway*. The king of *Denmark* offered to submit his differences with *Eric* to a mediation, but the latter, to obtain the better terms, besieged *Elfsburgh* both by sea and land. His fleet was dispersed by a storm, and his brave admiral, *Bagg*, was made prisoner by the *Danes*, after an engagement, in which the finest ship then in the world was lost. *Eric*, without rejecting the mediation, evaded it, and brought over to his interest all the *Hanse* towns, except *Lubec*. His views then were enlarged so much, that he laid projects for conquering *Denmark* and *Norway*; he actually beat the *Danes* by sea, and his admiral, *Horn*, took many of the *Lubec* ships, while *Eric* invaded and laid waste *Schonen* and *Norway*. His successes seemed to flatter his own self opinion, and his *Danish* majesty would willingly have concluded a peace, but *Eric* continued war, and laid the *Danish* dominions waste, with a fury that bordered upon insanity. Whatever defects of constitution *Eric* might have, he undoubtedly carried the glory of *Sweden* to a great height during this war. The *Swedish* fleet under *Horn*, again beat that of *Denmark* and *Lubec*, as his army did the *Poles* before *Revel*. *Elfsburgh* still remained in the hands of the *Danes*, but he took *Warburg* by storm, in consequence of which *Halland* submitted to his arms. A second naval victory over the *Danes*, crowned the glory of *Eric* for that campaign.

The *Swedes* now began to despise the *Danes*, who had, till the time of *Vasa*, been accounted their superiors in the art of war, and, at the time of *Eric's* accession, their equals; but

He becomes
insane.

Defeated
by the
Danes.

the *Danes* defeated the *Swedes* with the loss of six thousand men, in their attempt to retake *Warburg*. This defeat exasperated *Eric*, who sent *Nils Sture* with orders to proceed in the most barbarous manner against the *West Gothlanders*, and those who had fled out of the battle. *Sture* refused to obey those inhuman commands, which raised the jealousy of *Eric* to such a height, that he treated him in the most ignominious manner. His *Danish* majesty, upon his late victory, raised his terms, which were still reasonable, and the emperor offered his mediation; but *Eric* declined it. His imperial majesty attempted to cut off all communication between *Sweden* and the *Hanse* towns, and in 1566, *Eric's* army was almost destroyed by an infectious distemper, before *Pernaw*, but he was completely victorious over the *Danes* and *Lubeckers* by sea. In the winter time, negotiations were resumed, and *Eric* probably would have concluded a very glorious peace, had he not been persuaded in 1567, to undertake an expedition against *Norway*, in which he lost the greatest part of his army.

1566.

1567.

His marriage,

and cruelty.

Duke John flies from court.

A civil war follows.

The personal character of *Eric* could now no longer be concealed. After courting almost every marriageable princess in *Europe*, he married a fruit girl, one *Catharine*, who, under the notion of philtres, administered to him provocatives, which increased the disorder in his brain. His fury discharged itself upon the *Sture* family, who, he pretended, had entered into measures for dethroning him, and he put the principal branches of it under arrest; though he could prove nothing against any of them, or their head, *Nils Sture*. Among the other infatuations of *Eric*, he was troubled with the belief of judicial astrology, which led him to stab *Nils Sture*. *Nils* pulled the dagger out of his body, kissed, and returned, it to the king's hand. His loyalty was rewarded by being butchered, together with his friends and family. *Eric's* insanity soon after turned into remorse, he led the life of a savage, and he prowled about the fields and villages like a wolf. Recovering some degree of sanity, he endeavoured, by a mad profusion, to atone for his murders; but finding all to be ineffectual, upon the return of his reason, he reconciled himself to his family, and set his brother, duke *John*, at liberty, but not before he had sworn to forgive all that had passed, and to many other unreasonable terms, which *John* did not think himself bound to observe; but a very extraordinary scene was now opened.

The czar of *Muscovy*, the head of a wide but barbarous empire, demanded that duke *John's* wife, whom he had formerly courted, should be delivered to his ambassador, to which *Eric*, who thought that prince's alliance necessary to his safety, consented. This frantic agreement crowned the sum of *Eric's* madness, and coming to the ears of *John* and his brother, they agreed that he should be deposed, but in the mean time they fled from court.

One *Peer*son was then the favourite, and first minister of *Eric*. He had been under prosecution for a corrupt and arbitrary

trary behaviour, but was received into favour by *Eric*, with such affection, that he stabbed one of his noblemen dead, for advising him to beware of *Peerſon*. *Eric*'s brothers, upon retiring from court, demanded the diſmiſſion of the miniſter, but that being neglected, they ſeized *Wadſtena*, and other places of importance, and without any ceremony, declared in public that *Eric*'s insanity rendered him unfit for government. *Eric*, during his intervals, was far from being deſtitute, either of courage or prudence, and made a very brave ſtand againſt his brothers, but the *Swedes* in general took their part, and made ſuch a progreſs, that in 1568, they beſieged *Stockholm*; and they were joined by the duke of *Saxe Lawenburg*, their, and *Eric*'s, brother-in-law. *Eric*, on that occaſion, behaved with a courage and conduct worthy a better cauſe. He delivered up the infamous *Peerſon* to condign puniſhment, and after being tortured, he was beheaded upon a ſcaffold raiſed higher than ordinary, that his miſſed maſter might behold his puniſhment. His rage, at ſeeing the fate of his favourite, carried *Eric* into no exceſſes; he repelled the warmeſt attacks of the dukes, and he ſent to his brother of *Denmark*, with whom he had lately made a truce, for aſſiſtance, but his meſſengers were intercepted and put to death. His reſolution of defending *Stockholm* was but ill ſeconded by its inhabitants, who privately admitted the dukes and their troops into their city; and *Eric* being abandoned by all, was obliged to ſurrender the citadel; and ſtipulated for himſelf no other terms, than that he ſhould be permitted to reſign the crown, and confined in a decent priſon. Here we cloſe the reign of *Eric*, whoſe insanity was of the worſt kind, becauſe it led him to blood. He had, in a mild interval, given up *Bewrre*, the executioner of his vengeance on the *Stures*, to juſtice, and he had fixed on the day of his marriage with his low-liv'd miſtreſs, for the time of his delivering up his brother's wife to the czar. Nothing, in ſhort, could have ruined *Eric*, who had great accompliſhments both in body and mind, but his invincible insanity.

The ſenate and people of *Sweden* had borne longer, perhaps, than any other nation would have done, with the madness of their monarch, whoſe room they now ſupplied with his brother, duke *John*. The firſt act of his government was, to bring to juſtice the actors in the bloody maſſacre of the *Sture* family. He expreſſed his deſire of living on good correſpondence with *John Baſilowitz*, the czar of *Muſcovy*, notwithſtanding the groſs provocation he had received from him. He ſignified the ſame pacific diſpoſitions towards the crown of *Denmark*, but in that negotiation, his miniſters betrayed the honour of their maſter, by concluding a ſcandalous and diſadvantageous peace with his *Daniſh* majeſty. When this treaty, upon the return of the embaſſadors, was laid before *John*, he diſowned it, but referred the conſideration of it to his ſtates, whom he aſſembled to confirm him upon the throne, and they likewise rejected it with the utmoſt indignation. After that,

they agreed to retract all their oaths of allegiance to *Eric*, whom they condemned to perpetual imprisonment. It is said that he was committed to the custody of the relations and friends of the *Sture* family, who treated him with barbarity, and even with blows.

makes war with *Russia* and *Denmark*. *John Basilowitz*, notwithstanding his fair professions, endeavoured to get possession of *Revel*; and his *Danish* majesty, relying on the uncertain state of affairs in *Sweden*, refused to recede from any of the articles of the late treaty of *Roschild*. *Basilowitz* being disappointed in his views upon *Revel*, arrested the *Swedish* ambassadors at his court, and reduced them to live upon bread and water, while the *Danes* took *Warburg*. A sharp war was then carried on between *Denmark* and *Sweden*, in which the duke of *Holstein* assisted the *Danes*, in hopes of acquiring *Livonia*, and being declared its king, under the protection of the czar, and the crown of *Denmark*. His royalty, after the czar had declared him king, vanished, and a congress of all the powers in the north was held at *Stetin*. Ministers from the emperor *Maximilian*, and *Charles* the IXth of *France*, assisted at it, and *John*, who seems to have been somewhat suspicious of his own title, was obliged, in the end, to cede to *Denmark* all his pretensions to *Norway*, *Holland*, *Bleking* and other places, and to submit his disputes concerning *Livonia* to a future discussion. This peace, though disadvantageous for *Sweden*, did not forward any accommodation between *John* and *Basilowitz*. The latter endeavoured to free *Eric* from his imprisonment; upon which, he was removed to the citadel of *Abo*, and *Basilowitz* fell into *Livonia* and *Finland*, with a great army. *John* had recourse to the king of *Poland*, who prevailed with the *Tartars* to enter *Russia*, where they burnt *Moscow*, and put to the sword forty thousand *Muscovites*. *Basilowitz*, provoked by this irruption, threatened to subdue all *Sweden*; and *John* sent *Mornay*, one of his ministers, to desire the assistance of *Elizabeth* of *England*. *Mornay* was in the interest of the deposed *Eric*. *Elizabeth* compassionated the fate of her former lover, and some authors have not scrupled to say, that in conjunction, they projected the assassination of *John*, which, however, was happily prevented, and a *Scotchman* was beheaded for impeaching *Mornay*, and not being able to prove his charge. During those transactions, *John* defeated the *Muscovites* in *Livonia*, and having taken into his pay five thousand *Scots*, the czar sued for peace. A punctilio about the place of negotiation broke off the conferences. The *Scots* and the *Germans* in *John's* service quarrelled; a number of the former were put to the sword, and the *Russians*, in the main, proved gainers by the campaign.

He endeavours to introduce the popish religion. *John* having married a *Roman* catholic princess, endeavoured to soften the legal hardships of the papists in his dominions, and with that view he concluded a truce for *Finland*, with *Basilowitz*, who refused to desist from his pursuits in *Livonia*. Great numbers of *Swedish* clergy were still *Roman* catholics in their

their hearts ; the queen converted *John* to her faith, but he still retained so much affection for protestantism, that he insisted upon certain reformati^ons in religion. He employed the *Jesuits* as his agents, for restoring popery in *Sweden*, towards which he made such great advances, that it became at last necessary for his brother, duke *Charles*, to oppose him. He was seconded by the states, who demanded from the king security for the sole exercise of the protestant religion in his dominions. *John* durst not oppose their request, but was taking measures to evade it, when his queen died, and left behind her a son, *Sigismund*. Her death was attended with salutary effects. The *Jesuits*, no longer supported by her, were driven out of *Sweden*, and *John* was at last persuaded to sacrifice, not only his theological prepossessions, but his animosity against the *Russians*, to his own and his country's tranquillity.

The late religious disputes had shaken *John's* throne to such a degree, that to his eternal infamy, he is said to have shortened the life of his brother *Eric* by poison, and he now gave way to the prosecution of *Mornay*, who was condemned and executed. Duke *Charles* was then the darling of *Sweden*, for the stand he had made against popery, but he was apprehensive, that after *John's* throne was established in peace, he would fall a victim to his displeasure, and therefore he solicited a reconciliation. *John* called an assembly of the states at *Wadstena*, and summoned *Charles* (whose proceedings perhaps were not unexceptionable) to appear before it. *Charles*, instead of obeying, took arms. The states interposing prevented hostilities ; but it seems as if, about this time, *John* had resumed some of his designs to favour popery, for he offered a new liturgy to be signed by *Charles*, who rejected it. Notwithstanding this, an accommodation succeeded between the two brothers.

Scarcely had this accommodation taken place, when *John's* son, prince *Sigismund*, by the intrigues of his aunt, the queen of *Poland*, was elected into that throne. *Sigismund* hated the established religion of *Sweden*, and concluded some stipulations with the *Poles* that were prejudicial to the *Swedes*, particularly, that he should annex the *Swedish Livonia* to his new crown. *John* accepted of those terms, but they were rejected by duke *Charles*. In the mean while, the fickle *Poles* elected the arch-duke *Maximilian* for their king likewise ; and such dutiful subjects were the *Swedes*, that the states of the kingdom came to a resolution to support *Sigismund's* election, provided the *Poles* would desist from their claim upon *Livonia*. Before *Sigismund's* departure, the states obliged him to sign certain articles in favour of the protestant religion, and the independency of *Sweden* upon *Poland*, and his accession to the latter crown cost him but little trouble. The articles which he signed were such, however, as were impossible to be observed by a prince who ruled at once over a protestant and a popish country, and were thought to be calculated for setting him

Opposed
by his
brother
Charles.

His son,
Sigismund;
chosen
king of
Poland.

aside from the succession, in favour of his uncle, duke *Charles*. In the event, it appeared that the *Poles* had elected *Sigismund* for their king upon principles that were merely interested, because they expected that the bait of their crown would have induced both the father and the son to have annexed to it *Livonia*. They were disappointed, for *John*, though he was a papist, was at the same time a true *Swede*.

John's
new li-
turgy.

When we consider the very jealous attachment the *Swedes* had for the reformed religion, we cannot help being surprized at their patience and forbearance with their popish king. He pressed their clergy to meet the church of *Rome* in a manner half way, but they rejected the proposal with an honest indignation, which *John* imputed to be ambitious intrigues of his brother, duke *Charles*. He demanded an interview with his son, *Sigismund*, which he obtained with great difficulty, and they met at *Revel*, where they continued a month. The people and senate of *Sweden* very reasonably concluded, that this extraordinary meeting boded no good to the interest of the protestant religion, or the independency of *Sweden*. The senate had, with amazement, seen that the king had prevailed with the archbishop of *Upsal*, and some of the bishops and inferior clergy, to give their countenance to his liturgy, which was called *the liturgy of the church of Sweden, conformable to the catholic and orthodox church*, which had been drawn up at *Rome*, under the pope's eye. They were still more alarmed, when they understood that *John* wanted his son to resign the crown of *Poland*, that he might reside with him in *Sweden*. They looked upon that as a prelude to popery and slavery. They petitioned *John* to send *Sigismund* back to *Poland*, lest the *Poles*, out of resentment, should chuse his enemy, the czar of *Muscovy*, for their king. Their representations made no impression either upon the father or the son, till, instigated by an unprecedented spirit of patriotism, the officers of the army threatened to throw up their commissions, rather than be governed by popish counsels. This aversion to popery does honour to the memory of those *Swedes* who asserted their principles, even in opposition to government, for we are informed by *Puffendorf*, (whose authority in this case is unquestionable) that a majority, both of the states and clergy, had been prevailed upon by the king to accept of his liturgy. The stanch protestants appealed to duke *Charles* and *Bielke*, whom *John* had left regent, to call the king home, that he might, as he alleged, preserve his crown. Upon *John's* arrival, he reconciled himself in the most intimate manner with duke *Charles*; but he took advantage of the resolution that had passed the assembly of the clergy and the states in favour of the new liturgy, to prosecute such of the nobility who opposed it. As a testimony of his sincere profession of popery, *John* received a pope's nuncio into his kingdom, sent an ambassador to *Rome*, and founded a *Roman* catholic college in *Stockholm*.

In

In 1590, *John*, to make his reign easy, again reconciled himself to his brother, duke *Charles*, who married *Christina*, daughter to the count of *Holstein*. At this time, the czar reduced all *Ingermannia*, and *John* gave his brother *Charles* the command of a body of *German* mercenaries to oppose him, but they deserted, and *Charles* was obliged to return alone to *Stockholm*. The state of affairs at that time, plainly evinced how little dependence a prince ought to have on a people who cannot trust him. *Bannier*, the *Swedish* general against the *Russians*, gave them no opposition, and they besieged *Narva*, which was defended by count *Horn*, who, without consulting either the king or the senate, gave up *Ivanagorod* and *Corporie*. *Eric Sture*, to get rid of *Sigismund*, had secretly engaged to give up *Esthonia* to the *Poles*, but duke *Charles* had credit enough to screen them all from punishment, when *John* died suddenly, in the year 1592.

Duke *Charles* was for two days ignorant, though in the neighbourhood, of his brother's death, which was concealed, that the queen and her minions might plunder the royal coffers. Being appointed regent, he apprized *Sigismund* of his father's death, but he acquainted him, at the same time, that being a true *Swede*, he had sent orders to all the governors of *Esthonia* and *Livonia*, not to give up any of their fortresses to the *Poles*, even if they should demand them by royal authority. The counts, *Lewenhaupt* and *Steenbock*, thought that *Charles* took too much upon him for a subject, especially after he had prevailed with the senate to pass certain votes, accelerating his accession to the crown. In 1593, duke *Charles*, being confirmed regent by *Sigismund*, assembled the states at *Upsal*, where they unanimously entered into a resolution to restore the protestant religion, according to the confession of *Augsburg*, to repeal the new liturgy, and all that had been done in favour of popery in the late reign, and to carry an appeal to *Sigismund*, while he remained in *Poland*. Those were wise measures, as *Sigismund* was a zealous *Roman* catholic. Both the senate and clergy of *Sweden* carried their resolutions so far, that they made their king's agreeing to the firm establishment of protestantism, and the other acts they had passed for the independency of *Sweden*, the condition of his receiving the crown. *Sigismund* complained of this as an invasion of his prerogative, and sent his own creatures to take the command of the fortresses in *Finland* and *West Gothland*; but at the same time, gave the senate the strongest assurances of his being resolved to govern by law. This did not satisfy duke *Charles* and the senate, who, before *Sigismund* left *Poland*, demanded from him security for the exercise of the protestant religion in *Sweden*. He answered them in general terms, and when he appeared at *Stockholm*, *Malespina*, the pope's nuncio, was seen in his retinue. Scarcely was *Sigismund* seated on his throne, when he betrayed his affection for popery. He demanded that a *Roman* catholic church should be tolerated in every city and

1592.

Succeeded

by *Sigis-**mund*, who

is a pa-

pist.

1593.

The

pope's

nuncio at

great *Stockholm*.

Policy of
duke
Charles,

great town of his kingdom; he repealed the acts of the *Upsal* assembly, and he annulled the election of the protestant archbishop. The more sensible part of the *Swedish* protestants foresaw that this violent weak conduct must terminate in elevating duke *Charles* to the throne, and they made no ceremony in opposing *Sigismund* to his face, especially when he insisted upon being crowned by the pope's nuncio, instead of a protestant bishop. *Suercherfon*, the secretary of state, fell in with all the views of duke *Charles*, but he was more effectually assisted by the violence and imprudence of the popish clergy, who became so extravagant as to draw upon them the reprehension even of *Sigismund*; but he could not be brought to punish them. One of his pages, *Livin de Bulou*, was the only person about the court who ventured to remonstrate to *Sigismund*, that he was on the road to perdition, and paving the way for his uncle's mounting the throne. The senate perceiving that duke *Charles* was, or rather affected to be, an unconcerned spectator of the king's proceedings, invited him to be a mediator between his majesty and the constitution, which the duke readily embraced. *Sigismund* shewed no violent resentment at this, and endeavoured to quell the opposition to his government by fair promises. The duke and the states insisted upon performances, and even upon abrogating the toleration of the popish religion in *Sweden*, with which the king, after much dispute, seemed to rest satisfied. He raised troops to break up the assembly of the states at *Upsal*, but none would obey him, and he was once more reduced to the expedients of flattery and fair promises. *Charles* knew his own strength, and, for some time, temporized. He affected to be a mediator between the king and the states, and he claimed a merit from *Sigismund's* having treated him ill for his firm attachment to protestantism, and the constitution of his country. *Sigismund's* Polish favourites advised him to dissemble, and to grant all that the protestants required, till he could be in a condition to disown all his concessions. *Sigismund* took their advice. He stipulated for the private exercise of popery in his own chapel, but resolved, at the same time, to assassinate duke *Charles*, and to govern *Sweden* by a Polish army.

who es-
capes as-
sassa-
tion.

The duke narrowly escaped the assassination, which was to have been performed at the *Italian* comedy, and the king expecting the arrival of the Polish army, began to build Roman catholic churches. The army arrived on the frontiers, but made a pitiful appearance, being only powerful enough to exact contributions upon defenceless places. *Sigismund*, like other infatuated princes in his situation, imagined that the *Swedes* must be ruined, if he abandoned the helm of government, which he did, and returned to *Poland*, leaving duke *Charles* regent of *Sweden*, and *Eric Brabe*, a profest papist, governor of *Stockholm*. *Sigismund*, however, had clogged the terms of the duke's regency with certain disagreeable conditions, which the senate annulled, at the same time that they abolished

abolished the exercise of the *Romish* religion in *Sweden*, and the inhabitants of *Stockholm* refused to acknowledge their governor. In effect, *Charles* was vested by the senate with regal powers independent of the king.

The assembling of the states at *Sunderkoping*, without *Si-Sigismund*’s authority, gave a severe blow to his government. They actually established the intolérance of the *Roman* catholic religion, even in private practice, and voted that no orders of the king, sent from *Poland*, should be valid, unless approved of by duke *Charles* and the senate, who were to fill up all the vacancies in church and state. Those resolutions were made public; and at the same time, though in fact they had dethroned the king, every subject who disowned his authority, was declared a traitor. The consequence was, that the *Roman* catholic clergy were expelled out of *Sweden*, and obliged to fly to the king’s governors on the frontiers; and the king, who was then very rich, ordered that no respect should be paid to the orders of the duke and the senate, without his approbation. In 1596, *Fleming*, the king’s governor of *Finland*, gave so kind a reception to the exiled *Roman* catholic clergy, that he became obnoxious to the duke. By this time, *Charles* began to suspect that the real intention of the states of *Sweden* was to resume the project that had been dropt some years ago, of converting their monarchy into a republic. He was confirmed in this opinion by the peremptory manner in which they interposed between him and *Fleming*, whom he wanted to punish; and *Sigismund* fomented the difference. *Charles* knew well that the sentiments of the king and the senate were irreconcilable, and he withdrew, for some time, from all affairs of government, in hopes that it would serve to render him of the greater consequence. He was outwitted by his confident, *Suercherfon*. That minister, to whom the duke delegated his power, kept up a secret correspondence with *Sigismund*, who favoured the senate, and excluded the duke from all authority in the state. 1596.

The duke, for his own safety, summoned the states to meet His army at *Abroga*, but though many members attended, *Lewenhaupt* defeated was the only senator that appeared. The duke now saw by the plainly that he must depend for safety upon his own resolution. He prevailed with the states, who met at *Sunderkoping*, to confirm all that had been done at *Upsal*; and to enter into an association for defending him and themselves. This was a signal of war between the duke and his nephew. The former persisted in giving *Sigismund* verbal assurances of his loyalty, but pretending that the laws and constitutions of *Sweden* had lodged the executive part of government in his hands, during his majesty’s absence, he marched into *Finland*, where he chastized *Fleming*; he exacted an oath of fidelity from the states of *Gothland*; he forced them to agree to the proceedings of *Sunderkoping*, and he took *Calmar*. Perceiving that many of the *Swedish* senators, being startled by the royal edicts, had fled

fled out of *Sweden*, the duke did all he could to recall them, and for that purpose, summoned a diet of the states at *Stockholm*. The members were now entirely reconciled to the duke, as the king made no secret that he was determined to govern *Sweden* by a foreign force. All treating between him and the duke was now at an end, but the latter found himself greatly at a loss how to behave, when the king declared his resolution of visiting *Sweden*, and demanded the attendance of his fleet. This declaration was received by the *Swedes*, as if they never had any cause of complaint against his majesty. The duke, however, was backed by a party who found no safety but in standing to their engagements with him. *Sigismund*, who might have crushed the duke, shewed great moderation; but the duke taking the advantage of a thick mist, attacked and defeated the royal army at *Strangbroo*. The duke affected to appear very moderate, and an accommodation was effected, by the mediation of persons who were well inclined to both. In short, they met, and parted as reconciled friends, and *Sigismund* returned to *Poland*.

1593.
who is
proclaim-
ed a traitor,

Scarcely had he left *Sweden*, before he proclaimed the duke a traitor, and declared that all he had done, by way of reconciliation, had been extorted from him by force. The duke resumed his arms, and both parties now threw aside the mask of moderation, but continued to amuse the world by their manifestos. It was in vain for the states of *Sweden*, who were assembled at *Jenekoping*, to interpose, for the king would be satisfied with nothing less than a despotic right, even in matters of religion. The states were assembled at *Stockholm*; such of the *Swedish* noblemen as had promoted the king's arbitrary designs were punished, some of them by decapitation. The ring-leaders of the disturbances in *Finland* were chastized, and all that the states could be brought to, was to offer to recognize *Sigismund's* son, *Uladislaus*, provided he was educated in and professed the *Lutheran* religion; but if that condition was not complied with, *Sigismund* and all his descendents were to forfeit, for ever, their rights to the crown of *Sweden*. Duke *Charles* may be at this time considered as the king of *Sweden*, and all offences against him, either in *Finland* or *Livonia*, were treated as acts of high treason; so that some of the most illustrious blood in *Sweden* was shed on scaffolds.

but de-
poses *Si-
gismund*.
1604.

The time prescribed by the senate for bringing young *Uladislaus* to *Sweden* was now expired, yet such was the moderation of duke *Charles*, that it was prolonged for a few months, but on the expiration of that time, in the year 1604, *Charles* received, by name, that sovereignty which he before possessed in reality. About the same time, we are told that his half brother, *John*, renounced all his pretensions to the throne, and that both *Sigismund* and his son *Uladislaus*, were excluded from it for ever.

Charles
king of
Sweden.

No prince ever shewed greater address or greater honesty than *Charles* did in obtaining the crown; but he found it at first, lined

lined with thorns. His nephew, duke *John*, in consideration of his having renounced his right of succession, was in possession of *West Gothland*, and the lawful king was still alive, and had a powerful party. The *Swedes*, unused to the refinements of politics, proscribed all their countrymen who remained with the late king, and did not return to *Sweden* by a certain day; and an act passed that a king of *Sweden*, for the future, should marry only a protestant princess, and that no reigning king of *Sweden* should accept of any other crown. After this, *Charles* made an unfortunate expedition into *Livonia*, where his army was beaten by the *Poles*, and he himself narrowly escaped to *Revel*; but the civil disturbances in *Poland* disabled *Sigismund* from pursuing his victory. When *Charles* returned to *Sweden*, he had some differences with his clergy, who refused to purge themselves from some of the relics of popery. In 1607, he sent count *Mansfeldt* into *Livonia* with an army, where he obtained several important advantages, but concluded a peace which *Charles* refused to ratify, and the war continued, tho' to the disadvantage of *Sweden*, by sea. About this time, a revolution happened in *Russia*, of His diffi- which we shall treat in the history of that empire. *Charles* cultics. was afraid of an alliance between *Russia* and *Poland*, or rather, that his nephew, *Sigismund*, who still claimed the crown of *Sweden*, should have interest enough either to possess or dispose of the czarship, and therefore he assisted *Zuski*, one of the competitors against *Demetrius*, who was befriended by *Sigismund*. The *Russians* gave *Zuski* up to the *Poles*, and chose *Uladislaus*, *Sigismund's* son, for their czar. The young prince soon lost his crown, by the tyranny of the *Poles*, who took *Pirneu* in *Finland*, through the treachery of one *Wachens*, a *Swede*, who was afterwards beheaded at *Stockholm* for that crime.

1607.

In 1609, the *Danes*, taking advantage of the *Swedes* being 1609. embroiled in *Livonia* and *Finland*, renewed certain claims See p. upon *Lapponia* and *Sonneburg*, and commenced hostilities. 433. *Charles* thus embarrassed on all hands, called together his states, and upon their refusal to assist him, his nerves were so much affected, that he never afterwards enjoyed a state of sound health. The insolence and exorbitant demands of his rival, *Christian* of *Denmark*, who even violated the law of nations, in the persons of the *Swedish* ambassador and his domestics, roused the states of *Sweden* into indignation, and they at last granted the supplies which *Charles* demanded. *John de la Gardie* took *Kexholm*, and other places from the *Russians*, and even made a progress towards raising *Charles's* second son, *Charles Philip*, to the throne of the czars.

Prince *Adolphus*, afterwards the renowned *Gustavus Adol-* First ap- phus, was then serving under his father, and gave a noble spe- ppearance of his military talents, by taking *Christianstadt*, where of the the *Danes* had their magazines; but *Calmar* fell into the hands great of the *Danes*, by the treachery and cowardice of *Sama*, its *Gustavus Swedish Adolphus*.

Death of
Charles.
1611.

Swedish governor. The islands of *Oeland* and *Borkholm* were likewise reduced by the *Danes*, which exasperated *Charles* so much, that though he had lost the use of one side by a stroke of the palsy, he appealed *Christian* to single combat. *Christian* answered his challenge by vigorously pursuing the war; but a body of his best troops was defeated near *Calmar*, and young *Gustavus* recovered the isle of *Oeland*, and the town of *Borkholm*, making two thousand *Danes* prisoners. Those promising appearances encouraged *Charles* to call another assembly of the states at *Nikoping*, where he died in 1611, in the sixty-first year of his age, worn out, as was thought, by fatigue, grief and anxiety. He was a prince possessed of many virtues, and he had some failings. By his perseverance and moderation, he bore up against two powerful competitors, the intractable *Christian* of *Denmark*, and his nephew, *Sigismund* of *Poland*, who never quitted his claim to the crown of *Sweden*, and had always a powerful party in that kingdom.

G. Gustavus
Archibus.

1613.

Views of
Gustavus
in *Russia*.

It was fortunate for *Sweden*, that duke *John*, brother of the late king, loved his nephew and his country. Though he could have claimed the guardianship of *Gustavus*, who was but eighteen, for three years longer, yet he joined with his countrymen in acknowledging, that the pregnancy of the young prince's parts, made up for the defect of years, and in a diet of *Nikoping*, duke *John* was the first that consented to *Gustavus* taking into his own hands the reins of government. He began his reign with a resumption of the excessive grants of the crown, and other internal regulations, and he made his great chancellor, *Oxenstiern*, his first minister. After this, at the mediation of *Great Britain* and *Holland*, *Gustavus* would have concluded an equitable peace with *Christian*, but he found him intractable. The *Swedes* fell into *Schonen*, but that division of their army which was commanded by duke *John*, was defeated by the *Danes*, who vigorously invaded *West Gothland*, and obtained many advantages by sea. At last, in 1612, a peace was concluded between the two powers, by which *Gustavus* reobtained possession of *Calmar*, as *Christian* did of *Elfsburgh*, and each renounced their pretensions to the others dominions. This peace, by which *Gustavus* agreed to pay a million of crowns to the *Danes*, left him at liberty to pursue the vast designs he had formed in *Russia*, where the inhabitants were far from being averse from choosing a prince of the house of *Vasa* for their sovereign; and *Gustavus*, after some deliberation, preferred himself to his brother. All the schemes of *Gardie*, who had intrigued for duke *John*, were thereby defeated. The *Russians*, barbarous as they were, were tenacious of their independency, and dreading to become a province to *Sweden*, they raised to their throne *Michael Romanow*, a young *Russian* gentleman of fifteen years of age, and son to the archbishop of *Rotow*, their ambassador to *Poland*, but detained there against the law of nations. *Charles Philip* was far from lamenting his disappointment, which was wholly
owing

owing to his elder brother, whose subjects were not in a much better state of civilization than the *Russians*, whom they affected so much to despise. Nothing was wanting on the part of their young monarch for their improvement. He regulated trade, introduced strangers and manufacturers, and restricted young people from studying at foreign universities; but above all, he was anxious about relieving his peasantry from some of their most oppressive taxes, and in abridging law proceedings.

Gustavus, in hopes of being raised to the throne of *Russia*, which he had lent the *Russians* money, and upon demanding the repayment in vain, he entered *Ingria* with an army, took *Kexholm*, and invested *Pleskow*. *James* the 1st of *England* had offered his mediation, and a peace was concluded, by which *Sweden* recovered *Livonia*, and four towns in the prefecture of *Novogorod*, besides nine thousand pounds in money. This peace was concluded at *Stolbova*, in 1617. This short campaign in *Russia*, and the instructions of *la Gardie*, one of the wisest men, and greatest generals of the age, first inspired *Gustavus* with true military ideas. His *Finlanders*, by perpetual wars with the *Russians*, the *Tartars* and other barbarians, had become the best troops in *Europe*, and so well disciplined, that they seemed to have no passion, but obedience to the order of their general. *Sigismund*, king of *Poland*, was still alive, and still a pretender to the crown of *Sweden*. *Gustavus* resolved either to gain him over or to humble him, and *Sigismund*, on his part, employed one *Furenbach*, an artful officer, to sur- prize, under the mask of friendship, the person of *Gustavus*. The discovery of this base design rendered the breach between them irreconcilable. *Gustavus* borrowed money from the *Dutch*, with which he satisfied the remaining claims of his *Danish* majesty, married the princess of *Brandenburg*, and besieged *Riga* with an army of twenty thousand men, under himself, *Gardie*, and other excellent generals. It was hard to say, whether the defence or the attack of the place was carried on with greater resolution and judgment. The *Poles* acquired immortal honour, nor did they think of capitulating, till the garrison was reduced to skeletons by famine, and their city to a heap of ruins, by the fury of the *Swedish* artillery. They obtained an advantageous capitulation, and an honourable testimony of their valour, from *Gustavus*, who preserved inviolate the privileges of the townsmen, but banished the *Jesuits*.

A truce of a year followed between *Sweden* and *Poland*, and *Gustavus*, by making a sudden motion towards *Dantzic*, compelled the implacable *Sigismund* to prolong it for two years longer. *Sigismund*, against the inclinations of his *Polish* subjects, refused to convert the truce into a perpetual peace, and rejected all terms of accommodation. Upon this, *Gustavus* entered *Livonia*, cut in pieces three thousand *Poles* under *Stasslaus Sapieha*, and reduced all the strong holds of the country,

which he enters.

1617.

Treachery of *Sigismund*.

Gustavus married.

A truce.

Vol. IX.
p. 156,
C. 19.

1626.

Sigismund
defeated.

1627.

Gustavus
besieges
Dantzic.

Vol. IX.
p. 156.

Wrangel
defeats
the *Poles*.

try, excepting *Duneburg*. From thence, *Gustavus* moved the seat of war into *Lithuania*, where he took *Birsen*. The obstinacy of *Sigismund* was fomented by the imperial court, who treated the great *Gustavus* with the utmost contempt. He had, by this time, acquired perhaps too great a taste for military glory, and till then he seems to have been insensible of ambition, for notwithstanding his repeated defeats of the *Poles* and *Lithuanians*, he still offered equitable terms to *Sigismund*. Perceiving that they were rejected with contempt, in the spring of the year 1626, he carried an army of twenty-eight thousand men to *Pilau*, which he took, with the connivance of the elector of *Brandenburg*, as he did *Elbring*, *Marienbourg*, and all the chief places in *Polish Prussia*. *Sigismund*, who thought *Gustavus* had been in *Sweden* when he received the account of these losses, prepared to retrieve them, but was defeated with great loss by the *Swedes* in every encounter. In May 1627, *Gustavus* besieged *Dantzic*, but was unable to take it, chiefly because of a wound he had received with a cannon ball in the belly. While he was intent on this siege, the *Dutch* made fresh efforts for an accommodation, but they were defeated, by the magnificent promises of the house of *Austria* to *Sigismund*. *Gustavus* being obliged to raise the siege of *Dantzic*, received some checks in the *Polish Prussia*. In the beginning of 1628, he renewed the siege of *Dantzic*, defeated the *Polish* and *Danish* squadrons which attempted to raise it, and by a series of the most amazing constructions and conveyances, over a morass of fifteen miles, that we meet with in history, a few hours must have put him in possession of the city, when the sudden rise of the *Vistula* destroyed his works, and obliged him to abandon the siege. In his retreat, he defeated a *Polish* army, took five large towns, two of them by storm, and made a great booty. *Wallenstein*, the imperial general, had been lately invested with the duchy of *Mecklenburgh*, which he governed with independent powers; and among other great projects he formed, one was to become master of the trade of the *Baltic*, by taking *Stralsund*. With this view he sought to bring over the king of *Denmark*, by favouring him with his vast interest at the imperial court; but the affair was of such dangerous consequence to that monarch, that he assisted *Lesley*, one of *Gustavus's* *Scotch* generals, in defending *Stralsund*, and *Wallenstein's* attempts were defeated, though the siege continued three months.

Notwithstanding this seasonable assistance given to *Gustavus*, he and his *Danish* majesty continued still to be on very bad terms, and the emperor expressed himself in the most contemptible manner, both as to the power and policy of *Gustavus*, an indignity he never could digest. His general, *Wrangel*, had compleatly defeated a body of *Poles*, who had blocked up *Brodnitz*; and *Gustavus* himself had beaten, near *Stum*, the combined army of *Poles* and *Germans*, commanded by the imperial general, *Arnhem*, whom *Gustavus* attacked against the

opinion

opinion of his best generals, and though far inferior in number, gained a complete victory. The *Poles* were, at the same time, beaten before *Stum*, and the plague raging in their army, they at last listened so far to the advice of the *English*, *French* and *Dutch* ambassadors, that they agreed to a truce for six years, during which *Marienburg* was to be sequestered in the hands of the elector of *Brandenburgh*, and *Gustavus* was to keep *Murel*, and all his conquests in *Livonia*, but to restore to the *Poles* all he had conquered from them besides. A peace.

The public was ignorant of the reasons *Gustavus* had for this step. He had secretly agreed to measures for reducing the house of *Austria* in concert with the courts of *France* and *England*. We have already given an account of his engagements with *Richlieu*. *Charles* the 1st furnished him with a large sum of money, promised him a farther supply, and to send his cousin *Hamilton* to his assistance with eight thousand men; all which he punctually performed. Before *Gustavus* chose to throw the die against the house of *Austria*, he wisely convoked the states, laid before them his provocations and designs, and demanded their assistance. The assembly was at first divided. The consideration of the imperial and *Spanish* power, struck the boldest with dismay; but *Gustavus* harangued them in a strain of eloquence, that the assembly was dissolved in tears, and with one voice cried out, that *Sweden* was ready to empty her blood and treasures in the services of her beloved sovereign. *Gustavus* then assembled his force, and saw under his command sixty thousand fighting men, seventy sail of ships, the largest carrying above forty guns. Among those were about eight thousand *Scotch* mercenaries (exclusive of those under the marquis of *Hamilton*) of whom *Gustavus* had a vast opinion, and he raised the officers of that nation, whom he esteemed equally for their sagacity as their intrepidity, to the chief posts of his army. We have already given a concise, and we hope a comprehensive account, of the military and other operations of *Gustavus* in *Germany*. We shall therefore only glean up a few that we omitted, and make a general recapitulation of the whole, to preserve the thread of our narrative. He sent *Gustavus Horn* to assist the deposed duke of *Mecklenburgh*, where he took *Griffenhagen* by storm. Another of his generals, *Kniptrausen*, was defeated by the young count, afterwards the famous, *Montecuculi*, with the loss of two thousand brave *Swedes*, at *New Brandenburgh*; and, in order to encourage the protestant princes who were assembled at *Leipsic*, to act with more vigour in his favour, he took *Gripswald*, and reduced all *Pomerania*. He had, by this time, received three hundred thousand crowns from *France*, and agreed with her for an annual subsidy of twelve hundred thousand livres, but he reserved this money for extraordinary occasions, for his soldiers made their pay and quarters good wherever they came in their enemies country.

Scarcely

Vol. XI.
p. 474.

Vol. IX.
p. 157.

Gustavus
invades
Germany.

Vol. IX.
p. 158,
§ 9.

Progress
of the war
there.

Great suc-
cesses of
Gustavus,

who is
killed.

Scarcely had *Gustavus* reinstated the dukes of *Mecklenburgh* and *Gustrow*, when he flew to the other side of *Germany*, where he took *Mentz*, and carried the elector palatine to *Munich*, the capital of the elector of *Bavaria*, by whom his family had been deposed. The vast fortune of *Gustavus* was even secretly favoured by the court of *Rome*, who less dreaded the heads of the protestants, than she did those of the house of *Austria*. It seems, however, more than probable, that *Gustavus* was not in earnest in assisting the elector palatine, without consulting the *French* minister, though the consequence of his victories contributed chiefly to re-establish that house. Some writers, however, have not scrupled to say, that had *Gustavus* survived that fatal battle in which he fell, he would have restored the elector not only to his palatinate, but to the crown of *Bohemia*. Be that as it will, it is undoubted, that after *Gustavus* had forced the inhabitants of *Augsburgh* to take an oath of fidelity to his own person, his allies grew jealous of his successes, and nothing but the impolitic and impotent devastations which *Wallenstein* made in the elector of *Saxony's* dominions, could have kept that prince firm to his cause. It was thought, that after gaining the battle of *Leipsic*, *Gustavus* ought to have advanced directly to *Vienna*, against *Tilly*, instead of taking *Musburg* and entering *Franconia*. It was his zeal to keep the elector of *Saxony* on his side, and to prevent his ruin, that induced him to that step, which might undoubtedly have carried the war into the very vitals of the *Austrian* dominions. He was dissuaded from it by his favourite general, the duke of *Saxe Weimar*, against the opinion of the sage *Oxenstiern*. Upon *Wallenstein* being restored to the command of the imperial army, the *Swedes* in *Germany* received some checks, and *Gustavus* was forced to leave *Bavaria*, to make head against *Wallenstein*, who retired to *Lutzen*. *Puffendorf* and other writers, accuse the *Saxon* general, *Arnheim*, of having been all along secretly in the *Austrian* interest, and of giving intelligence of *Gustavus's* motions. *Arnheim* had been reproached by *Gustavus* with cowardice, and it is natural to think, that the elector himself could not be easy at seeing the duke of *Saxe Weimar*, who had a hereditary claim to his electorate, so great a favourite with *Gustavus*, whose designs upon the imperial dignity were now but too conspicuous.

Gustavus returning out of *Bavaria*, to the assistance of the duke of *Saxony*, thought that an opportunity now presented for striking a decisive blow, by fighting *Wallenstein*, whose army was then very numerous. *Gustavus* watched his occasion, and resolved to attack *Wallenstein* in *Misnia*, just after his army had been weakened by a detachment of ten thousand men under *Papenheim*. *Gustavus* formed his dispositions with his usual judgment, and attacked his enemy with his usual fury. He defeated the right wing of the imperialists, and took their artillery. Hearing that his left wing was not equally suc-

successful, he posted, attended by not above six or eight of his light cavalry, to reconnoitre, but in the way, he was encountered by a body of *Austrian* horse, who, without knowing him, rode him down and killed him with a pistol bullet. Some writers, and *Puffendorf* among the rest, lays his death to the charge of the duke of *Saxe Lawenburg*, who, he says, was with *Gustavus* at the time of his death, and treacherously gave him the fatal wound. All we can say, amidst such a variety of contradictory evidence, is, that the duke of *Saxe Lawenburg* had a very indifferent character for his steadiness to any party; that *Oxenstiern* endeavoured to dissuade his master from admitting him into his company, and that the reigning house of *Saxony* was far from being pleased with the successes of *Gustavus* at the time of his death, which happened in the 38th year of his age, in the year 1633.

Vol IX.
p. 163.

1633:

The death of *Gustavus* did not terminate the battle. Some say, that, when he fell, he was attended only by the duke of *Saxe Lawenburg* and two equerries, and others, that he headed the regiment of *Smaland*. Both might be true, for it is agreed that he was exhorting the regiment to make more haste in passing a brook or a ditch, when he was killed, and it is possible his impetuosity might have left it behind him. His death was soon known, as his figure was conspicuous wherever he fought. The duke of *Saxe Weimar*, who instantly took upon himself the command, was even at pains to propagate the melancholy news, which, instead of damping, enraged his troops to such a degree, that they obtained a complete victory, and all the imperialists must have been put to the sword, had not *Patenheim*, who was on his march to rejoin *Wallenstein*, returned time enough to favour the escape of the remainder, but at the expence of his own life.

As the name of *Gustavus* is but another appellation for all the military virtues, we shall not insist upon that part of his character. The death of *Gustavus* alone discovered how great a man he had been in his lifetime, for the alliances he had formed, and the resources he had provided, not only prevented the ruin of his country from the house of *Austria*, but raised its glory. It seems past all dispute, that he never was seriously inclined to favour the elector palatine. He would not even suffer his *British* auxiliaries to enter *Silesia*, or any place or country where the palatine interest was strong. When *Charles* sent his ambassador, Sir *Henry Vane*, to expostulate with him on that head, he evaded the subject, because *France* had guaranteed the palatinate to the house of *Bavaria*; and when he could no longer avoid explaining himself, he proposed terms to the ambassador more arbitrary and imperious than the emperor had proposed to the elector. In short, they were such as the meanest vassal of an *Ottoman* court would have rejected. Notwithstanding this, never did any prince engage in a cause with greater reputation than *Gustavus* did when he entered *Germany*, or execute his purpose with greater glory, witness his

His cha-
racter.

his disinterested generosity to the dukes of *Mecklenburgh*, *Magdeburg*, the landgrave of *Hesse*, and other princes of the empire. Success inspired him with ideas of his becoming its head, a consideration which we do not find stipulated on the part of any of the princes he came to relieve. The wisdom of his negotiations seconded the vigour of his arms, and if he was guilty of cruelty towards his enemies (which too often happened) he alledged, with great justice, that they set him the example. He was thought to love money, and to be too scanty in rewarding military merit. The vast designs he had in view, accounts for the first charge, and the second was, perhaps, the effect of sound policy, as it secured the dependence of his officers upon himself. He might have been called a learned prince, tho' many of his foreign officers, having raised themselves from the lowest stations in the army, could neither read nor write. He discouraged duelling, was a rigorous exacter of military discipline, but he appeared in private parties with ease and affability towards his officers, of whose company he was fond, which may be the reason why so many of them were heirs to his warlike abilities.

Christina
queen.

Duke
Bernard
succeeds
to the
command
of the
Swedes.

Wallenstein, notwithstanding his haughty, overbearing conduct, seems to have been the only man of sense who had any influence at the imperial court, upon the death of the great *Gustavus*. He had experienced the valour of his troops, and the capacity of the duke of *Saxe Weimar* (whom we shall call duke *Bernard*) who took upon him the command of the *Swedish* army, and he advised the emperor, by all means, to make such a peace as should rid *Germany* of the *Swedes*. His advice was rejected, and *Bernard*, before the end of the campaign, drove *Wallenstein* out of *Saxony*, to the amazement of all *Europe*. *Oxenstiern*, who was privy to all the views of *Gustavus*, continued to direct the *Swedish* cabinet; and such had been the foresight and œconomy of *Gustavus*, that his armies were as numerous at the time of his death, as when he entered *Germany*. This was the great consideration that rendered the accession of *Christina* to the throne of her father, *Gustavus*, so peaceable. She was then but six years old, but possessed of a pregnant spirit. The five principal officers of the court, who were the grand bailif, the marshal, the admiral, the chancellor, and the treasurer, were appointed regents, but *Oxenstiern* acted as first minister, and from him the regents received all their advices and directions. The infancy of *Christina* was fortunate in this administration. Both branches of the house of *Austria*, assisted by that of *Bavaria*, prepared to continue the war with more vigour than ever. They depended greatly upon the *Poles*, but *Uladislaus*, who succeeded his father, *Sigismund*, was engaged in a war with the *Russians* and *Turks*, and his sentiments were moderate. As to the *Danes*, *Christian* refused to do any thing against *Sweden*, that might interrupt the prospect he had of a match between his son and *Christina*. *Oxenstiern's* difficulties thus lay in manag-

ing

ing the pride and haughtiness of his master's *German* allies. He saw the elector of *Saxony* renewing his efforts to place himself at the head of a protestant confederacy in *Germany*, but *Oxenstiern* had credit enough to bring an assembly together at *Heilbron*, where the elector of *Brandenburgh* convinced the assembly that they had no safety but in preserving their connections with the *Swedes*.

While the imperialists were flattering themselves that the protestant princes of the empire, headed by the duke of *Saxony*, would separate themselves from the *Swedes*, they were amazed to see the war renewed with vigour, and that *Oxenstiern* had made no propositions for peace. He divided the *Swedish* army into two bodies; one consisting of fourteen thousand men, was commanded by the duke of *Lunenbourg*, in *Westphalia*; and the other division was sent to join count *Horn*, in *Thuringia*; where, and in *Alsace*, he made very considerable conquests, and performed many noble exploits. Count *Thurn* commanded the *Swedes* in *Silesia*, but was thwarted by the overbearing spirit of *Arnheim*, the *Saxon* general, who wanted to give him the law; and their differences were productive of very bad effects to the common cause. The diet still continued to sit at *Heilbron*, and *Oxenstiern* brought the deputies of the circles of *Suabia*, *Franconia*, the *Upper* and *Lower Rhine*, to agree to a league with *Sweden*. Not having the same views of ambition as his master, he laboured earnestly to establish the children of the elector palatine (who died with grief soon after he heard of the fate of *Gustavus*) in their family possessions; but in fact, the difficulties he met with, could be surmounted only by the greatest patience and foresight. Through the treachery of *Arnheim*, *Wallenstein* had defeated the *Swedes* in *Silesia*, and the reader will find, in our history of *Germany*, a narrative of the principal events of that war, which makes it unnecessary to repeat them here. It is sufficient to say, that such were the amazing abilities of *Oxenstiern*, that even the loss of the battle of *Nordlingen*, where the *Swedes* were entirely defeated under count *Horn*, could not shake his credit; for notwithstanding the defection of the duke of *Saxony*, he continued to act as the dictator of the protestant interest in *Germany*. The assassination of *Wallenstein*, the best and most successful of the imperial generals, delivered *Sweden* from a formidable enemy; but *Oxenstiern* was obliged to enter into a fresh treaty with *France* in 1635, by which he put *Alsace* into her hands, and marshal de la Force was ordered to advance with an army to the assistance of the *Swedes*. By this time, the duke of *Saxony* had brought over the elector of *Brandenburgh* to his views of forcing the *Swedes* to evacuate the empire, and to abandon their conquests. They even made peace with the emperor upon scandalous terms, by which they lost sight of the original cause of the war. But a storm now broke upon the empire that altered the face of affairs.

The vast
successes
of the
Swedes.

Vol. IX.
p. 164,
& seq.

Ibid.
p. 166.

1635.

Ibid.
Ibid.

*France de-
clares war
against the
Austrians.*

Vol. IX.
p. 170.

Gallant
behaviour
of *Ban-
nier*, the
Swedish
general.

The *Swed-
ish* af-
fairs de-
perate.

1638.

Upon the cession of *Alsace* to *France*, *Richlieu* thought proper to discontinue his neutrality, and to declare war against the house of *Austria*. This blow, which had been effected by the dexterity of *Oxenstiern*, had not been foreseen by the protestant princes, who had made their peace with the emperor, and it was soon known that the court of *France* had, by treaty, guarantied the possession of *Alsace* to duke *Bernard*. To give some diversion to the *Swedes*, the imperialists, upon the expiration of their truce with the *Poles*, attempted to renew that war, but upon *Oxenstiern*'s ceding to them *Prussia*, at the request of *France* and *Holland*, the truce was prolonged for twenty-six years. The treasures left by *Gustavus* were now exhausted, by the expensive engagements that *Sweden* had been obliged to form with her auxiliaries and mercenaries, and even the venal part of her own subjects became mutinous for want of pay; nor were the *French* subsidies sufficient to supply them. It was with difficulty that the duke of *Saxony* was prevented from cutting off the communication of the *Swedes* with the *Baltic*, by the valour of *Bannier*, who defeated his troops twice with great slaughter, and thereby raised the spirits of his countrymen, and changed the sentiments of all *Europe*, with regard to the state of the war. The *Swedes*, it is true, had lost great part of their conquests, but their strength was more compact, and they were no longer connected with lukewarm, or treacherous, friends.

Bannier's reputation was then second only to that of the great *Gustavus*. Duke *Bernard* had defeated *Gallas*, the imperial general in *Alsace*, while he was endeavouring to penetrate into *Burgundy*, and cut off half his army, and all the mighty expectations of the court of *Vienna* now vanished. *Oxenstiern*, however, found his mistress's enemies amongst the protestants, still bent upon continuing the war, and he sent his orders to *Bannier*, who, though weak, forced eight battallions of *Saxons* in *Torgau* to lay down their arms, and the greatest part of them enlisted in his army; but an irruption of the imperialists into *Thuringia*, disconcerted all his measures. His enemies were so greatly superior to him in numbers, and had cut off his communication with the quarters from whence he could expect to be relieved, so effectually, that he was obliged to make his retreat into the lower *Pomerania*, but it was a retreat that was equal to a victory. Whilst he waited there, to be joined by *Wrangel*, that general was defeated by *Gallas*, who took *Usedom*, *Wollin*, and *Demarin*, and reduced all the upper *Pomerania*. This misfortune, together with the inactivity of the *French*, who had neglected to support duke *Bernard*, reduced the affairs of *Sweden* once more to a desperate state. *Oxenstiern* had no resource but to endeavour to renew his engagements with *France*, and *Bannier* remained inactive for all the winter, till he was reinforced in the spring of 1638, from *Sweden*, which enabled him to push into the duchy of *Mecklenburg*, where he defeated *Gallas*, who re-
treated

treated precipitately over the *Elbe*, after losing three thousand men. The reader has already seen the astonishing exploits of Vol. IX. duke *Bernard* at the same time upon the *Rhine*, and the consequences of his death, in the 30th year of his age, which placed *Bannier* at the head of the *Swedish* army in *Germany*. He had reduced *Misnia*, and defeated the *Saxon* general, *Maracini*, so completely, that scarcely a *Saxon* escaped slaughter or captivity. The fruits of this victory were the reduction of *Thuringia*, *Wetteravia*, the greatest part of *Saxony* and *Misnia*, the *Saxon* army not daring to venture without the protection of the walls of *Dresden*. *Bannier* even laid great part of *Bohemia* under contribution, and crossing the *Elbe*, he cut in pieces two thousand men under general *Hoffskirk*, near *Brandeis*, pursuing the fugitives to the gates of *Prague*. In this battle *Montecuculi* was made a prisoner. We have already mentioned the secret negotiation which *Bannier*, instigated by his wife, and provoked by the treachery of the *French*, entered into with the imperial court; but he was soon undeceived, by the emperor ordering *Picolomini* and archduke *Leopold* to march from the *Netherlands* towards *Bohemia*.

The great reputation of *Picolomini*, and of his army, obliged *Bannier* to march towards *Misnia*, after cutting in pieces a body of three thousand *Croats*; and, about the same time, count *Coningsmark*, another *Swedish* general, beat the imperialists near *Leipsic*. *Picolomini* still advancing, *Bannier* threatened to make a separate peace with the imperialists, if the *French* duke of *Longueville*, who now commanded duke *Bernard*'s army, did not march to his assistance, which, the duke, finding he could no longer dally, was compelled to do, and his example was followed by the duke of *Lunenburg*, who had broken with the emperor. *Bannier* was then at the head of a stronger army than ever had been commanded in one body by any *Swede* in *Germany*; but, while he was expecting to bring *Picolomini* to a decisive battle, he found that the *French*, who had discovered his negotiation with the emperor, had prevailed with the regency at home to cramp his powers. He was opposed and outvoted in the councils of war, where all his schemes for bringing the enemy to a battle, were defeated. At last, perceiving his army in danger of being starved, he marched towards the *Sala*, in order to reach a strong encampment. Finding all the passes possessed by the enemy, he contented himself with taking up his quarters in *Lunenburg*, but remained inactive during the rest of the campaign. In the beginning of the year 1641, *Bannier* made a noble attempt to march over the ice and seize *Ratisbon*, where the diet, with the emperor at its head, was then sitting, but it was prevented by a sudden thaw. We have already given our readers a detail of this war, till the death of the brave *Bannier*, together with his character. He was succeeded in his command of the *Swedish* army by *Torjensson*, a genius equal, in military affairs, if not superior to him; but we must not omit that *Bannier* was then

said, by the protestants, to have been poisoned by the *French*. His death was more probably owing to a fever he had contracted by his astonishing retreat before the greatly superior numbers of his enemies, through the dreary forests of *Bohemia*.

His rapid
progress
in Ger-
many.

The original army of the *Swedes* which *Gustavus* had led into *Germany*, was now almost entirely worn out, and nothing but the fidelity of *Bannier's* soldiers, most of whom were *Germans*, could have prevented them from mutinying before his death, for want of pay. He left his command to four major generals, *Wrangel*, *Koningsmark*, *Willenberg* and *Pful*, but the inferior officers excited their soldiers to mutiny, and they refused to serve but upon their own terms. Good words, some money raised by the *French*, and the fear of being cut in pieces by the enemy, reduced them to their duty, and the major generals continued their march, though not without sustaining some loss from *Picolomini*. *Torsten*son, besides eight thousand troops, brought with him a large sum from *Sweden*. Upon his arrival at the army, he found it separated from the *French*, but they advanced him two hundred thousand livres. This enabled *Torsten*son, after he had recovered from a severe fit of the gout, to begin his operations, by baffling all the attempts of the enemy to force him in his camp, and then marching into *Silesia*, where he reduced *Great Glogaw* and *Sweidnitz*, he beat the duke of *Sax-Lawenburgh*, who was taken prisoner and died of his wounds, under the odium of having been the assassin of the great *Gustavus*, to which his immediate desertion from the *Swedes*, gave but too much countenance. In consequence of this victory, the greatest part of *Silesia* again fell into the hands of the *Swedes*. *Olmütz* resisted *Torsten*son no more than five days, and he made a very considerable impression upon *Moravia* itself.

Vol. IX.
p. 177.

He de-
feats the
Austrians
near *Leip-*
sic.

*Torsten*son being at last joined by *Wrangel*, took *Littau*, and recovered many of his soldiers, by executing a cartel for the change of prisoners, an expedient then first introduced into the art of war. Perceiving that he could not penetrate into *Bohemia*, he laid siege to *Leipsic*. This brought on the battle of *Brietenfeld*, already described, which was fought on the very spot where *Gustavus Adolphus* had before beaten the imperialists, in which they were again completely defeated, under the archduke *Leopold*, and *Picolomini*. *Leipsic* surrendered soon after, but *Torsten*son's bad success before *Friburg*, retarded the progress of his arms; tho' he immediately turned them towards *Bohemia*, where he proved victorious over *Gallas*, the imperial general. While he was proceeding successfully in that country, the war which we have already mentioned broke out between *Sweden* and *Denmark*, and, by orders of the *Swedish* regency, *Torsten*son made a march at once, so secret and so rapid, that he had conquered the greatest part of *Holstein* and *Jutland*, while *Christian* thought he was still in *Sweden*. *Gustavus Horn*, at the same time, fell into *Schonen* with
fourteen

fourteen thousand men, where he beat the *Danes*, took *Land-skroon*, with many other places, and laid siege to *Malmoe*. *Torstenfon* had left his command in *Germany* to *Coningmark*, who acted with that spirit, rapidity and success, which distinguished all the generals bred up under the great *Gustavus*. He subsisted his army upon contributions he raised in *Misnia* and *Franconia*. He took *Halbertstadt*, in the *Lower Saxony*, and drove the *Poles* out of *Pomerania*; but there he met with the melancholy news that the *Weimorian* army had suffered a total defeat from the *Bavarians*. Notwithstanding this, he still kept his ground against the imperialists and the archbishop of *Bremen*, and *Torstenfon* cut off the rear of the imperial army under *Gallas*.

It is unusual, in history, to see a people with no internal State of riches, and that never exceeded the bounds of *Scandinavia* till *Sweden*. *Gustavus* led their army into *Germany*, making head on all hands against most of the great powers in *Europe*. *France*, it is true, pretended to be their friend; but she was so only from interested motives, and her alliance had more than once proved detrimental to *Sweden*, who, at this time, reaped no other advantage by it, than that both crowns had the same enemy. The numbers of *Swedes* who had fallen in the *German* and *Danish* wars, though they generally were victorious, was so excessive, that we are at a loss to account how *Sweden* could furnish the necessary hands for agriculture, notwithstanding the number of foreigners she took into her pay. But though the *Swedes* were thus surrounded with what seemed to be unsurmountable difficulties, they dictated, at this very time, to all *Europe*, and, with an air of authority, prescribed the terms that were to purchase their friendship. Not contented with acting upon the defensive, they fell upon the powers whom they suspected, and forced them to quit their neutrality, by engaging either for or against them. A conduct like this was entirely agreeable to the genius of their young queen, who shewed great talents for government, though she affected, at the same time, a philosophical indifference for power and grandeur. Her exercises, as well as studies, were all manly, and she divided her time between the affairs of state, and of learning, and understanding that the *French* complained of their being overburthened in *Germany* since the war had broken out between *Sweden* and *Denmark*, she magnanimously ordered *Torstenfon* to pursue *Gallas* into the heart of the empire, which he did, with such success, that *Gallas* lost half of his army. Those advantages, with those which *Wrangel* obtained in *Holstein*, and *Coningmark* in other parts of *Germany*, where he took *Stade*, were more splendid than salutary to *Sweden*. She was destitute of resources equal to those of her enemies, and she must have been obliged to have treated with them, at least upon equal terms, had not the *French* arms been victorious in *Alsace* and the *Low Countries*, under *Conde* and *Turenne*, by which his *Danish* majesty was obliged to conclude the peace

Noble behaviour of
Christina.

See p.
436.

Separate
views of
France
and *Swede*
den.

Vol. IX.
p. 180.
Ibid. p.
191.

we have already mentioned, which was so much for the honour and advantage of *Sweden*. *Christina's* pride was gratified, in being no longer embarrassed with a *Danish* war, because it left her at liberty to employ her arms with the greater effect in *Germany*, and flattered her with the glory of being the arbitress of *Europe*, as she actually was in the negotiations for a general peace then carrying on at *Munster* and *Osnaburg*.

Her views were agreeably seconded by the *French*, who enabled prince *Ragotzki* to act on the side of *Hungary*, where *Torstenſon* proposed to join him. For that end he penetrated into the heart of the empire, obliged the elector of *Saxony* to renounce his alliance with the emperor, and gained the great battle of *Jancowitz*, against the imperial general, *Hatfield*, who lost ten thousand men. *Torstenſon's* success in this action was owing to his superior management of his artillery. Even the great *Gustavus* had never brought the house of *Austria* into such jeopardy as it was in by the loss of this battle. He effected his junction with *Ragotzki*, but losing too much time in the siege of *Brin*, and being disappointed in the reinforcements he expected from *France*, *Ragotzki*, whose junction with the *Swedes* proved rather detrimental to *Torstenſon* than otherwise, made a separate peace with the emperor, and *Torstenſon* knowing himself too weak to undertake the siege of *Vienna*, was forced to return to *Bohemia*, where he found himself so afflicted with the gout, that he resigned his commission to *Wrangel*, and retired to *Leipsic*. Though *Wrangel*, by the reinforcements he had brought from *Holstein*, was at the head of an excellent army, and was a most accomplished general, yet the imperialists and *Bavarians* were so superior to him in force, that he acted on the defensive, and pushed on towards the *Weſer*, to join *Turenne*. Being disappointed in that design, the imperialists and *Bavarians*, who had no great opinion of his abilities as a general, attacked him, but were defeated with considerable loss, and *Wrangel*, by a masterly train of operations, joined *Turenne*. Though the latter had no superior in *Europe* as a general, yet after the junction was formed, the successes of the united army were not near so brilliant as when the *Swede* acted by himself; the reason was, that they had separate interests. Their joint operations were of no great consequence. They were obliged to raise the siege of *Augsburg*; and *Turenne*, against the sentiments of *Wrangel*, concluded a truce with the elector of *Bavaria*, which the latter soon broke, and once more joined his forces with those of the imperialists. As it was not doubted that the example of *Bavaria* would be followed by many other princes, *Wrangel* and his army in all probability must have been destroyed, had not *Turenne* generously prevailed with his court to send him to his assistance.

Turenne
saves
Wrangel.

1648.

In 1648, the combined armies fell into *Bavaria*, but *Turenne* was so much cramped in his powers, that he durst not second the enlarged views of *Wrangel*. The elector of *Bavaria* retired

fired to *Saltzburg*, but *Turenne* was so cautious, that all he did was to plunder the country, and *Picolomini* accepting of the command of the imperial and *Bavarian* armies, defeated *Wrangel*, and forced him to repass the *Lech*.

At this time, *Charles Gustavus*, the presumptive heir to the crown of *Sweden*, commanded as generalissimo of the *Swedes* *Munster*, in *Germany*. His progress there was such, that he even besieged *Prague*, and took up his winter quarters in *Bohemia*. By this time the treaty of *Westphalia* was concluded, and for the particulars of it we must refer to our history of *Germany*. Whatever intrigues the *French* entered into for bringing about that pacification, it appears plainly, from the negotiations that have been published, that they were chiefly directed by *Oxenstiern*, who acted as the *Swedish* plenipotentiary, and was assisted by *Salvius*; nor did *Oxenstiern* himself venture upon any measure that was not allowed of by his young mistress. In the published negotiations, it appears by letters from the *French* plenipotentiaries, dated the 7th of *December* 1646, that they suspected he was under the influence of his father, the great chancellor, and the latter, no doubt, advised *Christina*, as to the instructions she sent to her plenipotentiaries. The peace was glorious to *Sweden*, by the cessions of the archbishopric of *Bremen* and *Verden*, the port of *Weimar*, in *Mecklenburgh*, *Stetin*, and all the other *Pomerania*. The *Swedish* plenipotentiaries likewise obtained five millions of crowns for payment of their army. It is to the glory of *Christina* and her ministry, that notwithstanding many disagreeable events which happened to their arms during that long negotiation, all the arts and offers (some of which were very enticing) of the imperial court, could not disunite *Sweden* from her allies, or even divert her attention from the establishment of the protestant religion, and the balance of power in *Germany*; all which were effectually secured by this peace, and *Europe*, to this day, feels its salutary effects. Old *Oxenstiern* was for pursuing the plan laid down by the great *Gustavus*, of depriving the house of *Austria* of the imperial crown, which, considering the state of the *Swedish* arms at that time, was by no means impracticable. Her army amounted to seventy thousand of the finest troops in *Europe*, and they were in possession of above a hundred strong places in the heart of *Germany*. But the state of *Europe* was then greatly changed, from what it had been in the time of *Gustavus*. *Holland* was now linked with *Spain*. The selfish views of *France* were but too apparent, and she was torn to pieces by civil dissensions. One defeat must have proved fatal to *Sweden*, who had then no resources, and *Christina*, even if her arms had been successful, could not have mounted the imperial throne.

By a peculiarity of constitution, she is said to have been formed for love, but not for marriage; for though she expressed the highest regard for her cousin, *Charles Gustavus*, yet she declined giving him her hand as a wife, though he courted her, the presumptive heir of *Sweden*.

He is de-
clared
prince
successor.

1650.

her, and his advances were strongly seconded, by the addresses of the states. He was the son of the count palatine, duke of *Deux Ponts*, and every way qualified for the government of so warlike a people as the *Swedes*. *Christina* promised, if ever she married, he should be the man, but we are not to adopt the private scandal of memoir writers and others, which pursued her character at this time. The truth is, she was whimsical to the last degree in all her affections. She invited to her court *Descartes*, *Saimasius*, and other learned men, of whom she was fond for some time, and then growing tired of them, dismissed them in a manner unworthy of a royal or a generous character. She was injudicious and indelicate in her choice of her private favourites, who were generally ignorant, worthless, low born persons; yet with all those oddities she discharged the duties of her station. She paid to *Charles Gustavus* the respect and honours that were due to his rank and relationship; she received love-letters from him while he was in *Germany*, and even treated him with some degree of affection; but in *February 1650*, she publicly declared she could not submit to marriage, though she was resolved to settle her succession agreeably to the wishes of her people. The senate, to whom she made this declaration, at first opposed her resolution, which she imputed to their desire of rendering her crown elective after her decease without marrying. Her conduct, on this occasion, was so firm, that *Charles Gustavus* being nominated by her as her successor, was received as such by the states of *Sweden*. He received the title of royal highness, with an appanage in money, but not in lands, and he took an oath to behave with the most perfect submission to the queen, and an entire conformity to the interests of *Sweden*, for he was to consult them even in the choice of a wife, who was to be a protestant. After the succession was thus settled, *Christina* was crowned, not at *Upsal*, the place being too small for the magnificence of the ceremony, but at *Stockholm*; and she was then considered as the happiest and the wisest princess in *Europe*, and the most powerful monarch that had ever sat on the throne of *Sweden*.

Unac-

countable true wisdom which she affected to prize, even to a rustic conduct of nical degree, and to the neglecting a decent care of her person.

Christina. At the same time, her court was magnificent, and she spared no expence in procuring pictures, statues, medals, and other curiosities, which she did not understand, though she seemed to place in them, and the conversation of learned men, the whole enjoyment of her life. The respectful submission which the prince successor paid to her person, prevented the heart-burnings of some of her subjects, at seeing *Christina* living in a manner so very unsuitable to their ideas, from breaking out. Several of her great nobility could not brook the favours she heaped upon worthless favourites; they despised the arts for which she valued herself, as being incompatible with the martial

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tial spirit of the *Swedes*. It must not be dissembled, that some writers represent the domestic situation of *Christina*, at this time, in a far more favourable light, and represent her as reigning in the hearts of her subjects to the very day of her abdication. The truth perhaps lies in a mean, many might be discontented, but several circumstances prove that *Christina* still retained her authority in the main.

Before she made her final resolution public, *Chanut*, the French ambassador, and several of her ministers suspected it, from the hints she dropt. At last, *Christina* sent for the prince successor, and imparted to him her design of resigning the crown. *Charles*, ever since his being raised to that honour, had employed himself chiefly in the affairs of the army, of which he was the head, and appeared equally astonished and dejected at the mention of the honours intended him. Had *Christina* been the unpopular princess, which some have represented her to be, this conduct of *Charles* would have been very absurd; but he knew that *Sweden* was then labouring under vast difficulties, from which she could be extricated only by *Christina*'s credit and authority. The *Poles* were still in a state of warfare with *Sweden*, and it was necessary that great resumpions should be made to enable the crown to maintain its lustre, especially as *Christina* was to reserve to herself a considerable appointment, which she alone could effect. *Charles* applied to the other great officers of state, and they joined him in their remonstrances against her resignation. *Christina* appearing to be determined, her chief nobility and senate attended her, with *Oxenstiern* at their head, and their representations were so moving, being mingled with their tears, that *Christina* at last consented to suspend the execution of her design, provided they did not insist upon her marrying.

This great point being gained, *Christina* returned to her usual studies, but still without relaxing in the cares of government. As she went one day with admiral *Fleming*, to see a ship launched, she fell into the sea, from a very considerable height, and it was almost by a miracle, that one of her attendants plunging in after her, dragged her to the shore by her hair. She supped that night in public, behaved with her usual freedom, and rallied the admiral upon the accident. It appears as if *Christina*, some time before she resigned the crown, had reformed many points of her conduct, which made her people receive the news of her final determination in 1654, with grief and astonishment. The prince successor perceiving she was not to be diverted from her purpose, agreed that *Gottenburg*, *Pomerania*, with the islands of *Oeland* and *Gothland*, should be responsible to her for the payment of two hundred thousand rixdollars. She filled the remainder of her reign with great wisdom and dignity, and agreed to leave her crown to *Charles* in full sovereignty, and unincumbered with any engagements, but the payment of her own annuity.

State of
her king-
dom.

She nar-
rowly
escapes
being
drowned,

1654.

The

and re-
signs her
crown.

The ceremony of her resignation was performed on the 16th of *June*, with circumstances of the most awful solemnity. She met with little opposition to her will, only she was obliged to promise to return to *Sweden* after she had passed some time at the *Spa*, for the recovery of her health, and then she resigned the badges of sovereignty, with more seeming cheerfulness than others assume them. Though she had bound up her successor and his future queen to the profession of protestantism, yet she herself was fully determined to embrace popery, and immediately left *Sweden* to go to *Rome*, where her public conduct was as weak and ridiculous, as it had been wise and respectable in *Sweden*. She assumed the habit, and affected the manners of a man, and was often heard to lament that she had been born a woman. Though she had formally resigned her crown, yet she pretended to act as sovereign in the states through which she passed, and actually ordered her guards to assassinate one of her domestics who had offended her, before her face, in the royal castle at *Fontainebleau*. She had not been long at *Rome*, before she repented having resigned her throne, and more than once paid a visit to *Sweden*, in hopes of remounting it. She was there received with diffidence and distrust, by *Charles* and the *Swedes*, and at last, she fell into absolute contempt with the whole nation; but whatever her demerits might be, it was ungenerous in *Charles* to suffer her to fall into the greatest distresses, by not paying her pension. Being disappointed in *Sweden*, she was so wrong-headed as to form intrigues for being elected queen of *Poland*, in which she was equally unsuccessful. As her history is now unconnected with that of *Sweden*, we shall only add, that after a variety of adventures, it was with difficulty that she could preserve any respect, even with the pope and the court of *Rome*, where she died in an advanced age, leaving little behind her, but an expensive, though curious, cabinet of pictures, antiques and other rarities.

Charles
becomes
master of
Poland,

Charles Gustavus, soon after he mounted the throne, assembled the states of *Sweden*, to deliberate upon the state of the nation, and above all, upon its situation with regard to *Poland*, a nation which continued the inveterate enemy of *Sweden*. *Casimir* was then king of *Poland*, and had, by his ambassador, strongly opposed the resignation of *Christina*, in favour of *Charles*, for which the latter ordered the ambassador to leave the kingdom. *Charles*, besides his being brought up to a military life, had political reasons for reviving the martial ardour of his new subjects, as he thought it was the only means by which they could recover their importance in *Europe*. After many formal conferences between his ministers and those of *Poland*, which meant nothing on his part, but that he might commence hostilities with the better grace, he entered that kingdom with a powerful army, and with a secret intention of raising himself to its throne. The behaviour of the
Poles

Poles was infamous. They opened their gates to *Charles*, their nobility acknowledged him for their lord; nor could *Casimir*, in all his populous country, raise above ten thousand half armed peasants for the defence of his crown and person, and they were routed almost as soon as the *Swedes* appeared. *Casimir*, after suffering a second defeat, fled to *Silesia*, and *Charles* took *Cracow*, then deemed the capital of *Poland*. From thence he moved to *Warsaw*, where he received the submission and homage of almost all the great *Polish* nobility, and the *Swedes* now talked that *Casimir's* abdicated throne ought to be filled up by *Charles*. While this affair was under deliberation, all *Europe*, the *Roman* catholic princes especially, took the alarm, at the near prospect of seeing *Poland* united under so warlike a head. *Charles* was obliged to march to the ducal *Prussia*, from whence he drove the *Brandenburghers* who had invaded it; but the empire, *Holland*, *Denmark* and *Russia*, now declared against him, and the *Poles* being absolved from their oaths of fidelity to *Charles*, pretended they had only taken them upon compulsion. *Casimir* returned from *Silesia*, the *Poles* being assured of support from abroad, were instantly in arms, and when *Charles* was in the ducal *Prussia* with part of his army, the other part, which he had left behind him in *Poland* and *Lithuania*, were slaughtered, few escaping. Upon his return, he defeated *Czarnefski*, the *Polish* general; but all the *Poles* he had enlisted in his army left him, and *Czarnefski* was instantly at the head of a fresh army. It was in vain for *Charles* to defeat all the bodies of his enemies that he saw in the field, for he could not protect his troops from a severe winter, famine and fatigue. The *Poles* kept a-loof, cut off all his convoys, and after being exposed to the utmost peril and misery, he returned to *Prussia*, where he meditated the siege of *Dantzic*.

Charles, in this flattering, but fatal, expedition, discovered out of great fortitude of body and mind. One of his generals, the which he marquis of *Baden*, had been defeated, but *Charles's* brother, is driven. *Adolphus*, in his turn, beat *Czarnefski*. The *Dutch* protected *Dantzic* with twenty eight men of war, and offered their mediation, which was accepted of. *Charles*, in like manner, proposed an accommodation with the elector of *Brandenburgh*, one of the greatest politicians in *Europe*, and it terminated to the advantage of the latter, who thereby acquired the sovereignty of the ducal *Prussia*, from whence his descendents derive their title of kings. *Charles* made this great sacrifice, on condition of the electoral troops joining him in a new expedition against the *Poles*, over whom their combined army obtained a most glorious victory; but *Charles* was politically wrong in his measures, and his successes in the field contributed only to the brilliancy of his martial reputation. His new ally did not wish him success, and returned to defend *Prussia* against an irruption of the *Poles* and *Tartars*. The *Swedish* general, *Steenbock*, gave them another defeat, but that

did

did not prevent the elector from insisting upon more advantageous terms with *Charles*, as his provinces of *Carelia*, *Ingermania* and *Livonia*, were now over-run by the *Russians*, who had actually besieged *Riga*. *Charles* and his generals were victorious on all hands. *La Gardie*, who defended *Riga*, attacked and defeated the barbarians who besieged it; the *Poles* were cut in pieces wherever they encountered the *Swedes*, and harassed the troops of *Charles* by their flying parties, for which he took a body of *Transilvanians* into his service, but with very little effect.

The warlike spirit of *Charles* displayed itself more and more every day. *Leopold*, king of *Hungary*, and the *Dutch*, solicited the court of *Denmark* to declare war against *Sweden*. *Leopold* was instigated to this by his animosity against *Ragotzki*, prince of *Transilvania*, the *Swede's* ally; and the *Dutch*, by their being excluded from the trade of the *Baltic*. The *Danes* had given *Sweden* no disturbance during the absence of *Charles*, but their king could not withstand the flattering propositions made to him, and notwithstanding the peace of *Munster*, he declared war against *Charles*, among other reasons, for his being in possession of *Bremen*, which the *Danes* immediately invaded. *Charles* flew to the defence of his dominions, when he heard that his only ally, *Ragotzki*, had been defeated and killed by the *Turks*.

Charles and his general, *Wrangel*, as usual, carried all before them in the field, defeated the *Danes*, and drove them out of *Holstein* and *Bremen* with great slaughter; and the *Swedish* fleet had the advantage, in a sea fight, over that of *Denmark*. In *Poland*, where duke *Adolphus* commanded, both *Warsaw* and *Cracow* were taken from the *Swedes* by the *Imperialists*, and the *Swedish* subjects of *Pomerania* were butchered by *Czarnecki*. *Charles* once more saw his dominions beset with enemies, of whom *Denmark*, because the nearest, was the most dangerous; and even the elector of *Brandenburgh* had joined in the confederacy against him. He took the advantage of a providential frost, to march over the ice to the island of *Funen*, where he defeated a body of four thousand five hundred *Danes*, and became master of the whole island, as he did of *Langland*, *Laaland* and *Falstre*. He proceeded to *Zealand*, with an intention, at first, to lay siege to *Copenhagen*. His progress astonished, and seemed to dispirit, the *Danes*, and he met with no opposition. Reflecting on his own circumstances, and that the reduction of *Copenhagen* might be of as little service to his affairs as that of *Cracow* had been, he prescribed his terms to the king of *Denmark*, who was obliged to comply with them; and, by a treaty concluded at *Roschild*, his *Danish* majesty ceded to *Charles*, *Schonen*, *Halland* and *Bleking*, with *Lyster* and *Huven* in *Denmark*; the isle of *Borkholm*, and *Babus* and *Drontheim* in *Norway*.

He besieges *Copenhagen*. *u.*

Charles, perhaps, had acted more wisely, had his terms been more moderate. He experienced in *Denmark* what he had

had done in *Poland*, that fear had been the only motives of his enemy's concessions. His *Danish* majesty no sooner saw his dominions evacuated by the *Swedes*, than he began to put them in a respectable posture of defence, and made preparations for acting offensively in his turn. Before a declaration of war issued, *Charles* anticipated the blow. He gave out that his fleet was about to besiege *Dantzic*, when all of a sudden it appeared before *Copenhagen*. We have already seen how gallantly his *Danish* majesty behaved on this occasion, and how well he was seconded by the inhabitants of his capital, which was relieved by the *Dutch*, when it was reduced to extremity; but *Wrangel* reduced *Cronenburg*, as the *Swedish* general, *Douglas*, did *Mittau*, from whence he carried *Ketter*, duke of *Courland*, who had declared against *Sweden*, prisoner to *Riga*.

See p.
439,
E seq.

All the power of the *Dutch* could not oblige *Charles* to abandon his designs upon *Copenhagen*, and he persevered so obstinately in his enmity to the *Danes*, that *France* and *England*, who till then had favoured him, entered into measures for obliging him to give tranquillity to the north. An *English*, as well as a *Dutch* fleet, arrived in the *Sound*. *Charles* had been the favourite ally of *Cromwell* (who was now dead) and *English* commissioners, the chief of whom was the famous *Algernon Sidney*, were sent to mediate a peace between the two crowns, while the *English* admiral, *Montague*, had orders to desist from all hostilities during the negotiation. *Charles* was a match for the *Dutch*, but he was overawed by the *English*. Notwithstanding the proffered mediation of both, hostilities continued between him and the *Danes*. *Charles* invented excuses for declining a conference with the mediators. At last, admitting them to his presence, in a surly manner, he told them he admitted them as mediators, but not as arbiters; and putting his hand to his sword, with a stern countenance, "You (said he) make projects on the strength of your fleets, I carry my project by my side." The conferences proved unsuccessful, through the high spirit of *Charles*, who was exasperated beyond measure, at the breach of the treaty of *Roschild*, and the interposition of the maritime powers, which he thought had an insulting appearance. The mediators sought to soothe him, by making the treaty of *Roschild* the basis of the negotiation; but the successes of his arms in *Russia* and *Poland*, rendered him intractable. The *Poles* had been defeated before *Riga*, the *Russians* had been forced to make a peace, and *Wrangel* had beaten the *Austrians* and *Brandenburghers* in *Holstein*, and obliged them to raise the siege of *Stetin*, with vast loss.

His conference with the *English* minister.
1659.

Notwithstanding the glory which the *Swedish* arms obtained at this time, the high spirit of *Charles* must have been brought down, had not *Montague*, upon private intelligence received from *England*, all of a sudden left the *Sound* with his fleet, that he might assist in the restoration of *Charles* the III. The *Dutch*, on his departure, carried over a body of *Danes* to *Fu-*

zen,

Death of Charles. 1660. *nen*, where they cut in pieces two thousand *Swedes*, and forced two thousand more, all of them excellent troops, to lay down their arms. While *Charles* was meditating to retrieve this loss, by the assistance of the states, which he assembled at *Gottenburg*, he was attacked by an epidemical fever, which carried him off on the 23d of *February* 1660. He was a prince who possessed all the ardour and martial spirit of his two great predecessors, *Vasa* and *Gustavus Adolphus*, but was destitute of their prudence and political abilities, and was just beginning to know the true interest of *Sweden* at the time of his death.

Accession of Charles the XIth. The crown of *Sweden* was now inherited by the late king's son, *Charles* the XIth, who was no more than five years of age. By his will, he had left his brother, *Adolphus*, regent during his son's minority; but the queen, who was a princess of great prudence and foresight, found means to remove him, and to get all the power into her own hand. The death of the enterprising *Charles* the Xth, was so far serviceable to the *Swedes*, that they were no longer considered as the formidable dictators of the north, and consequently a peace with their enemies became practicable. The queen and the regency ordered their ministers to make peace with the *Poles*, the emperor, and the elector of *Bavaria*. The treaty of *Oliva* was concluded, by which *John Casimir* gave up all his claims upon *Sweden* and her crown; and the republic of *Poland* renounced those she had formed upon *Livonia*. A peace was likewise concluded with *Frederic*, king of *Denmark*, upon the footing of the late treaty of *Roschild*, only that the *Danes* recovered *Bornholm* and *Drontheim*. All differences were accommodated, at the same time, with *Russia* and *Holland*. The terms which the *Swedes* obtained, during the then exhausted state of their country, from so many powerful enemies, gives us a high idea of the abilities of their ministers. Upon the whole, *Sweden*, through the wisdom and moderation of the queen mother and the regency, made a very respectable figure in the affairs of *Europe*, during the long minority of *Charles* the XIth. The great care which was taken to preserve the public tranquillity, gave *Sweden* time to recruit; and her mediation was treated with such respect, that it put an end to the war between *England* and *Holland*, by the treaty of *Breda* in 1667.

1667. He enters into the triple alliance. We have already seen how much *Richelieu* prized the friendship of *Sweden*, and his example was followed by *Lewis* the XIVth. When *Charles* the XIth took the reins of government into his own hands, he considered the *French* king as being his surest guarantee, for what his crown had obtained by the treaty of *Munster*. *Lewis*, on the other hand, engaged to pay him a subsidy, to retain him in his friendship while he made his famous irruption into the *United Provinces* in 1672. His ministers, however, opened his eyes to the danger of *Europe*, through the ambition of *Lewis*, and his ministers acted as mediators in the conferences for peace held at *Cologne*; nor must it be forgot, that *Charles* had the glory of being one of the

the parties in the triple league that was formed with *England* and *Holland*, for balancing the powers of the house of *Bourbon*. The conferences at *Cologne* coming to nothing, through the violence of the emperor, *Charles* took part with the *French*, and invaded *Brandenburgh*, in order to detach that elector from the imperialists. *Wrangel*, after hostilities began (for *Charles* had proceeded very cautiously) at first obtained great advantages over the *Brandenburgers*, before that elector could come to the aid of his subjects, but in 1655, he beat the *Swedes* at *Fehr-Bellin*, and forced them to give up all their conquests in his electorate. The neighbouring princes seized on that opportunity to recover all that the *Swedish* arms had forced them to resign by former treaties, and *Charles* was left alone to oppose the joint powers of *Denmark*, the *States General*, the bishop of *Münster*, the duke of *Lunenbourg*, and other northern potentates. He concluded a treaty with the elector of *Bavaria*, but the troops of *France* were too much employed in *Germany* and the *Low Countries*, to give him any assistance. He received some relief by the death of *Alexis*, the czar of *Muscovy*, as he probably would have joined the confederacy against him. *Charles* lost *Verden*, to the warlike bishop of *Münster*, as he did almost all *Pomerania*, to his other enemies; while the *Danes* took *Damgarten* and *Wismar*. The combined fleets of *Denmark* and *Holland* ruined the marine of *Sweden*, by two dreadful defeats it received off the coast of *Norway*; and the king of *Denmark* carried eighteen thousand men against *Helsingburg*, which he took. *Charles*, who inherited the courage which so peculiarly distinguished the kings of *Sweden*, put himself at the head of his troops; but they were feeble, compared to those of his enemies, and the *Danes* remained masters of the fine province of *Schonen*. The *Danes* likewise took *Landscroon* and *Christianstadt*.

This rapid progress of the *Danes* was checked by the battle of *Helmstadt*, where *Charles* cut in pieces almost four thousand of the best troops in *Denmark*, three hundred only escaping, under general *Duncamp*. He after that fought the battle of *Lunden*, by which, though he could not boast of a victory, yet the *Danes* were obliged to raise the siege of *Malmö*, and the *Swedes* suffered so severely in the engagement, that their king offered to yield up *Bremen* to the duke of *Lunenbourg* and the bishop of *Münster*, for a body of auxiliaries. In *Pomerania*, where *Coningsmark* commanded, the *Swedes* lost *Stetin*, after a glorious defence, which reduced the garrison from three thousand to three hundred and twenty men; and *Zebland*, the *Swedish* admiral, was again defeated by the *Danes*, in a sea engagement. Upon this, the *Danes* renewed the siege of *Malmö*, but were so vigorously received, that they raised it, as the *Swedes* did that of *Christianstadt*, after recovering *Helsingburg*. A second defeat by sea, in which the *Swedes* lost seven ships, had almost completed the ruin of the *Swedish* marine; and by land, the two kings fought the bloody, but drawn battle

Vol. IX.
p. 190.A power-
ful confe-
deracy
against
him.

1678.

battle of *Landscroon*. In *Norway*, the *Swedes* were defeated by the *Danes*, who over-ran most of the islands belonging to *Sweden*, but count *Coningsmark* defeated the imperialists and *Brandenburghers* near *Stralsund*.

His fortitude.

Charles shewed an invincible fortitude of mind during those vicissitudes of war, and retook *Christianstadt*, though the *Danes* recovered *Helsingburg*. In *Pomerania*, *Coningsmark*, notwithstanding his late victory, could not keep his footing. The *Brandenburghers* took the important cities of *Stralsund* and *Gripswald*, and *Charles* sent a fleet to bring his remaining soldiers from that province, but it was wrecked, and two thousand of them perished. Thus *Pomerania* was entirely evacuated by the *Swedes*.

An advantageous peace for Sweden.

By this time, the general pacification was concluded at *Nimeguen*, and *France* was so generous as to insist upon the *Swedes* repossessing all they were entitled to by the peace of *Westphalia*. The emperor made no great objection to this proposal, to which the elector of *Brandenburgh* and his *Danish* majesty were so averse, that in order to evade it, they offered to enter into a separate treaty with *Lewis*, who rejected all their advances. An armistice was agreed upon; but the elector appeared inflexible; till seeing that he was left single to oppose the power of *France*, he at last concluded a treaty on the footing of that of *Westphalia*, on his obtaining from the *Swedes* the possession of a few estates which lay convenient for him, across the *Oder*; and at the same time, he engaged not to assist the enemies of *Sweden*. It is to the immortal honour of *Lewis*, that, after this, he refused to sheath the sword, till he obliged the *Danes* to reinstate *Charles*, in all that had been taken from him since the commencement of the late war.

Marriage of Charles.

The crown of *Sweden* thus recovering its lustre, *Charles* married the princess *Ulrica Eleonora*, his *Danish* majesty's daughter; and convoking his estates, he made large resummptions of crown lands and palaces, while the assembly came to several resolutions for restoring the finances, the fleet, and the army of *Sweden* to a respectable footing. The senate of *Sweden* was, at this time, a committee of the states, and *Charles* artfully fomented a difference between them. He pretended that the senate took upon themselves so much power, both over the crown and the people, that the states served for no more than a money court, to supply the exigencies of the public. The states were alarmed, and they bounded the power of the senators so, that they became little better than cyphers in the affairs of government, the king not being obliged to consult them but when he pleased; but at the same time, a new, called the grand, commission, was established, to enquire into the conduct, both of the ministers and senators. Those regulations were so many steps towards the king's acquiring absolute power; and on pretext of taking the sense of his states, as to his foreign affairs, he again assembled them, and had the art to foment an irreconcilable difference between the nobility and

and the other orders. Those of the burghers and peasants He is ren- were for reducing the public taxes, and confirming the grand dered ab- commission, which circumscribed the power of the nobility. solute. *Charles* seemed to take neither side; and at last, both agreed, rather than trust each other, to make him absolute. Thus the constitution of *Sweden* became to be pretty similar to that of *Denmark*; and for the like reasons.

The states of *Sweden* soon were sensible of the value of the jewel He plun- that they had so inconsiderately resigned. They had passed an ders his act, by which *Charles* was left at liberty to take what measures subjects he pleased, for the defence and welfare of his kingdom, in consequence of which, he raised the nominal value of his coin so high, that his creditors lost nine millions of crowns. The profound tranquillity which *Sweden* enjoyed, strengthened the hands of *Charles*, but having secured it by the treaty of *Altena*, concluded with *Denmark* in 1689, he disregarded all the remonstrances of his nobility. Those of *Livonia* were the most turbulent, and insisted upon the faith of those articles by which they became subjects to *Sweden*. They pitched upon the famous *Patkul*, the bravest and most accomplished member of their body, to spread their grievances before *Charles*, and to plead the cause of public liberty at the foot of his throne. *Patkul* discharged his commission with a noble freedom and intrepidity, which *Charles* construed into rebellion and mutiny. The whole body underwent a process, and were convicted of History of high treason, but *Patkul* alone was condemned to lose his head *Patku!* and his right hand, with his honours and estates; and to undergo other marks of ignominy. To prevent the execution of this cruel sentence, he fled, and took service under a foreign power. Though those proceedings rendered the *Swedes* and the *Livonians* slaves, yet it added vast lustre to *Charles*. His friendship was courted by all the powers of *Europe*, he became the arbiter of their differences, and the conferences at *Ryswick*, for a general peace, were begun under his mediation. While that negotiation was going forward, *Charles* died, in the forty second year of his age, on the 15th of April 1697. 1697. When we consider all circumstances, we are apt to think Death of that *Charles* the XIth was the most powerful king that ever *Charles* reigned in *Sweden*. His dominions were not, indeed, so extensive as those of many of his predecessors, but the possession of them were far better secured, and less liable to revolutions, while *Charles* himself was master of the purses, as well as the liberties, of his subjects. Though he was a wise and moderate prince, with regard to foreign affairs, yet his proceedings towards the *Livonian* nobility, whose sentence he commuted into that of perpetual imprisonment, and towards *Patkul*, prove him to have been a determined tyrant, and an enemy to the liberties of his people.

The peace of *Ryswick*, which secured to *Charles* XII. the pos- Accession session of all his dominions, left his grand-mother, who was of *Charles* appointed regent during his minority, little public business to the XIth; attend;

who is
crowned.

attend, but to soften the rugged, obstinate disposition of her grand-son, which was already but too apparent. Perhaps the history of no prince is better known than that of *Charles* the XIIth, which facilitates the writing of it at this time. We shall omit the anecdotes of his childhood, because they are neither very instructive, nor well authenticated, and those given us by Mr. *Voltaire*, partake too much of the historian's manner, to obtain credit. Though the late king had fixed the majority of his son to the age of eighteen, yet the precedent of the great *Gustavus*, and the impatience of *Charles* himself, to take into his hands the reins of government, favoured the design of his two favourites, the famous count *Piper* and *Alix Sparre*, in their attempt to set aside the will of *Charles* the XIth, in which they were perfectly successful with the states, to the great mortification of the queen regent, who was a woman of unbounded ambition, though of middling abilities. This laid the foundation of *Piper*'s interest with *Charles*, who, from his favourite, became his minister, *Sparre* being little more than his agent. The coronation of *Charles* was magnificent, and for a day or two he was prevailed upon to lead a social civil life. He resumed it at the time that the duke of *Holstein* arrived at *Stockholm* to marry his sister. It was about this period that *Charles* gave a very disagreeable specimen of his disposition, by putting marshal *Bielk* under arrest, without specifying his crime, and placing centinels in his chamber, to prevent his speaking, even to his wife. It is surprizing that *Voltaire* should pretend that the duke of *Holstein* and his spouse, at this juncture, took refuge in *Sweden*, since nothing can be more certain, than that they were married after *Charles* came to that crown. The king of *Denmark*, it is said, had broken the treaty of *Altena*; *Augustus*, king of *Poland*, at the instigation of *Patkul*, who had taken refuge at his court, had formed designs against *Livonia*, as the czar, *Peter*, had upon *Ingria*; and all those three princes, were encouraged in their ungenerous projects, by the cold, dogged disposition of *Charles*, which gave them a mean opinion of his abilities; but they were fatally deceived.

He alters
his habit
and man-
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hearing
of the con-
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against
him.

Those three princes resolved to fall upon the dominions of *Charles* at once. When certain intelligence arrived of their preparations, *Charles*, who before that time had always behaved like a changeling at the council board, all of a sudden assumed a new character, declared he was resolved to head his own armies, and to punish that prince who should attack him first, to strike terror into the others, but that he never would forgive him. This declaration, to which he was ever afterwards brutally constant, struck his counsellors with admiration, little knowing how dear it would cost their country. He altered his habits and manners of life at the same time. He left off the finery of dress, for plain coarse cloaths, and his table was no better served than that of one of his subalterns; but, perhaps, the only true heroic virtue he ever exerted,

was

was his denying himself from thenceforth the use of wine, because it inspired him with a disposition more brutal than what he had received from nature. In a few weeks all the north was involved in the flames of war. The duke of *Holstein* opposed the *Danes*, at the head of eight thousand *Svedes*, after he had lost almost all his dominions; and the jealousy of the *Dutch*, lest the king of *Denmark* should shut them out of the *Baltic*, rendered them the duke's friends, as guarantees of the treaty of *Altena*. *Charles* understanding that the *Saxons* had entered *Livonia*, settled the departments that were to take care of his affairs during his absence, and embarked on board his fleet, consisting of forty-three ships of war, the largest carrying a hundred and twenty guns. General *Renschild* served under him, and having joined the *Dutch* fleet, he began to bombard *Copenhagen*; and *Charles*, with all the deliberation of an old warrior, landed his troops to besiege it by land.

He himself was among the first who reached the shore, by throwing himself into the sea out of his chaloupe, and wading with the water above his waist. The *Danes* durst not stand the charge, and fled; and *Charles*, (who was devout sometimes, even to enthusiasm) when he took possession of their entrenchments, publicly thanked God, upon his knees, for his success. His dispositions for the siege soon brought deputies from the city, to know at what price they could mitigate his displeasure; *Charles* demanded four hundred thousand crowns, and a supply of provisions for his camp, which, to the amazement of the *Danes*, were punctually paid for, even by the meanest soldier of the *Svedes*. *Charles*, on this occasion, behaved like a prince who had been all his life enured to victories. His camp was as regular as a well policed city; and when the king of *Denmark* returned from *Holstein*, instead of stripping that duke of his dominions, he saw himself in danger of losing his own capital. Nothing could exceed the moderation of *Charles*. He informed his *Danish* majesty that he might have peace, by doing justice to the duke of *Holstein*, and the treaty of *Travendahl* was instantly concluded, by which the duke of *Holstein* was indemnified for the expences of the war, and re-established in his dominions. All *Europe* was startled, equally by the wisdom, as by the spirit of enterprize with which *Charles*, at the age of eighteen, conducted this expedition. The public, from having the meanest opinion of his abilities, began to think him inspired. No more than six weeks brought this war to a glorious conclusion for the ally of *Charles*.

Peter Alexiowitz, of *Russia*, whose name does honour to history, was under the same mistake that had misled his *Danish* majesty. He thought it was easy for him to conquer, from a raw unexperienced stripling, the territories that formerly belonged to *Russia*; and while the king of *Poland* was besieging *Riga*, without effect, he was ravaging *Ingria*, at the head of

eighty thousand men. In *October* he had laid siege to *Narva*, a weak town, but bravely defended by the *Swedish* baron *Hern*. The duke *de Croix* was the *Russian* general, and *Peter* served under him as a subaltern. Both of them, sensible of the inexperience of the *Russians* in the art of war, fortified their camp, on hearing that *Charles* was approaching to raise the siege, and *Peter* left it, that he might hasten the march of thirty thousand additional troops. Those under *Charles* did not exceed twenty thousand; and such were the dispositions of the *Russians*, that he must beat two armies, each more numerous than his were, before he could raise the siege. His intrepidity supplied the place of numbers. *Charles* was so impatient, that he advanced, at the head of eight thousand men, and beat the three divisions of the enemy. He then, against the advice of his generals, attacked the main body, and gained over them a complete victory. Such of them as escaped from the battle surrendered themselves prisoners of war, among whom were the duke *de Croix*, and the other *Russian* general officers. A body of thirty thousand men, who lay at a distance, followed their example, and *Charles*, at the head of eight thousand *Swedes*, had the glory to see thirty thousand of his enemies, with their officers, lay their arms at his feet. His magnanimity was as conspicuous as his success; for he detained the general officers, but suffered the subalterns and common men to return to their own country. He was even so generous as to relieve the wants of the duke *de Croix*, and the other *Russian* generals, with presents of money, and he expunged, with his own hand, every favourable mention that was made of himself in the public accounts of the victories he had gained. The czar heard of those mortifying events at *Narva*, with astonishment, and his barbarous subjects attributed them to necromancy.

He in-
vades
Poland.

This success did not discourage *Peter*, with whom the lives of men were of small consideration. He renewed his alliance with *Augustus*, king of *Poland*, who had been obliged to raise the siege of *Riga*. Nothing could stop the rapidity of *Charles*. He passed the *Duna*, to attack the *Saxons* under marshal *Stenau*, who, at first, disordered the *Swedes*, till they were rallied by *Charles*, and dearly earned a victory. He then took possession of *Mittau*, the capital of *Courland*, from whence he passed to *Lithuania*, all places submitting to him in his march, and planned the dethroning of the king of *Poland*, which he pursued with invincible obstinacy, because he knew that the czar and his *Polish* majesty had formed an alliance, which might have proved fatal, not only to the north, but to all *Europe*. *Charles* knew that the *Poles* were dissatisfied with their king, because he governed them by *Saxon* officers and ministers. Part of the *Poles* sought the protection of *Charles*; and in the heart of *Poland*, so sound was his judgment at that time, he raised a party against her king. He had, by his minister *Piper*, formed secret connections with the cardinal pri-
mate,

mate, and *Augustus* saw the *Poles* in general so determined against him, that, out of indignation, he resolved to apply for peace to *Charles*. *Augustus*, the most voluptuous prince of his time, His great who thought that he could not employ a better agent, with a successful young prince, than one of the finest women in *Europe*, sent the in that countess of *Coningsmark*, a *Swede* by birth, as his embassadress kingdom, to *Charles*, who refused to see her. This is an extraordinary instance of self-distrust. It has been said, that *Charles* had an early inclination for that lady; but be that as it will, his thoughts were so wholly absorbed in war and politics, that all her engaging arts proved vain, though *Charles* readily admitted the deputies of the senate to an audience. At first he seemed favourable to their applications, and told them that he had taken arms to defend them against the *Saxon* government; but soon after, he told them they should know his mind at *Warsaw*. He advanced to that city, from which *Augustus*, being deserted by the *Polish* nobility, was obliged to retire. *Charles* became master of that capital, and of *Cracow*; and in a conference he had with the primate of *Poland*, who acted as ambassador from *Augustus*, the deposition of that prince from the throne was finally concluded. *Augustus* brought in his *Saxon* army, to support the few *Poles* that remained firm to their allegiance. The *Saxons* were thirty thousand in number, and were supposed to be as fine and as well disciplined a body as any in *Europe*. Their situation was thought to be inaccessible, but *Charles*, at the head of no more than twelve thousand *Swedes*, beat them, killed four thousand, and took two thousand prisoners.

Soon after this battle was fought, *Charles* had, by a fall His capricious character, from his horse, broken his thigh bone, which occasioned the report of his death to be spread all over *Europe*. During his illness, he expressed the same unrelenting animosity as before, against the king of *Poland*. He ordered a *Polish* diet to be convoked at *Warsaw*, and he again beat the *Saxons* under general *Stenau*. *Augustus* retired to his electoral dominions, while *Charles* took *Thorn*, and sent the garrison, who had surrendered at discretion, prisoners to *Sweden*. *Charles*, about this time, seems to have lost all feelings, but for the gratification of his own revenge, for he cannot be said to have been ambitious, at least not according to the general acceptation of the word. Even his virtues proceeded from caprice, rather than any steady resolution of doing good. He put the towns of *Dantzic* and *Elbing* under heavy contributions, and punished them severely, because they offered to dispute his will. He affected to leave the diet, he ordered to be convened at *Warsaw*, at liberty in their proceedings, though he knew that the terror of his arms had made them resolve to dethrone *Augustus*, which they actually did. He offered the crown of His war Poland to the *Sobieski* family, but the two elder brothers being with *Augustus*, carried prisoners to *Leipsic*, prince *Alexander Sobieski* refused king of the crown, to the great disappointment of *Charles*. *Piper* advised Poland,

vifed him to take it himfelf, but he rather chofe to beftow a crown than accept of one. *Staniflaus Leczinski*, who had come as a deputy from the diet at *Warsaw* to *Charles*, captivated him by his appearance, which was equally filled with dignity and fweetnefs. Upon enquiring into his character, *Charles* determined to give him the crown of *Poland*; and, notwithstanding the applications of the primate to the contrary, he gave notice to the diet at *Warsaw*, that in five days time they muft chufe *Staniflaus*, and no other, for their king, which they accordingly did. *Augustus*, king of *Poland*, was a prince of great courage and unbounded generofity. He was immensely rich, and mafter of the fineft province in the empire, that of *Saxony*. For fome time he made an oppofition to *Staniflaus*, whom he had almoft furprized at *Warsaw*, while *Charles* was reducing the town of *Leopold*, in which he found vaft treasures. In the flight of *Staniflaus* from *Warsaw*, which was entered by *Augustus*, at the head of twenty thoufand men, the nurf of one of his daughters, who is now queen of *France*, hid her in a manger, where fhe was happily difcovered; and in the mean while, *Augustus* obliged count *Horn*, whom *Charles* had appointed governor of *Warsaw*, to capitulate, and to furrender himfelf and his garrifon, which confifted of fifteen hundred *Swedes*, prifoners at difcretion.

Charles hearing of the furrender of *Warsaw*, returned from *Leopold*, with his army, and beat *Schulenberg*, one of the moft experienced officers in *Europe*; but he made a moft glorious retreat from *Charles*, while *Augustus* retired to *Dresden*. By his retreat, *Charles* was mafter of *Poland*; but the *Ruffians* took *Narva*, and fome other places, and treated the brave count *Horn* and his officers moft barbaroufly.

1705.
whom he
defeats.

In 1705, the pope declared himfelf in favour of *Augustus*, which was of infinite difervice to *Staniflaus*; but at laft, after many difficulties, he was crowned at *Warsaw*. Czar *Peter*, far from being affected or daunted at the fate of *Augustus*, invaded *Poland* with a hundred thoufand men, and fixty thoufand *Coffacks*. They destroyed the eftates of all who adhered to *Staniflaus*; but they were foon driven out of *Poland* by *Charles*; and the *Swedish* general, *Renschild*, beat the *Saxon* army under *Schulemberg*. *Renschild* made a barbarous ufe of his victory, by mafacring, in cold blood, a thoufand of his *Ruffian* prifoners; but it was fo complete, that *Charles* had now no obftacle to his entering *Saxony*, which he did with twenty-four thoufand men, defying and defpifing all the menaces of the diet at *Ratifbon*. *Augustus* was then at *Cracow*, and in great hopes of recovering his crown, by the affiftance of the *Ruffians*, when he heard that *Charles* was in poffeffion of his electorate. It is faid, to the honour of *Charles*, from the beft authorities, that while he was in *Saxony*, the inhabitants lived in perfect fecurity, both as to their perfons and properties; but he taxed the government moft unmercifully, and obliged the people to furnifh his foldiers with neceffaries.

His orders on that head, were so strict and so well obeyed, that the *Saxons* at last were reduced to beggary, through the extravagant demands made upon them by *Charles*. *Augustus*, finding himself abandoned on all hands, threw himself upon the generosity of *Charles*, and commissioned his ministers to make the best peace for him they could. The answer of *Charles*, to this distressful application, was, that their master should for ever renounce the crown of *Poland*, and acknowledge *Stanislaus*; that he should abandon the enemies of *Sweden*, release the *Sobieski* princes, all his *Swedish* prisoners, and deliver up the brave count *Patkul*, who was then in his service; besides agreeing to several other mortifying conditions: all which he drew up with his own hand, and forbade *Piper* to abate the smallest circumstance.

The exorbitancy of *Charles*'s demands proved favourable to *He in- Augustus*. *Germany* and the other powers of *Europe* took his part, and prince *Menzikof*, the *Russian* general, entered *Po- vades Saxony*. *land* with thirty thousand men, without knowing that *Augustus*, at that time, was in actual treaty with the king of *Sweden*. His arrival rendered the situation of *Augustus* extremely embarrassing. He was under apprehensions, equally from his ally as his enemy; but the *Russians*, against his intentions, beat the *Swedish* general, *Meyerfeld*; upon which he once more regained possession of *Warsaw*. This, from a consciousness of his having tampered with *Charles*, served only to accelerate an accommodation between them. He accepted of the terms prescribed by *Charles*, but hoped to mollify them, by paying him an open confidential visit. He met with *Charles* in count *Piper*'s tent, but found him exasperated, instead of being rendered more tractable, by *Meyerfeld*'s defeat. They dined together, and *Augustus* endeavoured to prevail with *Charles* to desist from claiming *Patkul*, who was at that time actually ambassador from the czar of *Muscovy* at his court. *Charles* was so far from relaxing upon that or any other point urged by *Augustus*, that he rose in his rigid terms. He obliged *Augustus* to sign an order for delivering up *Patkul*. *Augustus*, sensible of the horror of such an action, sent a private order to the officer who had *Patkul* in custody (for he had been already arrested) to suffer him to escape. The officer knew *Patkul* had money, and began to bargain with him, without disclosing his master's orders. *Patkul*, not dreaming that he was not safe by his public character, refused to gratify the avarice of the officer, and while they were in dispute, a *Swedish* party took him into custody. It is to the eternal infamy of *Charles*, that he ordered the brave *Patkul* to be tried, condemned, and broken upon the wheel, with every circumstance of barbarity and cruelty. The pretext was, that being a subject of *Sweden*, he had served under the enemies of *Charles*; and it was in vain for him to urge, that being proscribed for pleading the capitulations of his countrymen, the *Livonians*, he had transferred his allegiance, and was then in a public character.

Barbarous
execution
of *Patkul*.

This violation which *Charles* committed against the laws, not only of nations, but humanity, passed unresented by the other princes of *Europe*, whose situation was such at this time, that *Charles* actually held the balance of power in his own hand, and each pressed forward to court his alliance. The czar stormed and remonstrated, but all in vain; and at last, perceiving that *Charles*, who was then in *Saxony*, had such a contempt for the *Poles*, that he had left but a handful to keep their country in awe, he fell into it with sixty thousand men, and dethroned *Stanislaus* in the same manner as *Charles* had dethroned *Augustus*; but upon the return of *Stanislaus*, with some *Swedish* troops, the czar retired to *Lithuania*, and *Stanislaus* recovered his interest in *Poland*.

Charles
pays a
visit to
Augustus.

Charles, all this while, remained in *Saxony*, where he had his pride and vanity gratified to the full, in seeing the most powerful princes in *Europe* courting his alliance. Even the victorious duke of *Marlborough* made him compliments on the part of his mistress, queen *Anne*, and thought it equal to a victory, when he had reason to believe that *Charles* did not intend to take part with *France*. The haughty court of *Vienna* was forced to deliver up a prisoner, one of its chief ministers, who had put a slight upon a *Swedish* envoy; and had not fifteen hundred *Russians*, who had fled from the *Swedes* and taken refuge in *Germany*, fortunately made their escape, *Charles* would have forced the emperor to deliver them up in chains. But while *Charles* had thus the glory of seeing his homely court and mean dressed person, attended by foreign ambassadors, each striving to outdo the other in their respectful submissions to his will, his brain was turned upon the means of dethroning the czar; and imitating the example of his predecessor, the great *Gustavus*, in *Germany*, he obliged the emperor to restore to his protestant subjects their churches. So greatly did he despise *Augustus*, after he had obliged him to renounce the title of king of *Poland*, that he paid him a visit at *Dresden*, attended by no more than three or four gentlemen; but without relaxing in the tyrannical terms he demanded. This was an adventure that indicated madness itself, but *Augustus* was too magnanimous to take advantage of it; and *Charles*, all of a sudden, appeared in the middle of his troops, while they were deliberating how they should proceed had he been detained a prisoner.

He de-
feats the
Russians
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The more that the courts of *Rome*, *Vienna*, *Dresden* and *Petersburgh* complained of the unrelenting firmness of *Charles*, he grew the more obstinate, till, through the perpetual concessions of the emperor and *Augustus*, all his demands were gratified, and then he made dispositions for evacuating the empire. He had then seventy thousand excellent troops on foot, and he left *Germany* at the head of forty-three thousand of them. Arriving in *Poland*, he found czar *Peter* there with an army of sixty thousand men, upbraiding *Augustus* for the meanness of his conduct, and endeavouring to revive the party
that

that had formerly declared themselves against the *Swedes*. Hearing, however, that *Charles* was approaching, he quitted *Grodno*, and the *Swedes* cut in pieces a party of two thousand *Russians*. The alarm of *Peter's* army was so great, that it made no head against *Charles* in a body. The latter left *Lewenhaupt* to command under *Stanislaus*, with twenty thousand men in *Poland*, and *Peter* retired, before *Charles*, towards the *Boristhenes*. At last, with great difficulty, *Peter* brought twenty thousand of his best troops to make a stand within their entrenchments, at a place called *Hollofin*. *Charles*, though at the head only of his own foot guards and a party of horse, attacked and routed them, though their situation was thought to be inaccessible, and they retreated across the *Boristhenes*. It is said that *Charles*, in this action, displayed greater military talents than ever he did in any other of his life; but his conduct and intrepidity in the day of battle, were, perhaps, inferior to his providence and perseverance, in carrying an army over wilds and morasses, across rivers and mountains, where probably no human creature ever appeared before. *Charles*, notwithstanding his natural modesty, suffered this march to be commemorated on a medal; and it is remarkable, that when he was leading his troops on horseback to the attack, he resigned his horse to a young *Swedish* gentleman, who was disabled from marching on foot by a wound. What makes this expedition still more wonderful, is its being performed in the middle of a severe winter, while the ground was covered with frost and snow; and though the country round did not afford subsistence, even for wild beasts, yet so great had been the foresight of *Charles*, in erecting magazines, that his soldiers never were without bread and provisions.

We can account for this by the immense contributions that *Charles* raised in *Saxony*, *Poland*, and *Lithuania*, which enabled him and his soldiers to pay ready money for whatever they received. This punctuality was the wisest and most admirable part of the *Swedish* discipline, as it habituated his soldiers to sobriety and submission. It would exceed our bounds to recount the inferior actions, some of which were very considerable, that happened in the course of this celebrated march. It is sufficient to say, that the *Swedes* were victorious in every encounter; and at last, the czar sent a *Polish* gentleman, after he had repassed the *Boristhenes*, to offer *Charles* terms. *Charles* haughtily replied, that he would treat with him at *Moscow*, and pursued *Peter* in his retreat towards *Smolensko*. Near that city, on the 22d of *September* 1708, he fell in with ten thousand horse, and six thousand *Calmuck Tartars*, though *Charles* had with him no more than six regiments of horse. *Charles* attacked the enemies horse, and put them into disorder, but pursuing them at the head of only his *Ostrogothic* regiment, he fell in with an ambush of the *Calmucks*, who surrounded and cut him off from the rest of his army. *Charles* had never been in such imminent danger. His horse was shot; he saw his

His regular discipline.

1708.

His great
danger.

his bravest officers killed by his side; he slew twelve of the enemy with his own hand; and at last he was reduced to oppose thousands, at the head of no more than five persons. As he was sinking under numbers, one of his colonels, named *Dardof*, with a single company of his regiment, cut his way through the *Calmucks*, and relieved *Charles*, by giving time for the rest of his regiments to come up. Without reflecting on his danger or deliverance, he mounted a fresh horse, and continued the pursuit of his enemies.

Fortune
turns
against
him.

This engagement may be called the crisis of *Charles's* good fortune, which had been hitherto so remarkable, that he had not so much as received a wound during all his perilous conflicts. The rest of his life was filled with misconduct and misfortunes. Had he reflected on his own situation, he might have easily discovered that the *Russians* were no longer the contemptible troops that *Peter* had found them, but were every day gaining upon the *Svedes* in point of discipline. It is true, they had not yet been brought to stand the impetuosity of his charge, but fresh troops were daily arriving, and the czar himself had acquired great knowledge in the art of war, and had, at that time, the reputation of being one of the best generals in *Europe*; while the troops of *Charles* were weakened by their victories, and the only resource he had, was fifteen thousand men which *Lewenhaupt* was bringing to *Lithuania*.

His inju-
dicious
and dif-
ficult
march.

Instead of waiting for this reinforcement, or of pursuing his march towards *Moscow*, from which he was distant only a hundred leagues, *Charles*, who on all other occasions was inflexibly obstinate, was persuaded by *Mazeppa*, the hetman of the *Cossacks*, to turn off towards the *Ukraine*. This *Mazeppa* was a *Pole*, and owed allegiance to the czar, but the latter having affronted him, he agreed to betray him to *Charles*, and to join him with thirty thousand men, and all kinds of stores and ammunition. With this romantic view it was that *Charles* struck off from *Mobilow*, a small town on the banks of the *Boristhenes*, and advanced towards the *Desna*, on *Mazeppa's* promising to join him between those two rivers. This march was more unfortunate than any he had yet performed, the country being more encumbered with woods and morasses, in which *Charles* lost his artillery and horses. To complete his misfortunes, his magazines of provisions were now exhausted, and he arrived on the banks of the *Desna*, which were lined with eight thousand *Russians*, without hearing of *Mazeppa*, and being harrassed all the way by his enemies, who cut off numbers of his troops. Nothing could daunt *Charles*, and though his army had been led thirty miles out of his right road, he beat the *Russians* from the *Desna*, and continued his advantages, though nothing but wastes and wilds before his eyes. No people but the *Svedes* would have followed the king, and no king but *Charles* could have led on troops under such circumstances; for even his general officers were ignorant of his engagements with *Mazeppa*.

At last that general appeared, at the head of five or six thousand miserable troops, to announce his own hard fate, and to inform *Charles* that all their joint schemes had been discovered and defeated by the *Muscovites*, who had butchered his friends, seized upon his magazines, and laid his towns in ashes. *Charles* comforted himself, that by the arrival of *Mazeppa* his army would be supplied with provisions, and in the mean while he sent off dispatches, ordering *Lewenhaupt* to quicken his march to join him. That general passed the *Boristhenes* above *Mobilow*, and escorted eight thousand waggons with money and provisions. When he was advanced between the *Boristhenes* and the *Soffa*, the *Russian* army appeared, near the village of *Lefnau*, under the czar in person. *Menzikof* and general *Bahr*, two of his best general officers, served under him; and though *Lewenhaupt*, for three days together, fought with incredible courage, he was at last defeated by the obstinate perseverance of the czar, who ordered his troops to fire upon himself, if he should give way. Authors differ with regard to the numbers, and *Voltaire* is positive that the army of the *Russians* did not exceed twenty thousand men; but other accounts, which seem to come nearer the truth, make them amount to double that number. Be that as it will, it is certain, that in three days engagements, *Lewenhaupt* lost above eight thousand men, seventeen pieces of artillery, and forty-four pair of colours, besides having about a thousand men taken prisoners. In his retreat, he continued to fight with intrepidity; nor could all the repeated efforts of *Peter* and his generals, who had been strengthened with fresh reinforcements, prevent his joining *Charles* with four thousand men, after losing all his waggons, and, according to the *Swedish* accounts, (which seem to be exaggerated) killing thirty thousand of his enemies. The distress of the *Swedish* army, during the severe winter of 1708, is no more to be described, than the patience and perseverance of *Charles* amidst such complicated horrors. He saw two thousand of his troops perish in one day with cold; the survivors were, for the most part, destitute of all clothing, but what they made up from the skins of wild beasts, and their communication was cut off between *Sweden* and *Poland*. *Charles* still went on, but in April 1709, he found his army reduced to seventeen thousand men, with whom he resolved to get possession of the *Russian* magazines at *Pultowa*. He had, by this time, heard of the death of his sister, the duchess of *Holstein*, and of the bad situation of his affairs on the frontiers, in *Ingria*, where his troops had been defeated by the *Russian* general, *Apraxin*. The country round *Pultowa* was inhabited by the *Zaporavians*, the most savage of all the *Ukrainers*, and the town itself is situated on the river *Worslaw*, near a chain of mountains on the north; and by the assistance of *Mazeppa*, *Charles* had formed some regiments of *Zaporavians*, *Cossacks*, and *Walachians*, which raised his army to about thirty thousand men, but destitute of arms,

and

1709.

and subsisting only on the provisions which were procured to them by *Mazeppa's* credit.

where he
is totally
defeated.

Notwithstanding all the madness of *Charles's* conduct, had he succeeded in reducing *Pultowa*, he might still have made his march good to *Moscow*, and that he did not succeed, was owing only to a variety of accidents. *Pultowa* being invested, *Charles* found himself without the means of carrying on his approaches, or of preventing *Menzikof* from throwing in relief to the garrison, which consisted of above six thousand men, and were therefore strong enough to disappoint all *Mazeppa's* intrigues within the place, on which *Charles* had great dependence. Now was the time that *Peter* saw his prophecy fulfilled, that his subjects, by being often beat, would, in the end, learn to beat the *Swedes*. Sensible of the importance of *Pultowa*, he assembled a body of sixty thousand regulars, whom he disposed in a most masterly manner, and all his motions discovered how great a proficient he had become in the art of war. The river *Worslaw* was between him and *Charles*, who, perceiving that he was in a manner surrounded, without calling a council of war, ordered his general, *Renschild*, to prepare for attacking the *Russians* next day; but in the intermediate time, *Charles* had received a wound in the heel, which disabled him from sitting on horseback, and therefore he was carried at the head of his army in a litter.

Peter's vast superiority in numbers did not diminish his caution, for he fortified his camp with a most astonishing train of artillery, raised upon redoubts, and *Charles* gave general *Slippenbach* orders to begin the attack. This he performed with so much intrepidity, in the mouth of seventy cannon, that the *Swedes* took two redoubts; and *Charles*, thinking that he was now in possession of victory, dispatched *Creuts*, one of his generals, with five thousand horse, to attack the *Russians* in flank, but *Creuts* lost his way, as *Charles* did the battle. *Peter* and the other *Russian* generals, leaving the fury of the *Swedes* to spend itself, advanced out of their entrenchments, and attacked in their turn, while prince *Menzikof* made so fine a motion, that he took post between *Pultowa* and the *Swedish* army, after cutting in pieces a reserved body of three thousand. *Peter* led on the *Russians*, as *Charles* did the *Swedes*, in person. The hat and cloaths of the former were shot through, the horses of the latter were killed, and his litter shattered to pieces by a cannon ball; but the match was no longer equal. The *Swedish* ammunition failed; *Slippenbach* and *Renschild* were taken prisoners, and *Peter*, who acted as major general under *Zernetoff*, leading up a chosen body of ten thousand men, fairly defeated the *Swedes*, without any other advantage than what their courage and discipline gave them. *Charles* now lost the name of *invincible*, and resolved to fly, perceiving the battle to be irretrievable on his part. He must, however, have fallen into the hands of his enemies, had not the *Polish* general, *Poniatowski*, who served under him as a volunteer, formed a body

a body of five hundred men around him, and carried him off, through ten regiments of *Russians*, to the place where his baggage was, and there putting him into count *Piper's* coach, he fled towards the *Boristhenes*, on the banks of which they joined the remains of his army, under *Lewenhaupt*.

In the battle of *Pultowa*, *Charles* lost nine thousand men, killed, and six thousand taken prisoners, and six millions of crowns that were in his military chest. While *Charles* was passing the *Boristhenes*, prince *Menzikof* came up at the head of ten thousand men, and forced *Lewenhaupt* and his army to surrender themselves prisoners, without obtaining any other terms than having their lives spared. Those troops were afterwards banished to *Siberia*, in the wilds of which they introduced manufactures and arts to the acquaintance of the *Russians*. Among the other *Swedish* prisoners was count *Piper*, who died in *Muscovy*. In the mean while, *Charles* travelled over a frightful desert, in a poor calash. His wound was attended with a fever, which brought on a lowness of his spirits, so that he had scarcely any appearance of that implacable warrior who had dethroned kings and given laws to *Europe*. The *Swedes* who attended him were in danger of perishing with thirst, amidst burning, dreary, deserts, till they came to a muddy pool, which relieved them and their monarch. He then pursued his journey to *Oczakow*, and in five days reached the *Bogh*, on the banks of which that town stands. The governor of *Oczakow* made, at first, some difficulty in furnishing him with boats, which at last he agreed to; but before *Charles* reached the farther shore, the *Russians*, who were in pursuit of him, came up, and carried off seven hundred of his attendants prisoners, at which he is said to have shed tears. Upon his arrival at *Oczakow*, he resumed his former spirit, and severely reprimanded the governor, but accepted of a magnificent equipage from the *Turkish* seraskier, to carry him to *Bender*, the capital of his government, where he was most nobly entertained. Instead of accepting an invitation to enter the city, his fondness for a military life made him form an encampment on the banks of the *Niester*, where he and his attendants lodged.

Charles there settled his household, and wrote in a sovereign style to the *Othman* court. He was shocked to understand that, through the omission of some formalities, several weeks passed before his letter found access to the *Turkish* emperor. Having recovered his health, he resumed his martial exercises, and with them, the thoughts of being revenged on his enemies, and even of dethroning the czar. In this he was well served by his friend *Poniatowski*, the same whose son now fills the throne of *Poland*, and who acted with so much address at the *Porte*, that he gained the emperor's mother to the interest of *Charles*. His favourite, while he remained near *Bender*, was *Grothusen*; but *Charles*, during his splendid exile, displayed a stupid, ungenerous insensibility, which some writers have affected

affected to call magnanimity, without producing one magnanimous action he performed. He was rapacious that he might be profuse, for which his generosity has been extolled. He and his train received a most noble allowance of provisions, and five hundred crowns were allowed him every day for his pocket. The *French* king having expressed great concern for his misfortunes, *Charles* made his commiseration an argument for his borrowing from the *French* merchants in *Turkey* all the money he could, though he did not know how to repay them. Though he was living upon the charity which he received from the *Othman* court, yet he employed part of that charity in procuring friends among the *Turkish* ministers. The fame of his great valour supported his credit for some time, but it was soon known that *Augustus* had broken through the treaty of *Alt-Ransbadt*, reconciled himself to the czar, and remounted the throne of *Poland*. A body of eighty thousand troops, to be commanded by *Charles*, was at this time defiling towards *Bender*, and every thing wore a promising aspect for his affairs, when a vast remittance of money, sent by *Peter* to his ambassador, *Tolstoy*, at *Constantinople*, overwhelmed *Poniatowski's* interest at that venal court. The vizier all of a sudden turned his enemy, the warlike preparations in his favour were countermanded, and *Tolstoy* obtained all he desired. *Poniatowski* linked himself with the vizier's enemies, had the address to convey a charge against him into the emperor's own hand, which procured the vizier's disgrace, and he was banished to *Tartary*. He was succeeded by *Cuprogli*, a descendent from the famous viziers of that name, and heir to the virtues of his ancestors.

Success of the *Russians* in his absence from *Sweden*, The new vizier was equally insensible to *Tolstoy's* gold, as to *Poniatowski's* applications in favour of *Charles*. He sent the latter, at one time, a present of four hundred thousand crowns in his master's name, but advised *Charles* to return, in a *French* ship which was offered him, to *Europe*; and laid before his master the injustice of making war upon the czar on the *Swedes* account. *Charles* treated the vizier's advice with the utmost contempt, but accepted of his money. While he was thus intriguing at the *Othman* court, his *Swedish* territories were torn in pieces, by the very princes whose confederacy he had broken, when but a stripling. The czar invaded *Carelia* and *Finland*, took *Wyburg*, and laid siege to *Riga*. He had forced *Augustus* to cede *Livonia* to him for ever. His *Danish* majesty disclaimed the treaty of *Travendahl*. The kings of *Great Britain* and *Prussia*, and many other princes of the empire, had all of them claims upon *Charles*, which they were preparing to make good, and a manifesto for that purpose was published, laying all the blame upon the obstinacy and injustice of *Charles*. This manifesto was followed with an invasion of *Schonen*, by his *Danish* majesty, who took *Helsingburg*, and returned to *Copenhagen*. General *Steenboek* commanded the army of *Sweden*, where the people called out to be instantly led against the ungenerous

generous invader. All difference between the senate and the who are regency which *Charles* had left, now ceased, and *Steenboeck*, beaten by by recruiting his army out of the militia, was at the head of *Steenboeck*. twenty thousand men, whom he led into *Schonen*, and there he gave a complete defeat to the *Danes* under general count *Rantzau*, who lost eight thousand men in the battle, besides numbers who died of their wounds. The court of *England* and the republic of *Holland*, were afraid that this victory would encourage the *Swedens* to enter *Germany*, to the prejudice of the grand alliance against *France*, and took measures for preventing it; but the regency of *Sweden* reproached them for not having executed their guaranty of the treaty of *Alt-Ranstadt*, and gave the allies but little satisfaction on that head, which obliged them to conclude a treaty for keeping the *Swedish* dominions in *Germany* free from the flames of war; but with very little effect.

Charles was revived, when he heard at *Bender* of the defeat His vast of the *Danes*, and of their having been obliged to evacuate interest at *Schonen*, with the loss of almost all their army. The deposti- the *Porte*. tion of *Cupregli*, from the viziership, gave him new pleasure. He had fallen a sacrifice to his moderation and integrity, which were disagreeable to all parties at the *Porte*, and he was succeeded by *Baltagi Mohammed*. The sultana mother had formed such a party at her son's court, that an immediate resolution was taken to assemble two hundred thousand men to act against the *Russians*. *Tolstoy* was shut up in prison, and the khan of *Crim Taryary* received orders to raise forty thousand men for the same service. That barbarian had been bribed by *Charles* to befriend him; and to shew how much he was in his interest, he offered to bring his army to the neighbourhood of *Bender*, to receive their directions from *Charles*, but *Baltagi* ordered the general rendezvous to be at *Adrianople*.

The preparations of the *Turks* alarmed the czar, who immediately left the siege of *Riga*, and all his conquests over the *Swedens*, that he might oppose the infidels. In *January* 1711, his armies began their march towards the frontiers of *Turkey*. His general, *Zeremetow*, was marching towards *Jassi*, the capital of *Moldavia*, the prince of which country, *Cantemir*, wanted to shake off the *Othman* yoke. *Baltagi* had now crossed the *Danube*, with a hundred thousand men, and was marching along the river *Pruth*, to fight *Zeremetow*, who was joined by the main army under *Peter* himself, on the 4th of *July*. He had been disappointed in the promises made him by *Cantemir*, in the same manner as *Charles* had been by *Mazeppa*; for both the *Moldavians* and *Walachians* continued firm to the *Porte*; so that the *Russian* army, which was encamped on the banks of the *Pruth*, was in a miserable condition, especially after *Baltagi* appeared in their sight, at the head of his army, and hemmed in the *Russians* on all sides. *Peter*, in despair, ordered his troops to break through the enemy, who were now a hundred and fifty thousand men, besides *Tartars*, with

Danger of
the czar
on the
banks of
the *Pruth*,
1711.

out of
which he
is extri-
cated.

Arrival of
Charles in
the *Turkish*
camp.

Revolu-
tions at
Constan-
tinople.

with their swords in their hands, but all his efforts were in vain, and he was forced to return to his camp, which the *Turks* twice endeavoured to storm, but were repulsed. *Poniatowski* advised *Baltagi* to spare his troops, and to starve out the *Muscovites*; but in the mean time, he sent intelligence of the situation of the *Russian* army to *Charles*, who immediately set out from *Bender*, to enjoy his triumph over the czar. The night before, another attempt was to have been made, by which *Peter* had resolved either to effect his deliverance, or to perish with his army. His wife, the famous *Catharine*, persuaded him to send a message, desiring peace from the vizier. She undertook to transact the affair in person; and having mustered up all the jewels she could, either belonging to herself or others, she managed with so much address, that *Baltagi* (who was no soldier) and his officers, softened by her presents, finished the transaction in six hours time, and signed a peace, which saved the *Russian* army. We shall have occasion to mention this affair more at large.

Charles, by an expeditious, but dangerous, journey, arrived in the *Turkish* camp just as *Peter* was drawing off his troops. Enraged with what had happened, he flew to *Baltagi*'s tent, reproached him for his treachery and pusillanimity, tore his robe with the rowel of his spur, and remounting his horse, galloped back to *Bender*; while the *Turk*, who smiled at his rage, and the remonstrances of *Poniatowski*, went to attend his evening prayers. Upon the return of *Charles* to *Bender*, finding that the *Niester* had overflowed his camp, he built some stone houses, for the accommodation of himself and his attendants at *Varnitza*, a village in the neighbourhood; but he still continued his intrigues at the *Othman* court. *Baltagi* was so much afraid of these, that he obtained leave from the court of *Vienna*, for a free passage for *Charles* to his own dominions; and he sent three *basha*'s to acquaint him that he must leave those of the sultan. *Charles* received the message, which was delivered in the most respectful terms, with silent contempt; and *Baltagi* seeing him thus bent upon his ruin, ordered all his messengers to *Constantinople* to be intercepted, besides cutting off his daily allowances. *Charles*, whose profusion increased with his wants, must have at last been without necessities for his own table, had not *Fabricius*, the *Holstein* agent, and *Jefferies*, the *British* minister, supplied him with all the money they had; but his best friend, on this occasion, was *Mr. Cooke*, an *English* merchant, who sent him five thousand pounds, and trusted to his honour for the repayment.

By this time, the failure of the czar to execute the treaty of *Pruth*, and the intrigues of *Poniatowski*, and the other friends of *Charles*, had wrought the disgrace and banishment of *Baltagi*; and *Osman*, the chief officer under him, who had advised him to make the peace, was strangled, *Russian* money, with the czarina's ring and jewels, having been found in his coffers. He was succeeded as vizier by *Jussuf*, who accom-

modated

modated matters with the czar, and one of the articles of the treaty was, that *Charles* should be obliged to leave *Turkey*. This resolution was communicated to *Charles*, by a letter from the emperor *Ahmed* himself, and an escort of eight or ten thousand men was offered him, to attend him to *Poland*. *Charles* answered the sultan's letter, by informing him that such an escort would be too weak to protect him against the *Russian* armies, who were very numerous in *Poland*. The sultan finding this to be true, would have ordered the vizier to be strangled, but he was saved by young *Coumourgi*, *Ahmed*'s favourite, who was a friend to the *Russians*, and who intended to employ the *Othman* arms against the *Venetians*. A new system of politics again took place; a fresh treaty was made with the czar, and the seraskier of *Bender* acquainted *Charles* that he could no longer reside where he was. The ministers of *Russia* and *Poland*, rendered their own persons answerable for his safety in passing through the dominions of their masters, and therefore we can pay but little regard to a correspondence which was said to have been entered into between the khan of the *Tartars* and king *Augustus*, for delivering him up. He demanded money for the payment of his debts, which he computed at two hundred and fifty thousand pounds; and *Ahmed* sent him that sum, with twenty-five thousand pounds more, with orders that he should pass under his protection through the kingdom of *Poland*; but the money was not to be paid to *Charles* till he took his departure. *Charles* and his minister wheedled the basha out of the money under very mean pretexts, and when he came to receive his commands for his departure, *Charles* demanded two hundred and fifty thousand pounds more. This was a mean, infamous proceeding of the *Swede*, as it exposed the basha to the loss of his head, for his generous confidence. The demand being made, a final resolution, strengthened by the musti's festa, was sent to the basha, with orders that he should oblige *Charles*, by force, to leave *Turkey*. When the basha intimated those orders to *Charles*, he drove him with contumely and menaces out of his presence, and twenty thousand *Tartars*, with six thousand *Turks*, invested *Charles*'s house and camp. The envoys of *England* and *Holstein* endeavoured to mediate, but all was to no purpose; and the khan of the *Tartars*, who was to act in conjunction with the basha, ordered his *Tartars* not to spare the life of *Charles* if he made resistance.

Desperate
impru-
dence of
Charles,

During this mediation, and the time of the basha's waiting for fresh orders from his court, *Charles* was busy in fortifying his house and his camp, paid very little regard to the two envoys for their kind interposition; and though he had under him only his domestics, and three hundred *Swedish* soldiers, he made dispositions for defending himself. Orders, at last came, for the *Turks* and *Tartars* to put all to the sword, not sparing the king himself, who should make resistance. It was in vain for *Charles*'s faithful servants and officers to throw themselves

who is
made pri-
soner by
the *Turks*,

at his feet, imploring him not to force the infidels to extremities, for *Charles* remained unmoved, ridiculed their entreaties, and seemed to enjoy his situation with pleasure. Even the scullions of his kitchen were assigned to their military posts; and at last the infidels advanced to the attack, but at the request of *Grethusen*, they obliged the basha to delay it for three days. When the basha returned to *Bender*, he produced his master's orders, and sixty of the most venerable among the janisaries, with grey beards, and wearing white rods in their hands, set out to persuade *Charles* to save his life. His answer was provoking to a *Turk*, in the last degree, for he desired them to be gone, otherwise he would shave their beards. Instantly the attack began, and the three hundred *Swedes* who were in the camp, threw down their arms, on which *Charles*, with his generals, *Herd*, *Dardof* and *Sparre*, galloped to his house, which he proposed to defend with about forty of his domestics, the whole number who now attended him amounting not to above sixty. *Charles* was obliged to force his way, at the imminent danger of his life, into his house, which he found already possessed by the infidels, many of whom he killed with his own hand, and cleared the house of the rest. His attendants then barricaded the rooms, and from the windows, did some execution with their fire-arms upon their enemies, of whom they killed about two hundred, ten pieces of cannon all the time playing upon the house. The basha gave orders to fire it with lighted matches, which were fixed upon arrows and discharged upon the roof. The inside of the house was immediately reduced to ashes, but the king and his little company sallying out, killed or dispersed all before them, and endeavoured to reach another house, which had a stone roof. Before he reached it, the *Turks* rallied and surrounded *Charles*, whose spurs being entangled in one another, he fell to the ground, and he was instantly seized by twenty-one janisaries, who carried him off. This very extraordinary action happened on the 12th of *February* 1713.

1713. He finds
friends at
the *Porte*. No sooner was *Charles* made prisoner, than all his turbulence forsook him, and he appeared with a resigned behaviour before the basha, who, with great politeness, conducted him to *Bender*, where he was lodged in his own palace, and treated with vast honours, but with a guard in his room. Next day he was, by the basha, carried in a chariot covered with scarlet, towards *Adrianople*. While he was upon this uncomfortable journey, he received certain intelligence that his friend, *Stanislaus*, had arrived at *Bender* soon after he left it, and was then a prisoner in the hands of the *Turks*. *Charles*, through his natural insensibility, made no other reflection upon this news, than to order *Fabricius* to post away to *Stanislaus*, and to desire him not to make a peace with king *Augustus*, because he was sure of the friendship of the *Othman* court, and that the khan and the basha had no orders for what they had done. Upon the arrival of *Charles* at *Adrianople*, his friends drew up

a me-

a memorial, which was presented by a *French* gentleman, one *Villelongue*, to *Ahmed*'s own hands. He read it, and found it filled with invectives against the khan and the basha. *Villelongue* was secured for his boldness in approaching the sultan's person; but *Ahmed* had the curiosity to examine him in person, disguised like an officer of the janisaries. It was owing to this conference, according to *Voltaire* and other authors, that a new revolution at the *Porte* was effected. The musti was deposed, as were some of the chief officers about court; and *Charles* was carried to the little castle of *Demetash*, in the neighbourhood of *Adrianople*. Soon after, the vizier was deposed, and *Ibrahim Molla* succeeded him. He was an enemy to the *Russians*, and invited *Charles*, who then resided at *Demetica*, to see him. *Charles* avoided the visit, by pretending sickness; and that he might not be obliged to any disagreeable interview of that kind, he actually kept his bed during ten months, while he was at *Demetica*. We shall make use of that interval to attend the affairs of *Sweden*.

Riga was then in the hands of the czar, who broke the capitulation with the garrison, by detaining them prisoners, and soon after he became master of all *Livonia* and *Finland*. The victory obtained by *Steenbock*, and the offer made by the *Dalecarlians*, of raising twenty thousand men for the relief of their king, together with the prospect of his deliverance, if he would accept of it, renewed the confederacy between the czar, *Augustus*, and his *Danish* majesty; and it was resolved to wrest from *Charles* the *Swedish Pomerania*, by an army of forty-six thousand men, to be commanded by the king of *Denmark*. All *Europe* looked upon this confederacy as being ungenerous, and founded on allegations that had no existence in truth. *Augustus* entered the *Swedish Pomerania*, and the *Danes* forced the garrison of *Damgarten* to retire to *Stralsund*, which was immediately besieged by the troops of the confederates; and *Wismar* was invested at the same time. The *Stralsunders* made so brave a defence, that the besiegers, numerous as they were, were obliged to abandon their undertaking, and *Wismar* was defended with the same success. The kings of *Denmark* and *Poland* returned to their respective capitals in the winter, but the *Russians* blocked up *Stetin*. Count *Sparre* was sent, by the regency of *Sweden*, to solicit some money at the *French* court, for the payment of *Steenbock*'s army, which alone could save *Pomerania*. The *French* minister told him, that his master had not money sufficient to maintain his own table; but *Bernard*, the famous banker, gratified a generous pride, by giving *Sparre* fifty thousand pounds sterling, and telling *de Terce*, the *French* minister, that he had lent it in his master's name to the crown of *Sweden*. This vast supply, at a juncture when *Steenbock* surrounded by the armies of *Russia*, *Denmark* and *Saxony*, was imploring them for an armistice, relieved him, and he was soon at the head of twelve thousand brave troops, calling to be led out against

1712.

their enemies. By this time, the king of *Denmark* was in possession of *Bremen* and *Verden*, and had laid *Stade* in ashes. *Steenboek* took *Rostock*, and marched to attack the *Saxon* and *Danish* armies in *Mecklenburgh*. He came in sight of them at a place called *Gadesbusch*, on the 20th of *December* 1712, king *Stanislaus* serving under him as a volunteer. The *Russian* army lay at three leagues distance, but his *Danish* majesty could not be persuaded to wait its coming up. A most desperate battle was fought, in which the allied army were completely defeated. About seven thousand of the runaways, and all their artillery, fell into the hands of *Steenboek*, who gained the victory merely by his superior generalship and intrepidity. *Steenboek* then, in order to retaliate the loss of *Stade*, laid *Altena*, a famous and a flourishing town belonging to the king of *Denmark*, in ashes, with all the circumstances of barbarity and brutality that characterized his nature. Great part of the wretched inhabitants fled to *Hamburg*. The *Hamburgers*, on pretence that they brought with them infectious diseases, shut their gates upon them, so that most of them perished with hunger and cold before that city.

who, with
his army,
are made
prisoners
of war.

Steenboek justified this cruelty by the barbarities that had been committed by his masters enemies in *Pomerania*, but he could not improve his splendid victory. He lost two thousand of his men as they were crossing the *Eider* to go into winter quarters. The *Russian* army was still entire, and before *Steenboek* could reach *Pomerania*, it was in possession of the *Danes* and *Saxons*. Being thus surrounded by powerful enemies on all hands, he threw himself into the neutral town of *Tottingen*, with the consent of the bishop of *Lubec*, administrator of *Holstein*. There he was obliged to deliver up himself and his army prisoners of war. It was on this occasion that the famous baron *Goertz*, afterwards so eminent for his negotiations and misfortunes, began to make a figure; for when he found the bishop hesitating upon admitting the *Swedes* into the place, he produced to the governor an order for their admission, in the name of the young duke, nephew to *Charles*. This expedient, though it gained him the friendship of *Charles*, did not save his army.

ambigues
and nego-
tiations of
Goertz.

The misfortunes of *Sweden* seemed now to be complete. The czar had conquered all *Finland*, where he had beaten the *Swedes*; and his *Danish* majesty, in resentment of the part acted by the administrator, stripped his ward of great part of his duchy; his army of *Russians* and *Saxons* were acting in the island of *Rugen*, and *Stetin* was on the point of falling under their power. *Goertz*, who was then no more than a privy-counsellor to the bishop administrator, formed, at this crisis of her distress, the more than romantic project of delivering *Sweden*, and rendering *Charles* more powerful than ever. His admirable penetration led him to reflect, that so many various interests as were then combined against *Sweden*, must soon clash, and by an indefatigable course of negotiations, for which

which he had no authority but from the bishop administrator, he sowed the seeds of jealousy among the allies, by forming a plan for procuring a neutrality for *Charles's German* dominions. For this purpose, he persuaded the governor of *Bremen* and *Verden* to sequester them, together with *Stade*, into the hands of the elector of *Hanover*; by which he saved them from the *Danes*. He prevailed with the king of *Prussia* to accept, in like manner, of the sequestration of *Stetin* and *Wismar*, which he was to restore to *Sweden* upon the re-establishment of peace, and upon being paid his expences, which amounted to four hundred thousand crowns; and the king of *Denmark* was persuaded not to seize upon *Tonningen*. *Goertz's* scheme was ruffled by *Mayerfeld*, governor of *Pomerania*, being ordered by *Charles*, not to deliver up an inch of ground to his enemies; but he was not discouraged, and even made the same bargain with the king of *Poland* for *Stralsund*, that he had done for *Stetin*.

The master-piece of *Goertz's* politics lay, however, in his gaining over *Menzikof*, the czar's favourite minister, to his views. He flattered him with the cession of *Holstein* to *Peter*, who might acquire as much *German* territory as would entitle his minister to a seat in the diet at *Ratisbon*, which was one of the *Russian's* greatest objects of ambition. *Goertz* had even the address to persuade *Menzikof* to assist him in getting possession of *Stetin*, in which he succeeded, by the help of four hundred thousand crowns, lent by the king of *Prussia* to *Peter*. But *Goertz* was not successful in all his schemes, for the king of *Denmark* resumed his design of seizing on the duchy of *Holstein*, and the fortrefs of *Tonningen*; neither could that prince be persuaded to execute the capitulation he had made with *Steenboek*, for he refused to admit his *Swedish* prisoners to ransom. The regency and senate of *Sweden* seeing, to all appearance, that their country was on the verge of total destruction, and understanding that their king was still obstinately bent not to return to *Europe* but at the head of a hundred thousand men, offered the regency to his sister, *Ulrica Leonora*, who accepted of it, and convoked the states. It was there resolved that all the plate of the kingdom should be converted into coin, that thirty thousand men should be raised for the defence of the state, and that conferences should be opened for a peace. The princess-regent opposed the last resolution, because she had no authority from *Charles*; but, in the meanwhile, the *Swedish* fleet under admiral *Erenschild*, was defeated by the czar in person, who completed his conquest of *Finland*, and the island of *Oeland*.

Charles still remained in a state of torpid captivity at *Demotica*, and all that the generosity of the *Turks* did, was just to subsist him and his followers. He had given his consent to the marriage of the prince of *Hesse* with his sister, the princess *Ulrica*; but by this time, his friend, the vizier *Ibrahim Molla*, was strangled, and succeeded by the favourite *Coumourgi*, who

to which
he re-
turns.

1714.

He renews
the war,
but loses
Stralsund,
after a de-
perate
defence.

was not in *Charles's* interest. Having now lost all his towering hopes, and stimulated with indignation at hearing of the behaviour of his states, he sent *Grothusen* with a magnificent retinue, raised at the rate of fifty *per cent.* for the money that fitted it out, to *Constantinople*, where he was to apply for a hundred thousand crowns, and for a passport for *Charles's* return to *Europe*. Though *Grothusen* was received with proper honours in his public character, yet he was treated in a very dry manner in the private conference he had with the vizier. The latter refused either to give or lend *Charles* money, but procured for him the necessary passports, sent him three-score carriages, with provisions, and a proper escort to conduct him to the frontiers of *Transylvania*, together with a few presents. The *Turkish* slowness in travelling was disagreeable to *Charles*, who was treated, after he entered into the imperial dominions, with vast respect, by order of the court of *Vienna*. All of a sudden he took leave of his *Turkish* escort and his own retinue, and putting himself in disguise, he set out, attended only by two officers, *Rosen* and *During*, for *Sweden*. The fatigues he underwent in his journey, which, notwithstanding his vast expedition, cost him sixteen days, are incredible; but he arrived at *Stralsund* on the 21st of *November* 1714, at one in the morning. It was with difficulty that the governor recognized his master, who had been in boots for sixteen days, by which his legs were so swelled, that they were cut off, when he went to bed.

The return of *Charles*, single and unattended as he was, was followed by effects next to miracles. The *Svedes*, without once reflecting that his madness, pride and obstinacy, had occasioned the miseries their country then suffered, flocked to his standard, and thought of nothing but revenging his disgraces. They flew to execute his orders, and though oppressed with beggary and famine, they seconded their king in the high tone with which he talked and treated. He disowned all the sequestrations that had been made, refused to consent to any neutrality, demanded restitution of *Stetin*; and because it was refused, till a general peace could be settled, he drove the *Germans* out of the isle of *Usedom*. It was retaken by the *Prussians*; and it soon appeared, by the directions *Charles* gave to his officers, that misfortunes had rather encreased than abated his brutal obstinacy. The *French* king endeavoured to mediate a peace, but nothing less than a simple restitution of all he had lost would satisfy *Charles*. Upon this, all the powers of the north, and among the rest, the king of *Great Britain*, as elector of *Hanover*, and administrator of *Bremen* and *Verden*, renewed their confederacy against him with double force. The *Russian* fleet commanded the *Baltic*, and the kings of *Denmark* and *Prussia* besieged *Stralsund* with thirty-six thousand men. It was defended by *Charles* in person, inch by inch, and he again display'd most amazing instances of insensible valour. His enemies having landed twelve thousand men upon the island of *Rugen*, where they fortified themselves under the
prince

prince of *Anhalt*, *Charles* undertook to dislodge them with two thousand. After fighting with his usual intrepidity, he was forced to retreat, and day beginning to break, his enemies surrounded, and one of them knew, him. *Charles* disengaged himself, by shooting him with a pistol; but he must have been killed or taken prisoner, had he not been mounted on horseback by count *Poniatowski*, who once more saved him, and he returned to *Stralsund*. In this mad expedition, *Charles*, without expressing concern, saw his favourite *Grothusen*, his companion *During*, and the brave general *Dardof*, killed by his side, and he himself received a wound in the left breast.

The enemy's artillery and bombs had now reduced *Stralsund* to a heap of ruins, and the breaches in the walls were practicable. *Croissy*, the *French* ambassador, endeavoured to renew the negotiation, but the obstinacy of *Charles* proved invincible. At last a lodgment was made in the outworks, and *Charles*, after performing prodigies of valour, amidst all the thunder of the enemy's artillery, past in a little boat to *Schoonen*; and general *Ducker* gave up the place, upon a better capitulation than he had a right to expect. The *Stockholmers* now expected that *Charles* would honour them with his presence, but he was out of humour with his senate; nor did he chuse to visit his capital but with triumphal honours, so that he passed the winter at *Carelskroon*.

As a mark of *Charles's* savage disposition, we are to observe that his great minister, count *Piper*, was still detained in the *Russian* dominions, and *Charles*, without expressing any concern for his misfortunes, suffered that great and able minister to die a close prisoner in the castle of *Schlusselfburg*, at the age of seventy. His brave general *Steenboek*, underwent the same fate in *Denmark*. But *Charles* was now immersed in new projects. Though he had disclaimed those of *Goertz*, yet that insinuating minister made his court so effectually, and reasoned so plausibly, that *Charles* received him into a greater degree of confidence than ever he had done count *Piper*. Having, by means of the most oppressive taxes ever invented, and through the credit of his brother-in-law, the prince of *Hesse*, assembled an army of twenty thousand men, he all of a sudden, to the amazement of *Europe*, fell into *Norway*, where the prince and he at first carried all before them, and beat the *Danish* troops in several engagements. The *Danes* returned to the charge, and drove the *Swedes* from a strong post they had seized. The prince of *Hesse* was disabled by a wound, and *Charles* finding that his army could not, at once, make head against an enemy, fatigue and famine, in that inhospitable country, returned to *Sweden*, where he found that in his absence he had lost the town of *Wismar* to the *Russians*, the *Saxons* and *Hanoverians*.

The sagacious conjectures of *Goertz* began now to be fulfilled. *George* the 1st, and the other princes of the empire, had formed a design to prevent the czar from getting any footing

His ingra-
titude and
insensibi-
lity.
He in-
vades
Norway.

ing in *Germany*, and with that view, he had not been considered in the capitulation of *Wismar*, from which his troops were excluded. The czar blamed *George* the 1st, as being at the bottom of this, and all his other disappointments; and *Charles* hated the same prince, for buying *Bremen* and *Verden* of the *Danes*, more than he did the czar. The artful *Goertz* succeeded so well with *Charles*, that in hatred to *George* the 1st, he entered with the czar into a concert for placing the pretender, son to *James* the 1st, on the throne of *Great Britain*, and *Stanislaus* was to be restored to that of *Poland*. *Goertz* had even the address to bring the *Spanish* minister, *Alberoni*, into the same romantic project, and the court of *England* was alarmed, when it was understood that *Peter*, instead of attacking *Sweden*, had sent his troops to take their winter quarters in *Mecklenburgh*. *George* the 1st, and the court of *Vienna* made strong remonstrances upon this conduct; but one *Erskine*, a *Scotchman*, chief physician to the czar, had introduced to that court several of his countrymen who had been proscribed for their rebellion in 1715, and they had the art to fortify the czar against all opposition to his new system. The duke of *Mecklenburgh* had married his niece, and *Peter* declared himself his protector, not only against his own subjects, with whom he was at variance, but against the *Danes*, who were in possession of *Wismar*, one of his towns. Under this pretext it was, that *Peter*, instead of invading *Sweden*, as he had promised his allies, plainly enough discovered his intention of gaining a footing in *Germany*, an event which the *German* princes dreaded.

Great
power of
Goertz.

Goertz was provided with full powers from *Charles*. He was master of all the money of that crown, and disposed of all the jewels and valuable effects, for carrying his mighty schemes into execution. He disssembled so exquisitely, that he pretended to treat secretly with the *Russian*, *Hanoverian* and other ministers, at the very time he was persuading his master to give up every thing the czar required. A negotiation, into which *Goertz* was at this time brought, shews him to have more levity and credulity in his temper than became a great and wise minister, and that his talents lay chiefly in the conduct of dark measures and daring expedients. He had heard of a set of *European* pirates, who had been proscribed from all civilized countries; were settled, with immense riches, at *Madagascar*, who would be glad to act under the protection of the *Swedish* flag. *Goertz* was weak enough to send two gentlemen to treat with those banditti, but the event of the negotiation never was certainly known.

His in-
trigues
against
England.

The negotiations of *Goertz* with the *English* and *Scotch* malecontents, were equally romantic and void of probability. Count *Gyllenbergh*, the *Swedish* ambassador at *London*, was instructed by him to form close correspondences with those malecontents. They were indeed powerful and sanguine, but being actuated only by disappointment and resentment at the court,

court, they differed in their views, and very few of them were disposed, in earnest, to cooperate with *Goertz* in his scheme of setting the pretender on the throne of *Great Britain*. *Goertz*, alraid, during his absence from the person of *Charles*, that he might be prevailed upon to resume his former animosities against the czar, had encouraged the exiled duke of *Ormond* to repair to *Mittau*, the capital of *Courland*, in order to be at hand, not only to negotiate a marriage between the pretender and the duchess of *Courland*, afterwards the czarina, another of *Peter's* nieces, but to pass over to *Sweden* with a public character from the pretender, to keep *Charles* firm to his new engagements. The court of *England*, which before this time, had discovered that *Goertz* had had a private interview with *Peter* in *Holland*, where the latter had passed some months, took the alarm, and put all her allies on their guard; and the great schemes of *Goertz* being not yet ripe for execution, *Charles* excused himself from publicly receiving the duke as the pretender's ambassador. Notwithstanding this, *Goertz* continued to treat with *Fernegan*, an *Englishman*, who was the pretender's ambassador at the court of *Petersburgh*.

Cardinal *Alberoni* was then at the head of affairs in *Spain*. Not only his politics, but his disposition, ambition and turbulence, agreed with those of *Goertz*; and what is still more remarkable, the same capital measures led each to the end he proposed, for both of them concurred in endeavouring to dethrone the elector of *Hanover* in *England*. *Alberoni* had done miracles in restoring the *Spanish* marine, army, and finances, and *Spain* was the most convenient ally that either *Charles* or *Peter* could have in *Europe*, because she could supply, with her money, the principal wants of both. The regent duke of *Orleans* felt, at *Paris*, the effect of this confederacy. He gave notice of it to the courts of *Vienna* and *London*, with whom he connected himself more closely than ever. *Gyllebergh* was arrested at *London*, where his papers were seized and printed; nor was there any denying, upon their being published, that he had entered into very unwarrantable connections in *England*. He had even desired money to print and disperse seditious libels against the government, and had proposed that ten thousand *Swedes* should be sent over to *England*, who would be sufficient for placing the pretender on the throne, and that money would not be wanting. All *Europe* applauded the precautions taken by *George* the 1st. The *Dutch* were so complaisant, that they ordered *Goertz* to be seized at *Deventer*, in their dominions, together with his two secretaries. This was thought to be a very extraordinary stretch of complaisance in their high mightinesses, and was severely censured by several courts, because it did not appear that the schemes of *Goertz* were to affect the United Provinces. They thought themselves, however, defensible in what they had done, because they were guarantees for the protestant succession in the house of *Hanover*. When those proceedings were related to *Charles*, he

seconded
by card-
inal *Aibe-
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Goertz
seized.

treated

treated them with a disdainful silence, but gave orders for arresting *Jackson*, the *English* minister in *Sweden*, and ordered the *Dutch* resident, *Rumpf*, to be prohibited from his court. The *Swedish* minister at the *Hague* presented three different memorials, complaining of the seizure of *Goertz* and his papers. As the regency of *Holland* were ignorant of his *Britannic* majesty's sentiments, they returned no answer to his complaints. At last, to the reasons we have already mentioned, they added the very extraordinary one, that *Goertz's* powers were defective in point of form, and that they therefore could not consider him as a public minister.

His behaviour.

As to *Goertz* himself, he acted with great spirit. The count *de Welderen* was sent to examine him, but he insisted upon his public character, and refused to answer any question. The czar was then at *Paris*, where he proposed to comprehend the regent in the intended accommodation between him and *Charles*. From this proposal, which was declined by the duke of *Orleans*, it appears as if *Peter* was, at this time, ignorant of the whole extent of *Goertz's* plan, which ultimately tended, in conjunction with cardinal *Alberoni*, to deprive that prince of the regency. The house of *Bourbon* being thus divided, the whole system of *Europe* received a new face, and the regent called in for his support the natural enemies of

He is set at liberty.

France, the houses of *Austria* and *Brunswick*. By this time, *Goertz*, though he avowed his design of invading *England*, was set at liberty, as was count *Gyllembergh*. The former was more exasperated than ever against the enemies of *Charles*, whom he considered as the authors of his confinement. Tired of trusting the negotiation to other hands, he went directly to the czar, and undertook to prevail with his master to grant *Peter* all he demanded, including *Carelia*, *Ingria* and *Livonia*. The czar had nothing in his eye but the aggrandizement of the dominions and the trade of *Russia*, and had entered into the pretender's interest no farther than as *Goertz* had persuaded him that those ends would be thereby answered. He kept himself upon the reserve, but his conduct sufficiently intimated that he was resolved to strike in with *Goertz*, if the latter could make good what he had undertaken; and *George* the Ist, in the manifestos he published, charged *Peter* with being the first mover of all the measures against him; but we shall have occasion to discuss this point farther in the history of *Russia*. It is sufficient to say here, that *Peter* shewed his vast sagacity by ordering the duke of *Ormond* to leave his dominions, and *Jernegan* to remain in a manner incognito at *Petersburgh*, till *Goertz* could return to the island of *Oeland*, or (as it was then called) *Aland*, with the result of his negotiation with his master. *Charles* had then returned from another unsuccessful expedition into *Norway*, and was at the head of thirty-five thousand men, but money was wanting to pay them, and the keeping them on foot was one of the preliminaries for which *Goertz* stood engaged to the czar. This

could

could not be done without money; *Sweden* was exhausted, all resources from *France* were dried up, and the remittances from *Spain* were all spent, with but a very distant prospect of obtaining more.

In this distress, *Goertz* had recourse to an expedient which He alters had been often practised in other kingdoms, but seldom with the *Swedish* success, that of raising copper money to the nominal value of *disb* coin. *Goertz*, at the same time, persuaded his master to consent to a taxation upon the clergy, another very unpopular measure. The price of all the necessaries and conveniencies of life immediately rose to a most exorbitant height, which rendered *Goertz* the object of public execration. This possibly might be one of the reasons why he became a greater favourite than ever with his obstinate master, who agreed to all he proposed, for rendering the conferences at *Aland* successful. *Osterman* acted there as plenipotentiary for *Peter*, and *Goertz* being returned with full powers from *Charles*, the following plan was concerted between them.

The czar was to march an army of eighty thousand men His into *Poland*, where he was to be joined by an army of *Swedes* schemes under *Charles*, in order to support the treaty of *Alt-Ranstadt*, of coalition by replacing *Stanislaus* upon the crown of *Poland*. By the second article of this plan, his czarish majesty became mediator between *Charles* and the king of *Prussia*, “in consequence *Charles* (says the plan) whereof his said czarish majesty will employ all and *Peter* means for accommodating, in a friendly manner, the differences of *Russia*. ces relating to *Stetin*, and the territories possessed in *Pomerania*, as also relating to the demolishing of *Wismar*. But if the king of *Prussia* should refuse to give the king of *Sweden* reasonable satisfaction for *Stetin* and its district, the two contracting parties shall act in concert, to procure to the king of *Prussia* another, equivalent to his convenience, which shall cost *Sweden* nothing. In return, the king of *Prussia* shall be obliged to restore to the crown of *Sweden* *Stetin*, and that part of *Pomerania* which did belong to it, to become guarantee of the treaty to be made between that crown and the czar, and to conclude with them a defensive alliance, pursuant to the plan formed on this subject. And this alliance with *Prussia* shall be concluded to the mutual satisfaction of the parties, two months after the exchange of the ratifications of the treaty between *Sweden* and *Muscovy*.”

By the third article, the czar obliges himself to procure for *Charles* an equivalent for the cessions that the latter was to make, and if the king of *Sweden* should pass over into *Germany* with a body of forty thousand men, the czar was to join it with twenty or twenty-five thousand men, of the army he had in *Poland*; the whole expence to be defrayed by the czar, and to be commanded by the king of *Sweden*. The fourth article is the most remarkable of all, and runs as follows. “The czar promises and engages to act with all his troops, to compel the king of *England*, as elector, not only to

to restore *Bremen* and *Verden* to the king of *Sweden*, but also to give him due satisfaction for the damage he has sustained; and if it happens that the crown of *England* should oppose this, the two contracting powers promise to unite all their forces against it, and not to lay down their arms till that restitution and satisfaction be really obtained from *Hanover*. However, in case the king of *Sweden* should chuse, before the exchange of the ratifications, to excuse the czar from this obligation, his czarish majesty promises, and takes upon himself, to dispose the duke of *Mecklenburg* to yield up voluntarily and for ever, to the king and crown of *Sweden*, the duchy of *Mecklenburg* and its dependencies, for a proper equivalent, which the czar promises to procure for that duke; and as such equivalent cannot be found but on the side of *Poland*, the king of *Sweden* shall engage to assist in getting it."

We have been the more explicit in our relation of this plan, because it has been grossly mistaken by *Voltaire* and other writers. The copy from which we have taken the above extracts, was published by authority of the *British* court, and therefore must be authentic. Besides this plan, *Goertz* drew up the conditions for attaining peace, by which his czarish majesty promised to restore to *Sweden* the great duchy of *Finland*, and part of *Carelia*. This barrier was not indeed specified in the project, but a geographical map was joined to it, in which is seen a line drawn from *Wyburg* to the *White Sea*, passing by the lakes of *Ladoga* and *Onega*; and the countries on this side of that line, were to be yielded up for ever to *Sweden*. The cessions which the king of *Sweden* was obliged to make to *Peter*, upon the latter indemnifying him, either by procuring for him the duchy of *Mecklenburg*, or lands in *Poland*, are not expressed in this project; but from the above-mentioned line, it appears they were to consist of part of *Carelia*, all *Esthonia*, *Livonia* and *Ingria*, then esteemed the finest provinces belonging to the crown of *Sweden*. By the plan of execution of this treaty (the most important that had ever been concluded in the north) it was agreed, by the eighth article, "As for what relates to *England*, the two parties shall take their measures to disable the court from engaging the nation in any proceedings contrary to these schemes. The like shall be done with respect to *Holland*." The court of *England* considered this stipulation as aimed at dethroning king *George* the 1st, and looked upon the preparations then making by *Charles* for conquering *Norway*, to be only in order to facilitate *Charles*'s descent upon *Scotland*. The impenetrable disposition of *Charles*, and the profound dissimulation observed both by him and the czar, through the whole negotiation, renders this a matter of some doubt, but there is reason to believe that *Charles* had postponed all other considerations to the capital one, his expedition to *Great Britain*. Be that as it will, we know, that in *October* 1718, he again marched his army to *Norway*; and in *December*, while the frost was so intense

Charles
invades
Norway.

intense as to kill not only vegetables, but animals, he laid siege to *Fredericshal*, while general *Arenfeld* and the hereditary prince of *Hesse*, commanded separate bodies, and beat the *Danes* in several encounters. Though the ground was frozen almost to marble, yet *Charles*, who, by constant habit, had acquired an iron constitution of person, persevered in opening the trenches. Finding the works not advancing so fast as he expected, on the 11th of *December* he went to visit them by star-light, where exposing half his body to a battery of cannon which was playing fiercely on an angle where he stood, a ball of half a pound struck him in the right temple, and killed him. *Siguiet*, one of his aids-de-camp, and *Megret*, the engineer of the siege, saw him fall, and acquainted count *Schwerin* with his death; upon which his body was carried through the midst of the camp, under the name of one captain *Carlberg*. His death,

The character of *Charles* the XIIth is so well known, that and character. we need not enlarge on it here, farther than by observing that every part of it, excepting his personal courage, which thousands of his soldiers possessed as well as himself, was either contemptible or detestable. The spirit he shewed at his outset in life, and his moderation with regard to *Denmark*, finished all that was laudable in his conduct. Had he made peace, after dissolving the powerful confederacy formed against him, he might have been the arbiter of the north, instead of being the scourge of the best subjects any prince ever governed. His stupid pride of making and unmaking a king of *Poland*; his fantastical march after the *Russians*; his conduct in *Turkey*, which was equally mad and mean; his disregard of the blood and lives of his soldiers; his ingratitude to faithful servants, and his insensibility of the sufferings of all about him, proclaim him a being divested not only of the feelings, but the virtues, of humanity. It is in vain for the flatterers of his memory to plead, that he himself suffered the same hardships as his meanest soldiers. There is no merit in a robust constitution, and an obstinate attachment to self-will. The spilling of blood, if we except his temperance with regard to wine and women (the latter of which was very probably constitutional likewise) fill the sum total of the virtues of *Charles* the XIIth of *Sweden*, who was killed in the 36th year of his age.

Never, for the repose of *Europe* as well as *Sweden*, did a death happen more critically than that of *Charles*. He had no reason for loving his brother-in-law, the prince of *Hesse*, who had served against him, but because he was brave. He and his wife condemned his measures, and detested *Goertz*, but were obliged to do both in secret. That statesman had left *Aland*, and was known to be on the road to the camp. The prince immediately sent an officer, who arrested, and carried him prisoner to *Stockholm*. He bore his fate with great fortitude and composure, and wrote a letter to the king, not knowing of his death. Orders were immediately given for raising the

Succeeded
by his sister
Ulrica.

the siege of *Fredericshal*, and the princess *Ulrica Leonora* was proclaimed queen by the army; a proceeding which was too preposterous, and too much favouring of pretorian despotism. Her conduct, on the occasion, was prudent to the last degree. She published a declaration of her acceptance of the government by hereditary right, but at the same time, her intention to abolish all despotic sovereignty out of *Sweden*; and she ordered the states to assemble on the 31st of *January*, which they accordingly did. They disclaimed her hereditary right as inconsistent with the laws and constitution of the kingdom, but agreed to elect her queen, upon her consenting to subscribe to certain articles for regulating her government. The most important of those were, that she should neither make peace or war without the consent of her states; that she should be assisted by a council; that the senate, which was to be nominated by the nobility, should give authority to public acts, and manage all affairs of state in absence of the sovereign, and when the throne should become vacant. The nobility were to elect a marshal, who was to preside in a meeting of the states, which was to be called at least every three years; and that the nobility of *Esthonia*, *Livonia*, *Oesel* and the *Swedish* provinces in *Germany*, should be reinstated in their privileges, as soon as they returned to the crown of *Sweden*. Those articles were duly signed and sealed, though the queen had already, by virtue of her hereditary prerogative, put a stop to the currency of the money coined by *Goertz*.

The people recover their liberties.

The first exercise of the peoples recovered liberties, was in bringing up baron *Goertz* to his trial, which was done before a court composed of delegates from the four orders of the kingdom, the nobility, the clergy, the burghers, and the peasantry; to which were added deputies from the army and from the courts of law. The deputies divested the baron of the order of the black eagle, which he had received from the king of *Prussia*, and proceeded against him in other respects, with a severity that shocked count *Ribing*, the president of the court, for they even addressed the queen not to pardon him. After a trial of thirteen days, during which he behaved with great firmness and presence of mind, he was condemned to lose his head under the gallows, and to be there buried, which sentence was accordingly executed.

Negotiation with England.

The system of politics at the court of *Sweden* was now altered all of a sudden. Lord *Carteret* arrived at *Stockholm*, in quality of his *Britannic* majesty's ambassador, to make up all differences between his master, both as king of *England* and elector of *Hanover*, with *Sweden*, which were accordingly finished, to the satisfaction of all parties. It was agreed that a *British* fleet should be sent to the *Baltic*; and a million of crowns were to be paid by his majesty as elector of *Hanover*, for the perpetual possession of *Bremen* and *Verden*. The czar demanded the performance of all the stipulations that had been concluded with the late king in the conferences at *Aland*; and

and his demand being rejected, the *British* fleet, which was then in the *Baltic*, and consisted of large ships, could not prevent his slight galleys from renewing their ravages on the coasts of *Sweden*. *Prussia*, as well as *Great Britain*, became now the friend of *Sweden*, on condition of having *Stetin* yielded up to her; and his *Danish* majesty was overawed by the *British* fleet, upon which the czar shewed himself inclinable to an accommodation; as did the republic of *Poland*. A peace was accordingly concluded with *Denmark* and *Poland*. His *Danish* majesty thereby yielded to *Sweden* all he had acquired during her late troubles, and was to receive, in satisfaction, a sum of money. By the peace with *Poland*, the crown of *Sweden* agreed to acknowledge *Augustus* as king of *Poland*, and *Augustus* consented to *Stanislaus* retaining the title of king.

During those negotiations, her *Swedish* majesty, on the 2d *Ulrica* of *February*, assembled the states of her kingdom, and laid before them an ample detail of the public affairs. While this was her husband under their deliberation, she sent them a message, proposing band to that her husband, the hereditary prince of *Hesse*, should be king of joined with her in the administration of the regal power. *Sweden*. This proposal met with great difficulty, but was approved of after warm debates. The prince gave all the security for his future government that was required of him; and the queen declared that her intention was to devolve upon him the executive part of government, which was to be enjoyed by the survivor. An act of election was accordingly drawn up in his favour; and the states laid hold of that opportunity for making some alterations in their form of government. Besides those precautions, the prince sent a very full instrument of assurance for protecting the liberties of the subject, and the due administration of justice.

The czar still continued the war. His galleys beat those of *Sweden*, but he congratulated the new king, *Frederic*, upon his advancement to the throne, though without relaxing in his demands. Admiral *Norris* was still with the *English* fleet in the *Baltic*, and his behaviour was so tame, that it became despicable to the *Russians*, so that they continued their depredations. Upon this, his *Swedish* majesty, finding the *British* fleet rather obstructed than advanced the work of peace, entered into negotiations with other powers. The young duke of *Holstein*, nephew to *Charles*, was upon the point of marrying the czar's daughter, and became a party in the negotiation. He demanded that the states of *Sweden* should procure to him restitution of his duchy of *Sleswick* from the crown of *Denmark*, and settle the succession of the crown of *Sweden* upon him; in which case he was to marry *Peter's* eldest daughter, whose marriage portion was to consist of the provinces of *Finland*, *Esthonia* and *Livonia*. Those propositions were given in at the court of *Vienna*, from whence *Hopkens*, the *Swedish* resident there, carried them to *Sweden*, and laid them before the king and senate, who disapproved of them so much, that he

A nego-
tiation.

1721.
Voltaire.

he was confined a prisoner in his house, for his officiousness. The mediation of the regent duke of *Orleans*, by his minister *Campredon*, had better success; for though the czar still continued his ravages on the *Swedish* coasts, and made an unmerciful use of his superiority at sea, yet he consented to the opening conferences at *Nystadt*, a little town of the *Bothnic Gulf*, in *North Finland*. Here the terms were rather prescribed than negotiated; for, by the treaty which was concluded and signed on the 10th of *September* 1721, the czar "was to remain in perpetual possession of all that his arms had conquered, from the borders of *Courland* to the extremity of the gulph of *Finland*; and from thence again, of the whole extent of the country of *Kexholm*, and that narrow slip of *Finland* which stretches out to the northward of the neighbourhood of *Kexholm*; so that he remained master of all *Livonia*, *Esthonia*, *Ingria*, *Carelia*, with the country of *Wybourg*, and the neighbouring isles, which secured to him the sovereignty of the sea; as likewise of the isles of *Oesel*, *Dago*, *Mona*, and several others: the whole forming an extent of three thousand leagues of country, of unequal breadth, and which all together made a large kingdom." In lieu of those vast cessions, the czar agreed to pay two millions of crowns to his *Swedish* majesty, to suffer the *Swedes* to buy corn in his conquests, and to protect the inhabitants of *Livonia*, *Esthonia* and *Oesel* in their privileges.

Sweden

receives a
subsidy
from *Eng-*
land.

A subsidy of seventy-two thousand pounds, which was voted by the parliament of *Great Britain*, to be paid to the crown of *Sweden*, was thought to contribute powerfully towards this treaty. The public in *Sweden* complained that the interests of their nation had been sacrificed by such extravagant cessions, and the people of *England* complained against the subsidy, as having been given entirely for the security of *Hanover*. Without entering into particulars, it is evident that the poverty and weakness of *Sweden* compelled her to accept of the peace.

Civil
transac-
tions of
Sweden.

The tranquillity of *Sweden* being thus restored, we are now to attend her civil transactions. The capitulation which the king signed upon his being elected, rendered, in fact, the regal power not worth his acceptance. The management of all affairs of importance, was transferred from his privy-council to the senate and the colleges. They were to have the nomination to all civil offices, and to all military ones, from a colonel upwards. No officer was to be removed at the king's pleasure, and before he underwent a formal trial; neither was his majesty to interfere in the least with the business of the colleges. They were to have the power of levying taxes, and disposing of public money, and no foreigner was to be employed in *Sweden*. The king promised not to resign, or give up to any one whomsoever, the lands and territories which might, by right of inheritance, fall to him in *Germany*; but that the kingdom should also enjoy the benefit and advantage thereof. To those, were added a number of other restrictions

restrictions to the exercise of the regal authority, which can be justified only by the sufferings of the *Swedes* under their late despotic government. *Frederic* found himself, by those restrictions, disabled from making any figure in public affairs as king of *Sweden*; and having no children, he committed the administration of his *German* concerns to his brother, prince *William*. Before his election to the throne, he had been remarkably active, but after receiving the crown, he seems to have confined himself entirely to domestic affairs, and the regulations of his court. In 1723, happened a quarrel between count *Freytag*, the imperial minister, and baron *Schwerin*, a major general, who were to decide it by the sword. Both of them being put under arrest in their own houses, *Freytag* complained of a breach of privilege, and *Frederic* referred his complaint to the colleges, who ordered *Schwerin* to acknowledge himself in the wrong. *Freytag* alleged first to the king, and then to his own court, that such satisfaction was not sufficient. *Frederic* endeavoured to mollify him, but this serving only to render him more insolent, he was forbid the court, and he retired to that of *Denmark*; where he received an order from his court to return to *Stockholm*, and ask pardon of the king for the insult he had offered to his royal authority, with which that haughty minister was obliged to comply. About the same time, the senate thought proper to punish a soldier for insulting a domestic of the *Dutch* ambassador; so very different were the maxims of that reign from those of the preceding.

1723.

The pacific conduct of *Frederic*, while it seemed to diminish the glory, added to the happiness, of his subjects. The court, the senate, the states and the people, abandoned all other considerations but to restore commerce, industry, agriculture, manufactures and mines, while the forts, armies and ships were put upon a respectable footing. For fear of interrupting the public tranquillity, they even refused to interpose in favour of the duke of *Holstein*, in his application to be reinstated in his duchy of *Sleswick*. When the famous treaties of *Vienna* and *Hanover* came to light, the *English* resident applied to *Frederic* to accede to them, but he declined his request for fear of giving umbrage to the court of *Petersburgh*. The intimacy between *Sweden* and *Russia* at this time, gave vast umbrage to his *Danish* majesty. He made warlike preparations, with a profest design of being upon his guard against the two courts. *Frederic* armed likewise, and a *British* fleet arrived in the *Baltic*, to keep the peace of the north. This, together with an annual subsidy, for three years, of fifty thousand pounds, determined the senate to permit *Frederic* to accede to the treaty of *Hanover*, though the *Russian* and *Holstein* ministers opposed it. In consideration of that subsidy, *Sweden* was to have in readiness a body of ten thousand men, who were to be paid by the allies, if they marched out of their own country; so

The happiness of
Sweden
restored.

See p. 70.
299.

that this engagement, in reality, cost *Sweden* nothing. In the mean while, a secret article in the treaty of *Nystadt* perspired, by means of the imperial court stipulating that proper measures should be employed for reinstating the duke of *Holstein* in the duchy of *Sleswick*. The court of *Vienna* acceded to that stipulation; but even that could not influence his *Swedish* majesty to intermeddle, as such, in the affairs of the empire. When the barbarous massacre of *Thorn* in *Poland*, however, happened, *Frederic* interposed, with great zeal, in favour of the persecuted. He no sooner heard of it, than he wrote three letters to the kings of *Great Britain*, *France*, and the emperor, to join with him in maintaining the treaty of *Oliva*, which regards the protestants in *Poland*. At the same time, he ordered his minister at *Warsaw* to make strong applications in their favour, but he did not write to *Augustus* himself, because he had not formally acknowledged him as king of *Poland*.

Intrigues
of the
duke of
Holstein.

Notwithstanding the accession of *Sweden* to the treaty of *Hanover*, the duke of *Holstein* continued to have a strong party in *Sweden*, on account of the injustice that had been done him, and the aggrandizement of *Denmark*, by the accession of *Sleswick*. No sooner was it known that the states had consented *Sweden* should become a party in the treaty of *Hanover*, than the *Holstein* party threw all into confusion. The imperial and *Russian* ambassadors withdrew from court, and it was pretended that *George* the 1st had an eye upon the succession to the crown of *Sweden*, for his grandson, the duke of *Cumberland*. The nation was, at this time, divided into three parties, who may be termed the *Swedish*, the *Hessian*, and the *Holsteiners*. The majority of the states and senate were of the first, and declared violently against all foreign connections. The second secretly advised the king to break the capitulations by which his authority was fettered; and the third was for involving the kingdom in a war with *Denmark*, and settling the succession of the crown on the duke of *Holstein*. Count *Welling*, one of the chief *Swedish* nobility, was put under arrest, tried, and condemned to death, for corresponding with the duke of *Holstein*; but his sentence was commuted into perpetual imprisonment, on account of his great age, and the earnest intercession of his daughter, the countess of *Bannier*. This severity damped the intrigues of the *Holsteiners* for some time, so that the history of *Sweden* affords little that is material for several years. In 1728, an ambassador arrived from the *Porte*, to liquidate the demands which his master had on *Sweden*, on account of the late king's entertainment in *Turkey*. This met with no difficulty, and the good correspondence between *Sweden* and the *Porte* was renewed. About this time, the affair of *Thorn* was compromised; his *Swedish* majesty recognized the king of *Poland's* right to that crown; and in 1729, his majesty, by the advice of his senate, gave the title

Severe
prosecu-
tions in
Sweden.

1728.

1729.

1730.

East India
company
established.

of emperor to the czar of *Muscovy*. In 1730, his *Swedish* majesty succeeded, by his father's death, to the landgraviate of *Hesse*; and next year, a *Dutchman*, one *Van Asper*, laid before the king and the senate a proposal of erecting a *Swedish East India* company, which was approved of. This gave vast umbrage to the *Dutch*, who had received, annually, large sums from *Sweden*, on account of their *East India* trade. They ply'd the king and the senate with remonstrances against the new company, but all was to no purpose, for they were given to understand, that no national arrangements made by any people, could exclude the *Swedes* from the benefit of a free trade. This year, commissioners were appointed for revising the laws of *Sweden*, a work which became the more necessary, as the language in which the old laws were written, was now obsolete, and almost unintelligible; and the forms of proceedings in the courts were tedious, uncertain, and expensive. They were now methodized in such a manner, that their whole code of justice, both civil and criminal, was comprehended in one perspicuous moderate volume, and all its superfluities retrenched, which was authorized by the states in 1734.

1734.

A diet in
Sweden.

The kingdom of *Sweden* had the precaution to continue neutral, notwithstanding her vicinity to *Poland*, in all the disputes between the elector of *Saxony* and king *Stanislaus*; and in the year 1734, a defensive and commercial treaty was concluded between the *Swedes* and the *Danes*. This was produced by the dread which the latter entertained, lest the states of *Sweden* should adopt the cause of the duke of *Holstein*, whose claims were extremely plausible, for he had been robbed of his estate by the crown of *Denmark*; and his mother was elder sister to the reigning queen of *Sweden*. In 1738, his majesty, perceiving his health declining, resigned his government into the hands of his queen, but resumed it upon his recovery. His resignation, however, was thought to be a political attempt to break the force of the parties which were now forming in that country, and had come to such a height as rendered, that year, a meeting of the diet necessary. Count *Tessin*, the most respectable nobleman, for virtue and experience, in all *Sweden*, was chosen marshal of the diet; but, notwithstanding all his wisdom, it soon appeared that party heats continued, though under different denomination. Many of the *Swedes* could not forget the great figure their country had made during the late reign. They exclaimed against the peace with *Russia*, and pleaded for a war, in order to recover the ceded provinces. These were called the party of the Hats. In opposition to them, started up another party, who went under the ridiculous name of the Night-caps; and the Hunting-caps, as they were called, struck into a middle way, between both extremes. The Hats proved to be the most powerful. An enquiry was set on foot concerning the peace

1738.

of *Nyfiadt*, and the senators, *Bond*, *Bark*, *Beilk*, *Hardt* and *Crentz*, were removed from their employments, for having exceeded their powers in concluding it. The old subsidiary engagements with *France* were renewed, and an augmentation of forces, both by sea and land, was voted. The affair of the succession was next brought upon the carpet. The nobility were in the *Holstein* interest, while the other three orders inclined to a republican form; and the debates became so disagreeable, that the king put an end to the assembly, after it had sat almost a year.

Unfortunate war with *Russia*.
 1741. A war with *Russia* now appeared unavoidable, but the *Swedes* had not then a *Gustavus Adolphus*, or a *Charles* the XIIth at their head. They complained of the murder and robbery of one major *Sinclair*, a *Scotch* gentleman, who had been trusted with some papers, and the empress of *Russia* was loaded with the blame of both; but she denied the charge, though not to the satisfaction of the *Swedes*, because she did not punish her officer who had committed the murder. She died soon after, as did the duke of *Holstein*, whose son was then, by hereditary right, after the new elected empress, the presumptive heir both of *Russia* and *Sweden*. In 1741, war was declared between the two nations; but the match was very unequal. The *Swedes* were every where defeated, especially in *Finland*, by *Lascy*, the *Muscovite* general, who took *Wilmanstrand*; and the *Swedes* were as unfortunate in this war, as they had been glorious during the first campaign of *Charles* the XIIth, for they entirely lost *Finland*, and almost their whole army fell into the hands of the *Russians*, who treated their prisoners with a humanity to which they were strangers twenty years before. In the mean time, her *Swedish* majesty, a woman of incomparable virtues and prudence, died. The king broken in his constitution, applied for peace; but during the deliberation of the states on that head, the consideration of the succession was resumed. Several candidates now started up, on pretence that the crown was elective, but they were reduced to three, the duke of *Holstein*, the prince of *Hesse*, nephew to his *Swedish* majesty, and the prince of *Denmark*; but the succession was settled in favour of the duke of *Holstein*, by no greater a majority than that of two votes.

Competitors for the succession.

The restitution of *Finland*, by the court of *Russia*, was the bait that had drawn the *Swedes* into this election, but before it was intimated to the duke, he had disqualified himself from sitting upon the throne of *Sweden*, by embracing the *Greek* religion, as successor to the empire of *Russia*. The party of the prince of *Denmark*, upon this disappointment, became the most numerous; notwithstanding all the intrigues of the royalists in favour of the prince of *Hesse*. The whole body of the *Swedes*, however, were now within the toils of *Russia*. The empress *Elizabeth*, without taking any concern in the domestic broils of *Sweden*, suffered the madness of the factions to

to discharge itself, by enquiring into the mismanagements of It is set- the late war; and count *Baddenbrock*, with general *Lewen-* tled, and *haupt*, lost their heads, upon most infamous, unsupported, a peace charges. The crown of *Great Britain* interposed, and nego- ensues. tiations were set on foot at *Abo*, where the empress gave one of the most signal proofs we meet with in history of wisdom, magnanimity, and moderation, by offering to restore all *Fin-* land, excepting a small district, to the *Swedes*, on condition of their accepting of the duke of *Holstein Eutin*, bishop of *Lubec*, and administrator of *Holstein Gottorp*, for their king; while the duke of *Holstein*, grand duke of *Russia*, was to renounce all his pretensions upon the crown of *Sweden*. This salutary proposition was readily embraced by the *Swedes*, and the administrator was accordingly declared hereditary prince of *Sweden*, June the 22d, 1743. The *Dalecarlians* had not 1743. been consulted in this measure, and taking up arms, they ad- Rebellion vanced tumultuously to the capital, that they might set it aside. of the *Da-* The king did all he could to prevent their coming to extre- *lecarlians*. mities, and even suffered them to enter *Stockholm*; but their fury seeming to grow with his indulgence, his majesty was obliged to employ force. They had the insolence to elect the prince of *Denmark* into the succession; and we are told, that one of the *Swedish* senators, during the debate, pronounced a speech in verse, which united the chamber of the nobles. At last, a battle was fought with the insurgents, upon the streets of *Stockholm*, in which they were defeated, with some slaughter; and the survivors purchased the royal pardon, by acquiescing in the decrees of the diet, it being thought unsafe, at such a juncture, to punish them according to their demerits. The hereditary prince then entered *Stock-* *holm* in triumph, where he was received with the greatest cordiality by all ranks. The king of *Denmark* resented his election, and made warlike preparations for setting it aside, but perceiving that the czarina was determined to support it, he dropt them.

We meet with nothing interesting in the history of *Sweden*, after this, till the death of *Frederic*, which happened April 6th, 1751, in the 75th year of his age. He was succeeded by 1751. the hereditary prince, *Adolphus Frederic*, who married the Miserable princess *Louisa Ulrica* of *Prussia*, sister to the present king. conduct Before his accession, he was presented with a new capitula- of the tion, which, in fact, rendered him more dependent than any *Swedes* in of his predecessors ever had been upon the senate, the secret the field. committee of which has a power of checking him in almost every exercise of regal government. As he is reckoned a prince equally wise and moderate, he has published several letters and rescripts upon the insults that had been offered to his royal authority, but (we have reason to believe) without any effect. His own inclinations, as well as connections, would have led him, during the late war between *France*, *Russia*

1757.

Russia and *Austria*, on the one part, and the crown of *Great Britain* and the king of *Prussia* on the other, either to have continued neutral, or to have assisted his brother-in-law; but his deluded subjects were of a different opinion. Corrupted by *France*, overawed by *Russia*, and above all, jealous of the royal prerogative, and amused with the thoughts of recovering *Pomerania*, they, after some hesitation, declared themselves on the *Austrian* side. They raised an army of twenty-five thousand men, which they sent into *Pomerania* in 1757, under the command of general *Hamilton*. His orders were to besiege *Stetin*, with which view he seized *Anclam* and *Demmin*, two towns which lay in his way. He then published a manifesto, declaring that the *Swedes* had invaded *Pomerania* as guarantees of the treaty of *Westphalia*, and commanding all the inhabitants to pay the revenues of the duchy to him. After this, he besieged the little fortress of *Penemunde*, and the garrison, which consisted only of militia, was forced to surrender themselves prisoners of war.

Manifestos published.

Mautchiffel, the *Prussian* general in *Pomerania*, answered *Hamilton's* manifesto, by exhorting the *Pomeranians* to continue firm to the king. He was then encamped before *Stetin*, and while the *Swedes* were preparing to besiege that city, the *Prussian* general, *Lehwald*, having obtained some respite, by the *Russians* evacuating *Prussia*, marched towards *Pomerania* with sixteen thousand men. The *Swedes* then gave a shameful proof to all *Europe*, how greatly their military character was degenerated. Upon *Lehwald's* approach, they not only abandoned all their preparations for the siege of *Stetin*, but all the places they had taken in *Pomerania*, and all their magazines, almost, without resistance. The *Prussians* even entered the *Swedish Pomerania*, which they entirely reduced, all except *Stralsund*, where the *Swedish* army took refuge. This shameful retreat was palliated by the *French* party in *Sweden*, under pretence of their troops taking winter quarters; but nothing could conceal the losses they sustained, for, without fighting a battle, their numbers were reduced to one half; and the *Prussian* hussars, besides their private plunder, raised a hundred and sixty thousand crowns in *Swedish Pomerania*.

The *Swedes* recover their spirits.

Notwithstanding the disgraces of last campaign, the *French* party in *Sweden* continued still to have a majority in the senate, and in the spring their army again took the field, but discontented and dispirited. *Lehwald* had, on account of his age, resigned his command to count *Dohna*, who had blockaded *Stralsund*, but was obliged to abandon it to march against the *Russians*. Upon this, *Hamilton* having received the supplies which had been promised him (but long delayed) from *Stockholm*, and seeing no army in the field to oppose him, began his operations, retook *Anclam*, *Demmin* and other places, and carried his arms into the *Prussian* territories, being favoured by the appearance of the combined fleet of *Russia* and

and *Sweden* in the *Baltic*. He even alarmed *Berlin* itself, till he was opposed by the *Prussians* under general *Wedel*, who retook *Fehrbellin*, and once more drove the *Swedes* out of the *Prussian* territories towards *Stralsund*. Those disgraces of the *Swedes* were owing, in a great measure, to the ignorance and jealousy of their senate, which took from *Hamilton* the liberty of following his own opinion, upon which he resigned his command.

In the year 1759, general *Manteuffel*, in the middle of winter, carried on his operations against the *Swedes* in *Pomerania*. He took *Damgarten*, *Wolgast*, *Demmin* and *Anclam*, where he found very considerable magazines, and raised large contributions in all the neighbourhood; and in *April*, he reduced the fort of *Penemunde*. It happened that the *Prussians*, by their successes, beat the *Swedes* into courage and discipline; and *Manteuffel* found his progress checked at *Griegwald*, upon which he returned to *Anclam*, in *January* 1760. While he was encamped near that town, on the 28th, his troops were defeated by the *Swedes*, who entered *Anclam*, wounded, and took himself prisoner, with about two hundred men, and three pieces of cannon. The *Swedes* pursued this advantage, by passing the river *Pene*, and obliging the *Prussians* under *Stullerheim* to retreat; after which they advanced as far as *Stransberg*, and though they received a small check, with the loss of five hundred men, yet the *Prussians* in those parts were too weak to dislodge them. Those slight advantages elated the *French* party in *Sweden*, and when the diet met in 1760, they elected count *Axel Ferson* grand marshal, in opposition to count *Horn*, and voted to reinforce their army in *Germany* to the amount of thirty thousand men. Before their army could be raised to that complement, the month of *August*, 1761, was almost past, and prince *Henry* of *Prussia* had time to detach general *Stullerheim* against them with some troops, who made them give ground. Their fleet appeared at the same time in the *Baltic*, to cooperate with that of *Russia*, in the siege of *Colberg*. This is the last military action in which the *Swedes* have been engaged during this century.

1759,
War in
Pomerania.

1760,

1761.

Though the *Swedes* made but a poor figure in this war, yet the *French* king thought them of so much importance as allies, that though he was a bankrupt in his finances, and had formally signified to the diet that he could no longer pay his subsidies to *Sweden*, yet no sooner did he retrieve his affairs, than he ordered his minister to signify to the same diet, that he would not only continue his subsidy, but discharge all its arrears. We scarcely have in history an instance of royal moderation equal to that of his present *Swedish* majesty. All acts of administration, however displeasing to him, or contrary to his sentiments, pass in his name; nor has he even a voice in many essentials of government. The treatment he received from the secret committee at one time, wrung from him

Conclu-
sion of the
history of
Sweden.

a declaration that he was resolved to resign the government, and he was personally so well beloved, that the news had almost created an insurrection of the commons against the senate. The care which he and his queen bestowed upon the education of their eldest son, who is now married to a princess of *Denmark*, merits the greatest encomiums. The connections and intermarriages of the princes of the north, give now a pleasing prospect that, under the auspices of his *Britannic* majesty, the protestant interest may be so well consolidated, as to bid defiance to all the arts and power of the *Bourbon* compact.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
R U S S I A.

THE earliest æra of the history of *Russia* that can be depended upon to conduct us as a guide, coincides with the reign of *Wolodemir*, in the year 997, the first *Christian* king of that country. He is said to have had twelve sons by his wives and concubines, to whom he left his immense dominions; but after his death they cut one anothers throats, till at last one of them, *Jaroslaw*, became sovereign of the whole; but was no better than tributary to the *Poles*. Upon his death-bed, he fell into the same mistake his father had committed, for he divided his kingdom among his five sons, who quarrelled among themselves, and for above a century, were so miserably torn by factions, that they continued tributaries to the *Poles*, who betrayed, and took prisoner *Jaropolk*, the prince of *Russia*. His son, *Wasilkon*, revenged his father's quarrel, and beat *Boleslaus*, the king of *Poland*. The year 1182, produced a fresh war between *Russia* and *Poland*, and the name (for we know very little of his person) of one *Wladimir*, who was a *Pole*, and having some pretensions to the principality of *Russia*, or (as it was then called) *Halitz*, applied for assistance to the *Hungarians*, who, instead of helping him, are said to have seized all his territories, which were some time governed by *Andrew*, son of *Bela*, king of *Hungary*, who was driven out by the *Poles*. The chaos that dwells upon the history of *Russia*, till the year 1237, serves only to let us know that *Russia* was, at this time, indetermined in its situation, void of all civil government, and a prey to the most hardy barbarian who could wield a sword.

Wolodemir
prince of
Russia.

1182.

1237.

One

John Basilowicz
the 1st en-
larges his
domini-
ons.

One *Batto*, the khan of *Tartary*, about the time already mentioned, subdued *Russia*; and the *Tartars*, though greater barbarians, if possible, than the *Russians* themselves, held the *Russians* in thralldom for two hundred and sixty years. The history of *Russia* is little better than a blank during that period, but with some difficulty, we can trace some dark hints of hereditary succession under the *Tartars*, who at last were driven out of *Russia* by the *Livonians* and the *Poles*, about the year 1340. The *Poles* proved greater tyrants to the *Russians* than the *Tartars*; but at last one *Demetricus Iwanowitz* took the title of great duke of *Muscovy*, and made a struggle for the independency of his country. He was defeated, and succeeded by his son *Easilius*, whose son, of the same name, had his eyes put out by his kindred competitors for the crown; but he died sovereign of *Russia*. His son, *John Basilowicz* the 1st, may be said to be the founder of the *Russian* empire. His second wife was *Sophia*, daughter of *Thomas Paleologus*, an exiled emperor of *Constantinople*, who spirited him up to shake off the disgraceful yoke of the *Tartars*, which he so effectually did, that he conquered their capital, *Casan*, and took *Great Novogrod*, the richest city then in the north, if we can believe some writers, who affirm that the *Russians* made a booty in it of three hundred cart loads of gold and silver. Notwithstanding this loss, *Basilowicz* stript the inhabitants anew, and annexed the city to his duchy, after subduing the *Poles* and the *Servians* under king *Casimir*. The weakness of the neighbouring princes, about the year 1500, gave *Basilowicz* an opportunity of enlarging and strengthening his dominions. He then took the imperial name of czar, and subdued great part of *Lithuania*, though he had given his daughter in marriage to that duke.

His wars, Notwithstanding the successes of *Basilowicz*, he and his subjects continued still undisciplined, as well as unprincipled, barbarians. His army, consisting of a hundred and thirty thousand men, was defeated by ten thousand under *Plettenberg*, grand master of the *Teutonic* order, with whom he was forced to conclude a fifty years truce. After this, he quarrelled with the *Poles*; but with little success; and he was persuaded, by his *Greek* wife *Sophia*, to set aside the issue of his first marriage, in favour of her son *Gabriel*; but upon his death-bed, he retracted that nomination, and he died in 1505. The memory of *Basilowicz* has been less fortunate than that of *Genghis Khan* or *Tamerlane*. We know few particulars of his reign, only that he died possessed of an immense empire, acquired by his own valour and policy. But though this gives us a high opinion of his abilities, he is recorded as an inhuman tyrant in all other respects. We are, however, not to give too great credit to his historians, for it is more than probable that he was compelled to severity, in the same manner as his successor, *Peter* the Great, and for the same reasons. Mr. *Voltaire* thinks,

thinks, that the title of czar which he assumed, was the ancient denomination of the *Tartar* princes of *Casan*.

John Basilowitz, justly surnamed the Great, was succeeded by his son *Gabriel*, the true heir, *Demetrius* dying in prison, where he had been confined by the arts of his mother-in-law, *Sophia*. He assumed the name of *Basilus*, and waged an unsuccessful war with the *Poles*, till he made *Gliniski*, who had been governor of *Lithuania*, and had quarrelled with the king of *Poland*, his general. *Gliniski* soon lost all his conquests, and was banished from *Moscow*, then the capital of *Russia*; but *Basilus* found means to reduce *Pleskow* and *Smolensko*, by *Gliniski*'s means, who received imprisonment for his reward. After that, in 1514, the *Russians* were totally defeated by the *Poles*, who laid siege to *Smolensko*, but in vain. In 1515, *Basilus* found himself environed with dangers; but though the emperor *Maximilian* sent him an ambassador, desiring him to make peace with the *Poles*, and to set *Gliniski* at liberty, he could be persuaded to neither. *Sigismund*, king of *Poland*, stirred up the *Crim Tartars* to invade *Moscow*, and they defeated the army of *Basilus*, who might have purchased his peace, if he would have parted with *Smolensko*. About the year 1520, the *Casan Tartars* not only revolted, but made an irruption into *Russia*, where they took *Moscow*, and defeated the *Russian* army near the river *Occa*. The name of the *Casan* prince was *Machmetgerei*, who ordered his statue to be erected in *Moscow*, and obliged *Basilus* in person to lay at its feet an annual tribute. He no sooner, however, returned to his own country, than the *Russians* demolished it, and shook off their dependence upon the *Tartars*. *Basilus*, to be revenged, invaded *Casan*, and took possession of *Servia*, after clapping its duke into prison. A treaty ensued, but neither the *Tartars* nor the *Russians* were, at that time, so civilized as to know how to make peace.

In 1526, *Basilus* divorced his wife, because she was barren, and his minister disciplined her with a horse-whip, for resenting her repudiation, and her being shut up in a monastery. The ceremony of a czarish marriage was then a curiosity. The finest women of the provinces, sometimes to the number of fifteen hundred, were sent for to court, where they were entertained in separate apartments by a governante, till the czar, who visited them incognito, had fixed his choice, which remained a secret, though the day for the wedding was named. When that arrived, the happy candidate was gorgeously attired, and the other ladies were dismissed home, but with handsome presents.

Solomea, though divorced for barrenness, solemnly swore, after she entered the monastery, that she was with child by *Basilus*. *Basilus*; and she is said to have been delivered of a prince, about the time that *Basilus* married *Helena*, an infamous woman, and daughter to *Gliniski*, whom he promoted to great honours. The rest of the reign of *Basilus* was spent in a medley

Succeeded by *Gabriel*.

1514.

1515.

Invasion of the *Crim Tartars*.

1520.

1526.

Death of *Basilus*.

- medley of negotiations, and wars with the *Poles* and *Tartars*; and he died in the year 1533. He was succeeded by his son, *John Basilowitz* the II^d, who was no more than five years of age. His minority was disturbed by perpetual wars with the *Poles* and *Tartars*. When he grew up, he cultivated a friendship with the emperor, *Charles* the Vth of *Germany*, to whom he sent a formal embassy, desiring his assistance in civilizing his people. Those noble dispositions of *John*, were crossed by the *Lubeckers*, who represented to *Charles* the dangerous consequences of civilizing the *Russians*, stopt three hundred artists who were going to *Moscow*, and arrested the *Russian* ambassador. *John* was engaged in an arduous war with the *Casan Tartars*, but a mutiny happening in his army, he was obliged to return to *Moscow*, where he found means to put to death the chief mutineers. He then took the field, and reduced *Casan*, where he made prisoners the *Tartar* king and queen, and sent them to *Moscow*, where he treated them with abundance of civility. This happened in 1552, and in 1555, he reduced *Astracan*. Upon his return, he forced the *Livonians* to pay him tribute, and he invaded *Finland*; but about the year 1556, he was forced to conclude a peace with the *Swedes*. Next year *John* made peace with the *Livonians*, and offered the emperor, *Ferdinand*, a large sum of money, to be employed in war against the infidels, provided he would assist him in civilizing his subjects, but the negotiation had no effect, through the jealousy of the imperial court. After this, he quarrelled with the *Livonians*, and desolated their country, because they refused to pay him tribute, and had courted the protection of the emperor. Upon their offering him a present of thirty thousand ducats, he granted them a truce for four months, but it was broken by the *Livonian* governor of *Marva*; which town, together with that of *Dorpt*, was taken by the *Russians*. All *Livonia*, and great part of the north, must then have fallen under *John*, whose army is said to have amounted to three hundred thousand men; had not the king of *Denmark* and the *Hanse* towns interposed. The *Russians* and *Swedes*, in 1559, joined together, to support the trade of the *Lubeckers* through *Narva*, against the *Livonians*, who, under their grand master, *Ketler*, obtained the protection of the *Poles*. A severe war ensued between the *Livonians* and the *Muscovites*, in which the latter were victorious; but *Ketler* received the duchy of *Courland* from *Sigismund*, king of *Poland*, to whom he resigned all his interest, and those of the knights of the cross, in *Livonia*. *Basilowitz* fostered those divisions of his neighbours, but would have married *Catharine*, daughter to *Sigismund*, king of *Poland*, with whom he was in love, had not the *Poles*, who knew his affection for the princess, insisted upon his preferring the children he might have by her, to those he had by his former marriage, in his succession. *Basilowitz* had the spirit to reject this unjust stipulation; and the *Poles* had the insolence and weakness to send him a white

caparisoned mare, instead of a bride, upon which *Basilowitz* p. 406. swore eternal enmity to their nation. Invading *Livonia*, he took *Polockow*, but left the *Swedes* to fight their own battles. The *Poles*, however, defeated two of their armies, in the year 1564, which *Basilowitz* attributed to the cabals of his foreign mercenaries, whom he removed to the interior parts of his dominions, where they continued their intrigues, so as often to endanger his safety. 1564.

It is difficult, at this time, to ascertain the true character of *Basilowitz*, but if we are to judge from appearances, he was of his government. a wise, firm, and magnanimous prince. He had a particular regard for the *English*, whose ambassador he consulted in all his weighty affairs. Having read some books of divinity, he suffered theological disputations to be held before him, by which, he became contemptible in the eyes of his barbarous subjects, and he struck off the head of *Demetrius*, one of his chief bojars, or lords. This produced a rebellion, so very universal, that he was obliged to give way to it, by abdicating his crown and retiring to a private life. This expedient was attended with the consequences he had foreseen, for his subjects felt the effects of anarchy so severely, that they entreated him, in the most earnest manner, to resume the reins of government, which, at last, he was prevailed upon to do, but upon his own terms. He cut off the heads of the chief insurgents against him, and he formed a body guard of two hundred soldiers of fortune, of his own choosing, from the most distant parts of his dominions, who were taught to know no will but his. About the same time he cultivated a more near connection than ever with *Elizabeth*, queen of *England*, to the vast advantage of both nations, as *Chancellor*, an *English* navigator, traded with his dominions by the way of the *White Sea*, without being exposed to any interruption from the *Poles*. *Basilowitz* was so pleased with this, that he exempted the *English* His new-*Russia* company from all customs, assigned them the use of gotiations, roperies and forges in his dominions; and gave them leave to with *Elizabeth*, trade by the *Caspian Sea*, into *Persia* and *Media*. *Basilowitz* *Elizabeth*, expected a greater return for those privileges than *Elizabeth* queen of thought proper to grant him. He gave *Randolph*, her mini-*England*, ster, the copy of a treaty offensive and defensive, and sent along with him one *Gregorowitz*, as his ambassador to the *English* court; and, at the same time, desired, that she would grant him an asylum in her dominions, if he ever should be forced to quit his own. *Elizabeth* ratified the treaty, but with a saving to all her other engagements, and promised the asylum desired, but refused to give it under her hand and seal. *Basilowitz* took this caution amiss, and said she acted like a mechanic rather than a monarch. He went so far as to threaten to deprive the *English* of their privileges within his dominions; but *Elizabeth* sent him a soothing letter by one *Jenkinson*, a man of parts and address. In this letter, she apologized for her conduct in so satisfactory a manner, that the *English* became

came greater favourites with *Basilowitz* than ever. He even offered to accept of an *English* lady for his wife, and *Elizabeth* recommended to him the lady *Anne*, sister to the earl of *Huntingdon*; but understanding, by her ambassador, *Bowes*, that the laws of the *Greek* church did not prohibit the czar from polygamy, she found means to break off the match.

His vast
magnifi-
cence.

The description which *Chancellor* and other *English* travellers give of the *Russian* court, at this time, represent it as being more rich and magnificent than any in the known world. But though *Basilowitz* was thus surrounded with more than eastern glory and splendor, his subjects were no better than slaves to the slaves of their monarch. We have already mentioned the unaccountable demand which *Basilowitz* made upon *John* duke of *Livonia*, that his wife, the princess *Catharine* of *Poland*, should be put into his hands, and the consequences with which it was attended. It is certain that *Elizabeth* disposed *Basilowitz* very favourably towards her old lover, *Eric*, king of *Sweden*, brother to duke *John*, which was one of the reasons of the rupture which soon after happened between the *Russians* and the *Poles*. The latter invaded *Muscovy*, and seized upon some places, but were driven back by *Basilowitz* in person. During his absence, one *Petrowitz*, whom he had left regent, conspired against him, and *Basilowitz*, upon his return, put him to death with his own hand. The vast treasures which flowed into *Russia* under *Basilowitz*, give some reason to believe that he had sources of wealth which have been hitherto unknown to his successors. Probably they lay in *Persia*, and the countries adjacent to *Astracan*, which have since undergone many melancholy revolutions. Be that as it will, we find, that about the year 1566, *Selim*, the *Turkish* emperor, had projected the conquest of *Astracan*, and invaded the dominions of *Basilowitz* with a vast army; some say three hundred thousand men, which were joined by forty thousand *Crim Tartars*, but they were completely defeated and destroyed by *Zerebrinow*, the *Russian* general. This threatening invasion had encouraged *George*, brother of *Basilowitz*, to revive, in his own person, the dignity of archduke of *Novogrod*; and, in conjunction with the archbishop, had prevailed with that city, *Pleskow*, and other places, to put themselves under the protection of the *Poles*. The plot was discovered by *Basilowitz*, who put to death his brother and his family, and ordered his soldiers to butcher three thousand (though some make the number fifteen thousand) of the *Novogroders*.

1566.
He de-
feats the
Turks and
Tartars.

His wars
in *Livo-*
nia,

p. 431.

Livonia was the great object for which the princes of the north contended, and *Basilowitz*, who fomented their differences, offered it in quality of its protector, to duke *Magnus* of *Holstein*, with the title of king; which dignity *Magnus* accepted of with great joy. *Basilowitz* put him at the head of an army, and he published a manifesto, tending to convince the *Livonians* that he intended only to deliver them from the yoke of the *Swedes* and *Danes*, and to unite them under a prince

prince of their own. The *Swedes* refusing to evacuate *Livonia*, *Magnus* besieged *Revel* with a *Russian* army, but it was so bravely defended, that he was obliged to raise the siege, with the loss of almost all his troops. A raging plague, and a fresh invasion of the *Tartars*, added to the miseries of *Russia* at this time. The army of *Basilowitz* was defeated; he was obliged to shut himself up in a fortress, while the barbarians took, plundered, and burnt down *Moscow*; by which it is said that no fewer than a hundred and twenty thousand of the inhabitants lost their lives. If this account is to be depended upon, there is reason to believe that *Russia*, under *Basilowitz*, was better peopled than it is at present. *Basilowitz* was delivered by the king of *Livonia*, who drove the *Tartars*, laden with plunder, out of *Russia*; upon which *Basilowitz* ordered a strict enquiry to be made into the conduct of his general officers, and such of them as were found culpable were executed, and their estates confiscated. Soon after he concluded a three years truce with the *Poles*, and again made an attempt to settle *Magnus* on the throne of *Livonia*, where *Basilowitz* took *Wittenstein*, but his army was defeated by the *Swedes* on its return. This defeat humbled *Basilowitz* so much, that he sued for peace, but was refused it by the king of *Sweden*, and a barbarous destructive war was renewed. In the mean while, he gave one of his kinswomen, *Maria*, in marriage to the king of *Livonia*, who took *Pernau*, and several other places in *Livonia*.

About the year 1576, the emperor *Maximilian* the II^d, of- 1576.
fered his mediation between *Russia* and *Sweden*, but without *Denmark*
effect, and *Basilowitz* seized *Hasel*, *Lobe* and *Lehal*, belong- and *Pol-*
ing to the *Danes*, who had lately bought them from the *Swedes*. land.
After the election of *Stephen Battori*, to be king of *Poland*,
Basilowitz offered to join the empire in its attempts to de-
throne him, that he might divert the attention of the *Poles*
from the affairs of *Livonia*. There he besieged *Revel*. The
Russians, in those days, were awkward in besieging places;
and after losing their general, *Kortzoff*, they abandoned their
enterprize. This did not prevent *Basilowitz* from making a
new partition of *Livonia* with *Magnus*, who secretly counter-
mined him, and took possession of many places, contrary to
his agreement with *Basilowitz*. This was resented by the lat-
ter so highly, that he besieged *Magnus* in *Wenden*, and pressed
his *Livonian* majesty so much, that he was obliged to throw
himself at the czar's feet, and implore his pardon. *Basilowitz*
generously granted it, and promised to take *Wenden* under his
protection, but the garrison fired upon his camp, narrowly
missed killing him, and then blew themselves up in their cita-
del. *Basilowitz*, after this, put *Magnus* under arrest, but soon
permitted him to retire to *Kackenhausen*, and *Basilowitz* would
probably have conquered all *Livonia*, had not his dominions
been threatened with a fresh irruption of the *Tartars*. Upon
the czar's return to *Moscow*, the *Swedes* recovered all he had
taken.

taken in *Livonia*, and beat his troops, in conjunction with the *Poles*, the *Courlanders*, the *Livonians*, and the *Prussians*. *Basilowitz* raised an army of a hundred thousand men, to take a severe revenge, but he was again deserted by *Magnus*, the king of his own making, who put himself under the protection of the *Poles*. After several negotiations, war was declared between *Poland* and *Russia*, by a *Polish* ambassador at *Moscow*, whom *Basilowitz*, notwithstanding, protected from insult, because of the noble intrepidity he discovered in behalf of his master and his country.

His troops
defeated
by the
Poles.

The campaign was opened with the siege of *Poloczko*, by the *Poles*, who took it, after a brave defence; and being better disciplined than the *Russians*, obtained many other advantages; upon which *Basilowitz* deigned to offer to send ambassadors to *Poland*, to treat of peace. As no evacuation of *Livonia* was offered, the *Poles* rejected his advances, and receiving recruits from *Germany* and *Hungary*, they took the important fortress of *Wielkiluki*, which gave them a ready admittance into *Russia*. This conquest was succeeded by many others, and *Pleskow* itself was saved only because the *Poles* and their confederates could not stand a winter campaign. The *Poles* solicited the *Swedes* and *Danes* to join them in this war, but in vain, though they were allured by the promise of being put in possession of *Basilowitz's* immense treasures. The czar profiting by experience, continued the war on the defensive, and, during the winter, he was himself married for the seventh time, and celebrated the marriage of his son, *John Jwanowitz*, at *Moscow*, with vast magnificence. Mean while, the *Swedes* were drawn in to side with the *Poles*, and they took *Kexholm*, and reduced the greatest part of the *Russian Livonia*. The *Swedish* general, *la Gardie*, then besieged, and took *Narva*, and made so rapid a progress, that he threatened the conquest of *Russia* itself. The *Poles* were equally successful on their part, for, besides many other places, they took *Riga*, and formed the siege of *Pleskow*, one of the strongest places in the north.

His dis-
tresses.

Basilowitz seeing so powerful a confederacy against him, his chief cities lost, and his armies cut in pieces, had the sagacity to apply to pope *Gregory* the XIIIth, and offered to oblige his people to embrace the *Roman* catholic religion, provided he would procure him peace. *Gregory* sent *Possevin*, the *Jesuit*, who began the negotiation, but *Battori* insisted upon the *Russians* restoring all *Livonia* as a preliminary. *Basilowitz* seemed to be tractable on this head, but his real design was, to spin out the time till the season should oblige his enemies to quit the field. During the conferences the person of *Basilowitz* had almost been surprized by *Radzevil*, a *Polish* marauder; and, escaping this danger, he employed his spies, by whom he was well served, so effectually, that he sowed the seeds of discontent between the *Poles* and the *Swedes*; so that *Possevin* found means to make the peace of *Zapolicia*, between *Basilowitz* and

A peace.

and *Battori*, who complained that his allies were the only gainers by the war. By this peace, which was concluded on the 15th of *January* 1582, the *Poles* agreed to give up the conquests they had made in *Russia*, and *Basilowitz* yielded up to them the *Lithuanian Livonia*. This separate peace, by which the siege of *Pleskow* was raised, gives us a high idea of the policy of *Basilowitz*, who could quell so successful and so powerful a confederacy. The *Russian* nobility, not seeing through the reasons of his inactivity, demanded to be led to the field by his son. *Basilowitz* appeared highly incensed at this application, ordered the young prince to appear before him, and in the heat of his passion, or as some say, by accident, he gave him a blow with an iron mace, which he carried about with him, as the instrument of his vengeance, and which proved fatal to the prince, who died, after languishing four days.

1582.

He kills his own son.

The bitter grief which the czar expressed for the death of his innocent son, gives some room to think that the blow was accidental, or at least that it was given in a thoughtless fit of passion. But he soon returned to the affairs of government. The *Poles* being detached from the *Swedes*, the latter, whose demands, at first, were very high, apprehending a war with *Poland*, concluded a truce, first for two months, and then for two years. *Basilowitz* is said, however, never to have recovered from the melancholy he had conceived by the death of his son. He endeavoured to divert it, by making an expedition, in person, against the *Tartars*, which proved unsuccessful; and upon his return to *Moscow*, foreseeing his own death, he employed himself in acts of clemency, and in making many excellent dispositions for the government of his son *Theodore*. He died on the 26th of *March* 1584. Some time before his death, *Possévin* demanded the completion of his promise of uniting his dominions to the church of *Rome*, but received such an answer as demonstrated that *Basilowitz* either had never been sincere when he made it, or thought that it was more equitable to break than to observe it.

His death, 1584.

Basilowitz may be said to have been rather a rough than a barbarous prince, and, in every respect, was the prototype of his successor, *Peter* the Great. His actions shew him to have possessed great strength of mind. He was possessed of unfeigned piety, and in solemn seasons, he often publicly performed the duties of chief pontif in his own dominions. He was inflexible in the administration of justice, and sometimes put to death with his own hand the ministers who oppressed his people, and abused his confidence. He was (as we have already hinted) by far the richest and most magnificent prince of his time, notwithstanding the immense sums he spent upon his wars, in rewarding his spies, and pensioning men of merit. The cruelties of which he was accused, can scarcely be called so, when exercised on a people, who were insensible (as the *Russians* then were) to all other feelings, but those of pain, and whose obstinacy could be conquered only by punishment

and character.

and torture. His appearance was majestic, especially as he commonly wore robes, jewels, a crown, a globe, and a sceptre of inestimable value. His memory was quick and comprehensive, and upon the whole, he was the greatest prince that filled the *Russian* throne before *Peter* the Great.

Succeed-
ed by his
son *Theo-*
dore, a
beneficent
prince.

Basilowitz, before his death, had committed the tuition of his son, *Theodore* (of whose intellects he had but a slender opinion) to a nobleman, one *Bielski*, whose ambition was so immoderate, that his pupil was no sooner seated on the throne, than he caballed with the nobility to set him aside, for want of a capacity to govern. *Theodore*, however, upon his accession, performed so many acts of beneficence and reformation, that the nobles, discovering *Bielski's* ambition, drove him out of *Russia* into *Tartary*. His banishment did not relieve *Theodore*, for his brother-in-law, *Boris*, succeeded to all the ambition and treasonable designs of *Bielski*; but covered his intentions under the mask of great moderation and zeal for the public good. The *Swedes* continued their applications for a peace, but they terminated in prolonging the truce for four years. When the crown of *Poland* became vacant, by the death of *Battori*, *Boris* proposed *Theodore*, as a candidate, to succeed him; but the election fell upon *Sigismund*, prince of *Sweden*. The uniting the crowns of *Sweden* and *Poland* in one family, alarmed *Boris*, who offered the *Swedes* their own terms, but to no purpose, till after various warlike operations, a truce was concluded for one year, in 1590. *Boris* thought that that interval, joined to the disaffection entertained by the *Swedes* and *Poles* to their respective princes, afforded a fair opportunity for carrying his ambitious schemes into execution. He began by performing several popular acts, but he employed an assassin to murder the czar's brother, young *Demetrius*, who was no more than nine years of age, and under the tutelage of his mother. Whether the murderer performed his commission, remains a doubt to this day, and the most probable opinion is, that the assassin killed another boy, who had been substituted by the czarina in her son's place. The fact, in short, is variously related, nor was it possible to clear it up, because the assassin himself was way-layed and murdered, by order of *Boris*.

1590.

His youn-
ger bro-
ther mur-
dered by
Boris.

1597.

Death of
Theodore,

The death of *Demetrius* was given out, and *Boris* was suspected, but he screened himself by a variety of popular acts. In 1597, *Theodore* falling ill, delivered his staff of command to his cousin, *Theodore Nikititz Romanov*, as a sign that he intended him for his successor. This nobleman, as did all his brothers, refused to accept of the nomination; upon which *Theodore*, in a passion, threw the staff upon the ground, declaring, that whoever took it up should be his successor. It was seized by *Boris*, whose sister *Theodore* had married, and she upbraided him with her husband's death, which happened soon after, in the twelfth year of his reign, and in him the first line of the czars ended.

During

During the vacancy of the throne, the *Swedes* became masters of almost all *Ingria*, and *Boris* artfully spread reports as if both they and the *Tartars* were about to invade *Russia*; by which he was seemingly forced to accept of the czarship. He began his reign with great magnificence and generosity; for it is said that he entertained ten thousand people at dinner every day, and that all of them were served in plate. Upon his return to *Moscow*, he was crowned, and though he affected great gentleness and smoothness of manners, he forced the *Romanow* family into convents, and *Theodore* was obliged to change his name into that of *Philaret*. In 1600, *Boris*, whose manners were now degenerated into those of a tyrant, concluded a peace with the *Poles*, and entered into negotiations with the *Swedes* and the *Danes*; but in the meanwhile, so dreadful a famine raged in *Russia*, that the living eat one another, and it is thought that no fewer than five hundred thousand persons perished of hunger within the walls of *Moscow*. In 1604, a supposed *Demetrius*, pretending to be the son of *John Basilowitz* the II^d, appeared, and it was given out that he had escaped the assassination intended for him by *Boris*. Had not the tyrant employed unfair practices to destroy this *Demetrius* likewise, his claims perhaps would have been disregarded. He escaped to *Kiow*, from thence he went to *Lithuania*, and was received by the palatine of *Sandomir* as the true heir of the *Russian* monarchy. The palatine engaged all *Poland* in his interest, and *Demetrius* undertook, if he was restored, to establish the *Roman* catholic religion in *Russia*, and to marry *Mariana*, the palatine's daughter. At last *Demetrius* was presented before the diet and the king of *Poland*. The former, upon examining the evidences he offered, pronounced him to be the son of *Basilowitz* the II^d. The latter wanted to make an advantage of the discovery, and dreading the threatenings of *Boris*, was more reserved in his promises, but gave his nobles leave to assist *Demetrius*, if they pleased. In a few weeks *Demetrius* was at the head of an army of *Poles*, and defeated the *Russians* under *Boris*, who was alarmed and distracted; and at last betrayed by his general, *Zuski*. It is said that *Demetrius*, while he was near *Moscow*, sent ruffians, who gave him poison, of which he died in 1605.

1600.

1604.

A supposed *Demetrius* claims the czarship.Death of *Boris*,

1605.

who is succeeded by *Demetrius*.

Though the claim of *Demetrius* was plausible, yet his memory has been treated as that of an impostor; and the best modern authors seem to believe that he was a young monk of the same age as the true *Demetrius*, and that he had been tutored by an old monk into all his fictions. If that, however, was the case, the widow of *Basilowitz*, and the friends of his family, must have been accomplices with the impostor, for they not only recognized his person, but furnished him with some jewels which the true *Demetrius* wore about his person. Upon the death of *Boris*, his son, *Theodore*, or (as that name is pronounced in *Russia*) *Feoder*, was proclaimed czar, and at first, though he was but fifteen years of age, he was acknowledged

ledged by the chief *Russians* at *Moscow*; but being betrayed by the army, he and his mother were committed to prison, where they are said to have been murdered, by order of *Demetrius*, who was immediately raised to the throne of *Russia*. The first exercise of his government was his sending for his mother, who lived exiled in the north of *Muscovy*, and who solemnly acknowledged him for her son. The truth is, that though *Boris* was hated, yet *Demetrius* was neither beloved nor believed to be what he pretended. Though smooth and insinuating, he soon forfeited all credit with the *Russians*, by his deviations from their manners. They abominated the *Roman* catholic religion, and two *Jesuits* were his first ministers, orders having been given to build a *Jesuits* church in the capital; but the aversion of the *Russians* to *Demetrius* was completed, when they saw him and his *Polish* czarina surrounded by guards of her countrymen, in their native dresses, and the nobility of that kingdom the only favourites at court. His friend and general *Bosmanoff* put him upon his guard, and when it was too late, he endeavoured to accommodate himself more than he had done to the *Russian* customs.

He grows
unpopu-
lar.

Is de-
throned
and mur-
dered by
Zuski,

Zuski, whom *Demetrius* had already pardoned for his treasons, became the head of a party against him. He recapitulated to his accomplices all the transgressions *Demetrius* had been guilty of, even to his eating veal, which they considered as unclean meat; and when they were sufficiently heated, twenty thousand of them took possession of the palace, forced his mother, the czarina dowager, to declare that *Demetrius* was not her son, butchered him and all the *Poles* who were about court, excepting the palatin of *Sandomir*, and his daughter, the czarina, who redeemed their lives with money. Notwithstanding the fate of *Demetrius*, when we consider the circumstances attending it, there is reason for questioning the veracity of his supposed mother's disowning him, and the various reports and difficulties that have been started concerning his person, render the whole more proper for the page of romance than of history. It seems, however, to be pretty evident, from what has since happened in that country, that had *Demetrius* been the undoubted son of *Basilowitz* the II^d, his disregard of the *Russian* customs and religion, and his partiality for foreigners, must have led him to the same, or a like tragical, end.

who suc-
ceeds
him.

After the murder of *Demetrius*, *Zuski* was placed on the throne of the czars, by the suffrages of the people, to the great discontent of some of the chief nobility. He cultivated a friendship with the *Poles*, and *Sigismund* disowned the late *Demetrius*, as did the king of *Sweden* likewise, each hoping to make *Zuski* his friend in a war that was ready to break out between them. While he was intent on foreign affairs, *Schacopski*, who had been chancellor to *Demetrius*, in concert with some discontented nobles, pretended that his master had escaped the late massacre, and was gone to implore succours in person

person, of his allies. An army immediately assembled under one *Istboma Bascow*, and *Polutnich*, a *Cosack* general, which defeated that of *Zuski*, and they must have made themselves masters of *Moscow*, had they not quarrelled, upon which *Bascow* went over to *Zuski*, and the conspiracy came to nothing, its heads being punished by death or tortures. Though this second *Demetrius* had never appeared publicly, yet a third started up in *Poland*. He was a schoolmaster at *Socola*, in *Polish Russia*, and his cause was adopted by *Sigismund*, king of *Poland*. So credulous were the *Russians* and *Tartars* of those times, that even this imposture, glaring as it was, assembled an army of sixty thousand men, gave two signal defeats to that of *Zuski*, and at last besieged him in *Moscow*. Here he was so hard pressed, and his troops were so often defeated, that he employed the palatine of *Sandomir*, and his daughter, the late czarina, to make his peace with *Sigismund*. Instead of that, being carried to the impostor's camp, the one acknowledged him for his son-in-law, and the other for her husband. This management, which was plainly intended as the means of being revenged on *Zuski*, strengthened the impostor's party so much, that the czar held no places of importance in his empire, but *Moscow*, *Smolensko*, and *Novogrod*. A new impostor.

The bojars, and all the natives of any sense or knowledge, equally hated *Demetrius* as *Zuski*, and when the *Swedes* declared for the latter, the *Russians* disowned both, and proceeded to a new election, which fell upon *Uladislaus*, son to *Sigismund*, king of *Poland*, who was besieging, and afterwards took, *Smolensko*. In consequence of this election, *Zuski* was deposed and put to death, *Demetrius* was assassinated by the *Tartars*, for having ordered their prince, *Kasimowski*, to be drowned; and, what is almost incredible, a fourth *Demetrius* started up, was acknowledged as the true heir of *Russia* by the citizens of *Pleskow*, and in a few days was strong enough to dispute the throne of the czars with *Uladislaus*. The farce, however, carried on by this *Demetrius*, was but short lived, for after the *Russians* had obtained their ends, by putting him at their head against the *Poles*, they sent him prisoner to *Moscow*, where he was hanged. After this, ten thousand *Poles* took possession of *Moscow*, in the name of *Uladislaus*; and finding themselves distrusted by the *Russians*, they set fire to the city, butchered a hundred thousand of its inhabitants, and plundered the churches, palace, and public treasury, of most incredible riches. Leaving a garrison in the castle of *Moscow*, the main body rejoined their king, who soon after returned to *Poland*, in despair of seeing his son seated on the throne of the czars, especially after his garrison gave up the castle of *Moscow*. Zuski deposed.
Other impostors arise, and are punished.

The *Russians* may now be said to have arrived at the crisis of their public distractions. In 1613, a great assembly of the bojars was held, in which the election of *Uladislaus* was set aside, because he had refused to be invested with his new dignity; and proceeding to a new election, it fell upon a young czar. 1613.
Michael Romanow chosen czar.

man of seventeen (others say fifteen) years of age, *Michael Theodorowitz Romanow*. He was the son of *Theodore Nikitiz Romanow*, whom we have already mentioned to have had his name changed to *Philaret*, when he was shut up in a convent by the tyrant *Boris*. *Theodore's* wisdom and moderation had recommended him to the public esteem, and the first *Demetrius*, after making him archbishop of *Rotow*, sent him as his ambassador to *Poland*, where he was made a prisoner, and remained so at the time of his son's election. His wife, whose name was *Czermetoff*, was a woman of the highest quality; and, by his mother's side, he was descended from the antient blood of the czars. This, together with his sufferings, undoubtedly influenced the election in favour of his son; and the unwillingness of the mother, with the young man's own unambitious behaviour, confirmed them in their choice. In short, the patriarch of *Moscow* pretended a revelation in favour of the young man, and he was accordingly inaugurated into his new dignity.

His remarkable marriage.

p. 505,
506.

1617.
Negotiations,

The *Russians* were not deceived in *Michael*, whose parts were more solid than shining, and whose endeavours wholly tended to re-establish the peace of his dominions. He made his father, who was now released from his captivity, the patriarch of *Moscow*, and gave him the first place in his councils, so that the prelate reigned in his son's name. *Michael* chose a wife in the old *Russian* manner, which we have already described; and the happy woman was one *Eudocia*, the daughter of a farmer, who was tilling his grounds when he heard that he was father of the czarina. The demands which *Charles* the IXth of *Sweden* had upon *Russia*, on account of his engagements to assist *Zuski*, was the first interruption of the tranquillity of this reign, and we have already seen the intrigues which the prince of *Sweden* had formed for becoming czar. *La Gardie* took *Ladega* and *Kexholm*, and, at last, *Novogrod*, about the time that *Gustavus Adolphus* succeeded to the crown of *Sweden*. The reader, in the history of *Sweden*, has seen the progress and event of this quarrel. The young czar, finding that *Gustavus* and his brother disputed his election, notified the same to all the foreign powers in *Europe*, but could not prevent the *Swedes* from gaining many considerable advantages over them. In 1617, under the mediation of *Merrick*, the *English* ambassador, a peace was concluded between the *Russians* and *Swedes*, at *Glebova*, by which *Kexholm* and *Ingria* remained with *Gustavus*. Before *Michael* could taste the sweets of this peace, his dominions were invaded by a fresh army of *Poles*, under *Uladislaus*, who proceeded with vast ferocity and cruelty to the very gates of *Moscow*, pretending that he was the lawful czar; but all he could do, was to plunder and put the disarmed peasantry to the sword, for, at last, he was forced to make a truce for fourteen years, on condition that *Smolensko* should remain with the *Poles*.

Though

Though the czar's wife, *Eudocia*, proved one of the wisest and most virtuous princesses that ever graced a throne, yet *Michael* had thoughts of divorcing her, because she had no male issue, when, in 1630, she was brought to bed of a son, *Alexis*. Soon after this joyful event, *Michael* received, from the *Dutch*, the most splendid embassy that had ever been seen in those parts, on a count of some commercial differences between them and the *English*. He partly granted wars, their requests as to a corn trade to be carried on in the *White Sea*, but all he could obtain in return, was their granting him liberty to purchase military stores in *Holland*, for they refused to assist him against the *Poles*, who had broken the truce, and taken several places in *Russia*. This produced a war between the *Poles* and the *Russians*, who were defeated in 1633, which cost the *Russian* general, *Szebin*, and some of his officers, their heads. Notwithstanding this, a peace was concluded in 1634. *Uladislaus* renounced the title of czar, and concluded a definitive peace with *Michael*, upon the latter yielding up to him *Smolensko* and *Czernichew*, in perpetuity. We have already mentioned the romantic project of the duke of *Holslein*, to open a silk trade through *Russia* with *Persia*; but *Michael* now received an irreparable loss, by the death of his father, whose name he is said to have associated with his own in all public acts. The rest of *Michael's* reign was tranquil. He employed himself in the education of his son *Alexis*, which was committed to one *Morofou*, and his court was crowded with splendid embassies, from the chief princes of *Europe* and *Asia*. Such was the desirable situation of *Michael*, beloved by his subjects, and respected by his neighbours, when he died, in 1645, in the 33d year of his reign, and the 49th of his age. and death.

Morofou was then considered as the first subject in the empire, and upon the coronation of his pupil, *Alexis*, became his favourite and first minister. Among the other ladies who appeared, as usual, candidates for the czar's hand in marriage, two, the daughters of an obscure bojar, called *Miloslauski*, were exquisitely handsome. The czar fell in love with, and married the elder, as *Morofou* did the younger. The favourite's next care was to plunge his master into pleasures and amusements, while he himself, in conjunction with his father-in-law and *Plescou*, the chief justice of *Moscow*, governed the empire with an absolute sway. About this time, all *Europe* was amused with the adventures of a counterfeit *Zycki*, who pretended to be son to the czar of that name, and who, after a vast variety of transformations, was discovered to be an impostor, and was executed with the most dreadful tortures at *Moscow*. Their deliverance from this impostor, served only to encourage *Morofou* and his associates in their infamous oppressions, which, in the year 1648, broke out in an insurrection, in which the people demanded the dismissal of the chief justice, whose malversations were the most intolerable. So far from

from receiving satisfaction, they were insulted by the friends of the triumvirate, among whom was the chancellor of *Russia*. Exasperated at this, they plundered *Morosou's* house, beat the chancellor to death, and forced the czar to deliver up to them the chief justice, whom they beat to death likewise, and cut off his head. A nobleman, one *Trachanistou*, was the next object of their fury, and the czar ordered him to be beheaded before his face, which mollified the insurgents so much, that they suffered *Morosou* to escape. The heads of this insurrection were *Strelitzes*, who answered to the *Roman* prætorian bands; and even when the tumult was over, the czar was so far from punishing them, that he treated them with strong liquors, as a reward for their moderation, till at last, he prevailed with them to agree to his pardoning *Morosou*. The latter accordingly returned to court, where he appeared as humble as he had been before haughty. A negotiation with *Christina*, queen of *Sweden*, succeeded, and it was agreed that neither should protect the fugitives of the other. This did not prevent several insurrections at *Pleskow*, *Novogrod* and other places, against the *Russian* monopolizers of corn, and it was with some difficulty that *Alexis* reduced the insurgents.

The in-
surrection
suppressed.

p. 524.
E seq.
War with
Poland
and Sweden.

We have already mentioned the wars in which *Alexis* was engaged with *Poland* and *Sweden*. *Alexis* seems to have engaged in them, partly that he might employ his tumultuous subjects, and had it not been for the interposition of *France*, in favour of *Casimir*, he was then so powerful that he must have obtained the crown of *Poland*. Being disappointed in this aim, he resolved to be revenged on the *Poles* for all the blood they had shed, and the devastation they had made in *Russia*. He recovered *Smolensko*, after a year's siege. He carried an army of three hundred thousand men into *Lithuania*, where he reduced *Wilna*, as his *Prussian* *Cosacs* did *Kiow*, and the province of *Czernichew*. In short, the *Poles* being pressed on the other hand by the *Swedes*, were obliged to put up with those losses, and to conclude a long truce with *Alexis*. The latter was not so fortunate against the *Swedes*, who beat his armies in *Lithuania*, *Carelia*, *Ingria*, and *Livonia*, and obliged them to abandon the blockade of *Riga*, though it was formed with a hundred and twenty thousand men. Those losses compelled *Alexis* to accept of a peace with the *Swedes* in 1661. About that time, a fifth *Demetrius* appeared, and claimed the throne of the czars, as being the son of the first *Demetrius*, the supposed monk. His claim was far more probable than those of the preceding pretenders; and it is generally thought, that, at the time of his father's catastrophe, his mother saved him among the *Cosacs*. His right had been acknowledged by *Uladislaus*, king of *Poland*; and upon his death, he retired first to *Sweden*, and then into the territories of the duke of *Holstein*, who, for pecuniary considerations, gave him up to the czar, and he was put to death at *Moscow*.

1661.

Alexis had now some leisure to apply himself to the internal government of his kingdom, and he is celebrated for several regulations he introduced in the laws, manufactures and agriculture. In short, if we believe contemporary authors, he formed the outlines of that plan, which was so gloriously extended by his son, *Peter* the Great. His civil cares were interrupted in 1669, by the dangerous rebellion of *Stenko Razin*, a *Cosac* chief, but a *Russian* subject. This rebellion, perhaps, had its rise from the tyranny of *Dolgorucki*, who commanded the *Cosacs* under the czar. *Stenko* carried on war not only against *Alexis*, but the shah of *Persia*, and plundered all the rich countries that lie on the banks of the *Volga*, and the *Caspian Sea*. His aim seems to have been the crown of *Astracan*, but his head was disordered by his successes, especially after he had in a manner forced *Alexis* to grant him a pardon. Renewing his rebellious practices, he assembled a large body of *Russians*, *Cosacs*, and other nations, with which he seized the *Astracan* fleet, with a vast booty, which enabled him to reward his men in the most liberal manner. Being now master of a good fleet, and twenty-seven thousand land forces, he had the insolence to send ambassadors to threaten the shah of *Persia* with an invasion, if he did not enter into an alliance with him. The shah answered the demand of the ambassadors by striking off their heads; but this did not hinder *Stenko* from becoming master of many important places upon the *Volga*, his army being increased, by vast desertions from that of *Russia*. Even *Astracan*, at last, was surrendered to the rebel, who put to death the *Russian* governor, butchered great numbers of the citizens, and was guilty of the most shocking barbarities. The first check he received, was from the governor of *Simbierske*, who forced him to return to *Astracan*; but still his forces increased every day, till at last they amounted to two hundred thousand men. This vast body was too numerous to subsist in one place, and gave *Dolgorucki*, the *Russian* general, who was sent to command against the rebels, such advantages, that twelve thousand of them were put to death on racks and wheels. In other parts, proportionable numbers suffered, so that above a hundred thousand rebels were put to the sword, or died under the hands of the executioner. As to *Stenko* himself, he met with the fate which his frantic cruelty deserved, and, dispirited at seeing himself deserted by all his followers, he set out for *Moscow*, in hopes of being both pardoned and preferred by the czar; but he was there publicly executed. After his death, the czar recovered *Astracan*, and all the places he had taken, and the rebellion was extinguished, after a vast effusion of blood.

In 1676, *Alexis* renewed his treaty with *Poland*, and signified the same to the *Turks*, who were ready to fall upon that republic. This admonition not being sufficient to deter the infidels from attacking the *Poles*, *Alexis* assisted the latter with twenty thousand men, and compelled the sultan to a peace. The

extin-
guished.

1676.
Alexis as-
sists the
Poles.

The czar, not being comprehended in it, refused to make the cessions demanded by the sultan, whom he called a dog, and told him that he should be glad to measure his *Russian* sabre with the *Turkish* scymiter. The war between the *Turks* and the *Poles* was renewed, and *Alexis*, in defiance of the sultan's threatening, sent two armies of twenty thousand men each, to the assistance of the *Poles*, besides ordering his *Calmucs* and *Cosacs* to make an irruption into the *Crim*. Those succours made such a diversion, as enabled the famous *John Sobieski*, crown general of *Poland*, to gain the famous battle of *Choczim*, over the infidels, which afterwards advanced him to that crown, though his election was disputed by *Alexis*, who offered the *Poles* very alluring terms, if they would chuse his son *Theodore*.

His noble
projects
for a ge-
neral
league
against the
Turks.

That *Alexis* was a prince of the most sublime and comprehensive ideas, appears from the scheme which he formed at this time, of a general league against the *Turks*. With that view, he sent ambassadors to *Rome*, and the chief potentates in *Christendom*. Though he offered to agree that his holiness should be chief of the league, yet he ordered his ambassador not to kiss his slipper. He was, however, well received at the papal court, notwithstanding the ridiculous punctilios the cardinal insisted on, and the scheme was highly approved and admired, both there, and by other *Roman* catholic powers; but their wars among each other did not admit its being carried into execution. Had he lived longer, he would have left less for his successor, the great *Peter*, to have done for the benefit of his dominions. He was indefatigable in promoting the silk and other manufactures, and instead of suffering the prisoners he made in war to be the slaves of their captors, he formed them into settlements on the banks of the *Volga*, and his other unpeopled territories, or employed them in his armies. Before his death, he lost almost all the *Ukraine* to the *Turks*; and he complained that the *Poles*, out of jealousy, beheld the progress of the infidels with too little concern, till it was too late. It is said that the infidels, when they took *Human*, in the *Ukraine*, by assault, butchered a hundred thousand of his subjects; and when his general, *Romanonowski*, was obliged to save himself and his army behind the *Nieper*, *Moscow* itself was thrown into a consternation; but it was quickly removed, by the activity and valour of the czar, who obliged the enemy to return towards the *Danube*. After this, the *Poles* made a vast progress in the *Ukraine*, which *Alexis* was

His death
and cha-
racter.

1677.

too generous to resent. Neither would he enter into the confederacy against *Charles* the XIth of *Sweden*, whose ambassadors he received into *Moscow* with most astonishing magnificence. *Alexis* died suddenly, in the year 1677, when he was no more than forty-six years of age. By his first wife, *Miloslawski*, he left two sons, *Theodore* and *John*, and four daughters, *Catharine*, *Theodosia*, *Mary* and *Sophia*; the latter of whom was distinguished for her great talents. By his second

wife,

wife, daughter of the bojar *Nariskin*, a captain of hussars, he had *Peter*, afterwards justly surnamed the Great, and a daughter, *Nabalina*, so called after her mother. It is sufficient to say of *Alexis*, that he left many other monuments of his glory besides that of being father to *Peter* the Great. He sincerely hated the *Turks*, and was perhaps the only *European* prince of his time, who did not suffer his private quarrels with other powers to interfere in the great designs he meditated against them. The chief disadvantage he seems to have lain under, was the too great power of his patriarchs and clergy, whose interest it was to encourage the barbarity and religious prepossessions of his people.

Theodore succeeded his father, when he was no more than seventeen years of age. By the best computation, *Alexis* left by *Theodore*, an army of two hundred and fifty thousand men, at the time of his death, the greatest part of which was destined for the recovery of the *Ukraine*. *Theodore* employed them for the same purpose, and succeeded. He retook *Czeberin*, and reduced the rebel, *Dorofensko*, the *Zaporog-Cosac*, who had, by turns, invited the *Poles*, the *Turks*, and the *Tartars*, into the *Ukraine*, and had betrayed them all. *Theodore* met with an ungrateful return for the assistance his father had given to the *Poles*, for they not only refused to give him any assistance against the infidels, but insisted upon terms for themselves; and, besides some cessions, actually received two hundred thousand rubles (about forty-six thousand pounds) as a satisfaction for *Kiow* and *Smolensko*. *Theodore* was in hopes that those advantageous terms would have induced the *Poles* to have sent him succours; but before any resolution of that kind could be taken in the diet, the *Turks*, in 1678, re-entered the *Ukraine*, out of which they drove *Romadonowski*, though he was at the head of four hundred thousand men, and retook *Czeberin*. From the success of this campaign, we may judge of the valour and discipline of the *Russian* troops, or rather, perhaps, the incapacity of their general. The *Poles* wanted to profit by the distress of *Theodore*, but he nobly rejected all their demands; and the *Turks*, perceiving that their conquests did not repay the tenth part of the expences they cost them, nor even afforded subsistence for their troops, returned home, and proposed an accommodation with *Theodore*, who, finding that he was trifled with by the *Poles*, made a treaty with the infidels in 1680, by which the *Cosacs* returned to their allegiance under the czar, and the *Tartars* were bound up from making any farther incursions into the *Russian* dominions.

Though *Theodore* had not his father's strength of mind, yet who endeavouring, by a very politic conduct, restored peace to his dominions, he pursued his plans for the civilization of his country. He encouraged the building stone, instead of wooden, houses, at *Moscow*, and was careful to introduce into his dominions a good breed of horses. His policy was, perhaps, not so defensible in endeavouring to imitate the *Turkish* government, by throwing

1673.

1680.

throwing into the fire all the evidences of noble birth, and privileges which he ordered his bojars to lay before him, that every man might depend, for all he possessed, on his own merits and services; for this attempt, instead of reforming them, rendered them his enemies. He was, notwithstanding his bodily infirmities, twice married, within the space of ten months. The name of his first wife, whom he married in 1681, is uncertain; but she was of a *Polish* family. She dying, he married *Marva Matweowna*, daughter of *Matthias Appraxis*, when his death. he was almost upon his death-bed; for he survived the ceremony but a few months, and died in 1682, without children, after having named his half-brother, *Peter*, (thinking his full brother, *John*, incapable of affairs) to be his successor.

He is succeeded by *Peter*, at the time of his brother's death, was but ten years of age, and *John's* intellects and person were weak, being almost deprived of sight. Their ambitious sister, *Sophia*, did not, as had been common with the daughters of czars, retire to a monastery, but formed a design to make herself mistress of the empire. By her intrigues, the *Strelitzes* first mutinied, and then rebelled: She prevailed with them to massacre all whom she suspected to befriend *Peter*, the *Nariskin* family particularly. The carnage was horrible, and suspicion was enough to destroy any man, be he ever so innocent. Together with the *Nariskins*, the princes *Dolgorucki* and *Mattheof*, were murdered, and for some days, the streets of the capital might be said to run with blood. The princess *Sophia* was the authoress and directress of this terrible proscription, which ended by the *Strelitzes* declaring *John* and *Peter* joint czars, and herself regent. Her first exercise of power was, her approving of all the murders that had been committed, and rewarding their authors, by which she acted, in every respect, as sole sovereign of *Russia*. She married her brother *John* to a *Siberian* lady, of the *Soltikoff* family, 1664; and had such an ascendancy over the *Strelitzes*, that when one part of them rebelled, upon a religious account, they were reduced by those who stuck firm to her government, and the ringleaders were punished with death. This insurrection was not so formidable as a conspiracy formed by the *Knez Chowanski*, general of the *Strelitzes*, one of her best friends, who had so great an interest, that he forced the princess and the royal family to fly to the monastery of the *Holy Trinity*, whither inviting the *Knez*, who publicly aimed at the throne, to a conference, she found means to cut off his and his sons heads, with those of thirty-seven of his chief officers. It happened fortunately for the royal family, that the insolence of the *Strelitzes* was become detestable to all the rest of *Russia*; so that when they were preparing to level the monastery to the ground, and to murder all the royal family, to revenge their general's death, they were informed by the patriarch, for whom they had a regard, that vast armies were marching against them from all quarters. Finding this intelligence to be true, they laid down their arms,

A dreadful insurrection at *Moscow*, through the ambition of their sister *Sophia*, who had been declared co-regent.

arms, and three thousand seven hundred of them presented themselves on their knees before the gates of the monastery, each carrying in his hand a block and a hatchet, but they were all pardoned and dismissed, by the politic *Sophia*.

That princess, ambitious as she was, was obliged to call in to her assistance prince *Basil Galitzin*, by far the ablest and most accomplished nobleman in *Russia*, whom she set at the head of the army. He performed wonders, and by the judicious dispositions he made of the troops, he forced the *Poles* to cede to the *Russians* the noble provinces of *Smolensko*, and the *Ukraine*. *Galitzin* was even so polished as to admire the glories of the court of *France*, under *Lewis* the XIVth, to whom he sent ambassadors, and the *French* coined a medal on the occasion. The *Crim Tartars*, a barbarous, but warlike, race, the inhabitants of the antient *Taurica Chersonesus*, which communicates with the rest of the world only by a narrow slip of land, renewed, about this time, their incursions upon *Russia*; and *Galitzin* was persuaded, by his enemies at court, to march against them in person. We have already seen that his expedition was unfortunate. The *Tartars* were protected by the *Turks*, and *Galitzin* was betrayed by the *Russians*. In his retreat, after losing a vast number of men for want of subsistence, he built a town upon the *Samara*, banished *Samuelowitz*, the hetman of the *Cosacs*, for confederating with the enemy, and constituted the famous *Mazeppa* in his room. Upon *Galitzin's* return to *Moscow*, he was well received by *Sophia*, but a secret party being formed against him, he was persuaded to profit by experience, and to put himself at the head of a large army against the *Tartars*. At first he encountered vast difficulties; but while he was within sight of *Prekop*, the capital of the *Crim*, he was amused by a treaty of peace, in which he was deceived by the khan, and returned home without doing any thing of consequence, having given the khan time to assemble his army. The princess *Sophia*, however, received *Galitzin* as if he had been a conqueror, and rewarded his principal officers with most extravagant gifts of houses and lands.

By this time the young czar, *Peter*, was eighteen years of age, and had married a princess of the *Lapuchin* family. The princess *Sophia* was the sole directress of her brother *John*, and all the *Russians* who disliked her and *Galitzin*, turned their eyes towards *Peter* (but with inviolable secrecy) for their deliverance. *Sophia* and her favourite more than suspected their intrigues, and they introduced into *Moscow*, *Mazeppa*, with five hundred of his chief officers, to support the assassination of *Peter*, which was to have been performed by *Thekelavita*, one of the *Strelitz* general officers. Two of the conspirators informed *Peter* of their design, and he, with his mother and family, narrowly escaped to the convent of the *Trinity*. *Sophia* denied having any knowledge of the conspiracy, but

She makes *Galitzin* general, and chief minister.

Vol. VIII. p. 270.

His unfortunate expedition against the *Crim*.

Conspiracy against *Peter*, who forces his sister to retire to a monastery,

Peter

Peter published the whole, which raised so general a detestation against the princess and *Galitzin*, that they were abandoned, even by the *Strelitzes*. The princess flew for assistance to the patriarch, who, finding he was included in the intended assassination, became her enemy. She had recourse then to prayers, tears, and the strongest asseverations of her innocence; but she had to do with a genius impenetrable by those arts. *Thekla* was tortured, and confessed that he was to have massacred *Peter* and all his relations; after which he was beheaded; and the chief conspirators were tortured into ample confessions, a circumstance which makes the barbarous part of the conspiracy not a little questionable. The life of *Galitzin*, at the intercession of his brother *Boris*, who was a favourite with *Peter*, was spared, and he was only sent into banishment, while the princess *Sophia* was ordered to retire to a convent she herself had founded.

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His stu-
dies.

He disci-
plines his
army.

Upon any other, than a favourite, occasion, *Voltaire* would have found circumstances, in this conspiracy, sufficient to induce him to ridicule or deny the whole. It is, however, certain, that a conspiracy of this kind was necessary, to render *Peter* the sole sovereign of *Russia*. Upon his return to *Moscow*, *Peter* embraced his brother *John*, who retired to a private life, in which he died in 1696, so that we are now to consider *Peter* as sole czar, and *John* as non-existing. *Peter's* education had been purposely neglected by his sister, and he had partaken too freely in the pleasures and vices introduced into *Russia* by *Galitzin's* French and German friends. His person was handsome, his air noble, his stature tall, and his constitution robust. He was no sooner at the height of his ambition, than he seemed to assume a new nature. Without a master, he studied and acquired the German and High Dutch languages; and though he was forced to combat at once with the turbulence of the *Strelitzes*, and the incursions of the *Tartars*, he resolved to complete his father's plan of civilization. He began by employing foreigners to build under his eye, himself always assisting with his own hands, chaloupes in the English and Dutch manner; and he soon learned to navigate them himself. One *Le Fort*, a native of *Geneva*, was his favourite, and to him he imparted all his designs, especially that of raising a body of troops, who should one day or other crush his *Strelitzes*. No more than fifty young gentlemen were the nursery, from which this great design was to be completed. They were officered by degrees, *Peter* himself going through every rank, from that of a serjeant to that of a colonel, till by gradually adding to their numbers, they became two regiments of guards, that of *Preobrazinski* and that of *Semeniowski*. Five thousand men were then formed, and exercised under one general *Gordon*, a Scotchman, and twelve thousand under *Le Fort*; and *Peter* retained still so much of the Russian, that by way of disciplining them, he obliged them

them to perform more than mock fights, for some hundreds of lives were sometimes lost, in taking and retaking their sham fortresses.

In the year 1689, *Peter* having built two ships of about 1689. thirty guns each, he launched them, with a great number of His mis- chaloupes, into the *Don*, to overawe the *Crim Tartars*; an considerable force, but sufficient to act against a people who in war. knew nothing of navigation. He next deliberated upon employing his army, and had some thoughts of leading it into *China*, but all differences between him and that nation were settled by two *Jesuits*, (the two people having no knowledge of each other's tongue) and the treaty was engraved upon two pillars erected upon the boundaries of both empires. The events which had happened in the wars of the *Germans* and *Russians* with the *Turks*, determined *Peter* to make a proof of the valour and discipline of his new troops, by besieging *Asoph*, a considerable city lying in the extremity of the *Black Sea*, which later geographers term the *Sea of Asoph*; with a view of becoming master of the *Black Sea*. *Peter* found his troops unequal to the siege of a place which was bravely and regularly defended by one of his own officers, who had turned *Mahometan*, for having been condemned to the *knout*, and he was obliged to raise the siege, with vast loss. Even this repulse was of service to *Peter*, by adding to his experience; for he took *Asoph* in the year 1696, on *July* the 28th. 1696. *Peter's* fleet, by this time, was so much improved, that it had beaten that of the *Turks*, and he left thirty-two armed saicks to protect the additional fortifications he designed for *Asoph*. He laid taxes upon his nobility, merchants, and even his clergy, to enable him to build nine ships of sixty guns, and for the rest from thirty to fifty each, designed for the entire conquest of the *Cimbric Chersonesus*; and in the triumphal entry his generals made into *Moscow*, upon his return, he appeared in no other rank than that of a simple volunteer.

To instruct his subjects in the art of building and navigat- He travels ing ships, he sent the most promising of them through diffe- for his rent parts of *Europe*, and the *German* armies abounded with improve- *Russian* volunteers. The docility of his subjects could not ment to keep pace with *Peter's* ardour, and he resolved to become, in *Holland* his own person, the chief artizan of his dominions, by tra- and Eng- velling incognito, and working as a labourer in the dock- land. yards of *Holland*, a servitude that ennobled him beyond all the monarchs of his age. He was then but twenty-five years of age, and having committed the regency, in his absence, to *Strechnef* and *Romadonowski*, who were to consult a council, he mingled in the train of a magnificent embassy, which he fitted out for *Holland*, attended only by one valet de chambre, a dwarf, and a livery servant to wait on his own person. During this journey, *Peter* conceived a passion for possessing the noble provinces of *Esthonia*, *Livonia*, and others, through which he passed; and though he still retained his private cha- racter,

rafter, his three embassadors, one of whom was his favourite *Le Fort*, made a most splendid appearance at all the *German* courts. During his journey through countries not famous in those times for sobriety, *Peter* indulged his passion for drinking in such a manner, that he checked himself in an attempt to kill *Le Fort*, an instance which shews that inebriation had not divested him of gratitude, and the pursuit of the mighty schemes he had in view. To disencumber himself the more, he left the train of his embassadors, and arrived in *Holland* fifteen days before them. He entered himself as a common labourer in a ship-yard at *Sardam*, a neat village, then famous for ship-building, and went through the most painful operations and stages of that business, in all its branches, with the same docility and labour as if he had been apprenticed to a severe master. He conformed his manners to his station so completely, that he taught his fellow labourers to forget all ceremonious behaviour to his person, though they knew his quality; and having entered himself in the yard by the name of *Peter Michaeloff*, they distinguished him by the name of *Peter Bas*. The attention of *Peter* was not confined to ship-building, but extended to paper-making, wire-drawing, and, in short, to every art and conveniency of life, that was not common in his own country. As a proof that his genius was not merely mechanical, he even attended the lectures of anatomy and natural philosophy, given at *Amsterdam* by *Ruisch* and *Witsen*; and performed several chirurgical operations.

While in *Holland*, he had a private interview with *William* the III^d of *England*, to whom he communicated the orders he had issued from his workshop, for assisting *Augustus*, the elector of *Saxony*, with thirty thousand men, against the prince of *Conti*, in their competition for the crown of *Poland*; and *Peter* conformed himself to all the ideas of that great monarch, with regard to the danger of *Europe*, from the power of *France*. Before he left *Holland*, he compleatly built and rigged, by his own labour, a sixty gun ship, which he sent to *Archangel*; and he studied geography so well, that with regard to his own dominions, he understood it better than any geographer of his age. But the capacious genius of *Peter*, suggested to him that he must look for the rational principles of the arts he cultivated in *England*. He paid a visit to that country, where he was highly carested by king *William*, made a considerable progress in the science of astronomy, and the mystery of watch-making; contracted a friendship with the marquis of *Carmarthen*, who was an excellent sailor; and engaged *Ferguson*, a mathematician, and *Perry*, an engineer, to attend him to *Russia*; and while he lived in *England*, he was at great pains to become acquainted with the religion, manners and usages of the country. Leaving *England*, he returned to *Holland*, from whence he carried over to *Russia* a colony of artificers and officers of all kinds. In his return to *Russia*, he had a private interview with the emperor *Leopold*, concerning the affairs of *Poland*.

Poland and *Turkey*, and here he heard of a rebellion which had broken out in *Russia*, on the following occasion.

All the cares of *Peter* could not alter nature, either in him- Returns
self or his subjects. He was obstinate in all his pursuits, and they to *Russia*,
were tenacious of their superstitions. While in *England*, he had where he
received fifteen thousand pounds from the marquis of *Carmarthen* suppresses
and the *London* merchants, for the sole privilege of importing a dange-
rous in-
into *Russia*, tobacco, the use of which was prohibited by his clergy. This, together with his travels and his visible partiality for foreigners, raised a clamour, which being encouraged by the princess *Sophia*, ended in an insurrection, and ten thousand *Strelitzes* marched towards *Moscow*, to place her on the throne. All means for quieting them being found ineffectual, as they had wrought themselves up into a pitch of enthusiasm, *Gordon* encountered them with a part of his troops within forty miles of *Moscow*, cut three thousand of them to pieces, and gibbeted every tenth man of the rest, who all threw down their arms. The news of this insurrection, and the general dissatisfaction of the *Russians*, abridged *Peter's* intended travels; and after concerting with *Augustus* the ungenerous plan against the young king of *Sweden*, he appeared in *Moscow*, while his subjects thought him in *Germany*. He found the rebels still numerous, notwithstanding their late defeat; but they were so overawed by his presence, that he had little to do, besides condemning the most culpable, who amounted to above two thousand, to the most dreadful deaths, and leaving their bodies exposed on the highways. Those shocking executions were necessary to the plan of *Peter's* politics. He by terrible
abolished for ever the order of the *Strelitzes*, without any one punishments.
daring to oppose him. While he was thus giving such terrible proofs of severity, he exhibited one of gratitude, in the funeral honours he paid in person to the remains of his favourite, *Le Fort*, who died about this time. *Peter's* attention to his plan of civilization, seemed rather to be increased than weakened by that general's death. He introduced into his army, his finances, and all his civil departments of business, the dress and discipline, the forms, methods and arrangements of the politer nations of *Europe*; but above all, he enured his young noblemen to serve as cadets and midshipmen in his armies and fleets, before they were preferred to commands.

The most arduous part of *Peter's* task yet remained, which He re-
was the abolition of the patriarchate, the vast revenues of forms his
which he annexed to his crown; and crushing the powers of empire.
the clergy, who, in a country so superstitious as *Russia*, wielded equally the temporal as spiritual sword. This would have appeared an undertaking not only tremendous, but impracticable, to a mind less determined than that of *Peter*; but his intrepid resolution carried him through, and he soon rendered himself as much head of the church as he was of the state and the army. He abolished the celibacy of monks, who were very numerous in his dominions. All the opposition he met with,

consisted in murmurs and pasquinades, which he disregarded. Having accomplished the great point of becoming master of his clergy ; he found the less difficulty in reforming the calendar, in introducing among his subjects the manner of writing practised in other parts of *Europe*, with their customs and habits of life. He even formed his *Russians* into parties of diversion and pleasure, but he could not prevent both sexes from abusing them, by their intemperance in drinking. On the 1668. 10th of *September* 1698, he instituted the order of St. *Andrew*, the highest honorary reward that he could give to merit, as its ensigns commanded the respect of the public ; and to crown 1699. his glories, he made, in 1699, a most advantageous peace with the *Ottoman Porte*.

He is beat
by the
Suedes at
Narva.

Thinking himself now secure on the side of the *Caspian Sea*, he turned his view towards the *Baltic*, in consequence of his concert with the kings of *Poland* and *Denmark*. His object was the recovery of *Ingria* and *Carelia* ; and we have already, in the history of *Sweden*, seen, by the complete defeat which his numerous forces received by a handful of *Suedes* at *Narva*, how little the discipline he had begun to introduce among his troops availed, when they came to action. The general opinion of his subjects, that the *Suedes* had got the victory by magic, is equally a proof how small progress learning and philosophy had as yet made in his dominions. *Peter*, on his receiving the news of his defeat at *Narva*, behaved as if he had expected it. “ The *Suedes*, said he, will, by their victories, teach my *Russians* to beat them.” He melted the bells in his churches, to be employed in his founderies of artillery ; and deferring an interview he intended to have with king *Augustus*, he was soon at the head of a new train, and another army. He then confirmed *Augustus* in his purpose of continuing the war with *Sweden*, and of making the republic of *Poland* a party ; and the unfortunate general *Patrik*, whom we have often mentioned before, completed what *Le Fort* had begun, in disciplining his armies. In 1701. he built a fleet of small ships upon the *Lake Peipus*, to oppose the descents of the *Suedes* on the province of *Novogrod*. In 1702. he began the canal to unite the *Don* and the *Volga* ; and projected the amazing plan of joining the *Baltic*, *Caspian* and *Euxine* seas. In all these proceedings, he persevered as coolly as if his determined enemies, the *Suedes*, had not been victorious in every quarter ; and he continued to introduce arts and manufactures into his dominions, as if they had been the only objects he had in view.

His vast
designs.

By this time, *Peter* had the satisfaction to find the discipline of his troops so much improved, that his general, *Scheremetow*, beat the *Suedes* under *Schlipperbach*, one of their best officers ; and even his fleets maintained some degree of equality with those of *Sweden*, on the lakes of *Peipus* and *Ladoga*. He prevented a descent of the *Suedes* upon *Archangel*, and *Scheremetow* obtained a fresh victory over *Schippenbach* ; after his turn. which

which he took *Marienburg*. Among other prisoners carried from thence, was a *Livonian* young woman, who was the widow of a serjeant killed in defence of the place, and who afterwards was married to *Peter*, and became sole empress of *Russia*, under the name of *Catharine* the Ist. *Scheremetow* next took the important town of *Notteburg*, in the lake *Ladoga*, which was gloriously defended by eighty-three *Swedes*, under colonel *Schlippenbach*. Its name was then changed into that of *Schlusſſelburg*. *Peter* wisely celebrated those victories, by the triumphal entry of himself, *Scheremetow*, and his general officers, into *Moscow*, attended by his *Swedish* prisoners, to prove to the *Russians* that the dreaded magic of his enemies was now at an end. In the year 1702, he established, at *Moscow*, a printing-house, furnished with types brought from *Holland*. He founded a mathematical school, and a work-house, to keep his people from idleness; and then he made preparations for opening the campaign against the *Turks* and the *Swedes*. After giving the necessary directions for improving and encreasing his navy, he took the fortrefs of *Nianz*, near *Ladoga*, where his captain of bombardiers was rewarded with the order of St. *Andrew*. It was then he projected the building of *Petersburgh*, in the gulph of *Finland*, at the mouth of the *Neva*, and now the capital of *Russia*. The execution of this idea was the more stupendous, as the successes of the *Swedes* in *Saxony* called for all *Peter's* attention. The building and fortifying *Petersburgh* and *Cronſtat*, was, every thing considered, equal, if not superior to any undertaking of antiquity, especially as a *Dutch* vessel traded with the city within five months after it was founded. *Peter*, at this time, was not possessed of an annual revenue of above twelve hundred thousand pounds sterling, with which he carried on his amazing works and fortifications, paid his numerous fleets and armies, maintained his civil establishment, and even rewarded merit of every kind with pecuniary gratuities.

1703.

He institutes the order of St. *Andrew*.

His power alarmed the *Turks*, but he disdained to give them any satisfaction; and in 1704, he took *Dærpt* from the *Swedes*, by disguising two of his regiments in the *Swedish* uniform. After this, he took *Narva* by assault, while *Charles* was dethroning his ally, the king of *Poland*, and establishing *Stanislaus* on that throne.

1704.

To the immortal glory of *Peter*, neither the successes of the *Swedes*, nor the pusillanimous, and, to him, affrontive, concessions of *Augustus*, discouraged him from assisting that prince; but in this, perhaps, he had a political end, which has not been observed by historians; which was, that by amusing *Charles* on the side of *Poland*, he had an opportunity of dismantling the outworks of *Sweden*; for, by this time, he was master of all *Ingria*, the government of which he bestowed upon his new favourite, prince *Menzikoff*, who was originally an hawker of pies and pastry about the streets of *Moscow*, in which situation he was taken notice of by *Peter*; and he merited,

His friendship for king *Augustus*.

rited, by his services, the honours and immense wealth he obtained, being reckoned, at the time of his death, the richest subject in *Europe*. Our plan of writing does not admit of our attending *Peter* through all the prodigious fatigues he underwent for aggrandizing and civilizing his country, nor of recapitulating his wars with the *Swedes*, which we have already related. In 1705, the *Swedes* were defeated in an attempt upon the infant city of *Petersburgh*, while *Peter* was marching at the head of his army towards *Courland*, that he might besiege *Riga*, and conquer *Livonia*. *Scheremetow*, in endeavouring to approach *Mittau*, was completely defeated by *Lewenhaupt*, but *Peter* took the city. He had, by this time, abolished the practice of plundering, and introduced among his troops a moderation after victory, unknown to the *Russians* before. The report of *Scheremetow's* defeat, spread a general spirit of dissatisfaction through all *Peter's* dominions. His subjects now ventured to rail at the innovations he had introduced, and it cost *Peter* some trouble to quell and punish an insurrection which broke out at *Astracan*. *Lewenhaupt* being too weak to stop his progress, he proceeded to *Grodno*, the capital of *Lithuania*; he visited and supplied *Augustus* with money, and passed his winter at *Moscow*. He was led to this by the passion he had for reforming his subjects, but it had almost proved fatal to his affairs.

1706.
Almost
taken at
G. o. the.

In 1706, *Charles* drove *Augustus* and the *Russian* troops *Peter* had left behind, from *Grodno*; his general, *Reinschild*, utterly defeated the *Saxon* and *Russian* army under general *Schulemburg*, at *Frauenstadt*, on the frontiers of the *Upper Poland*. In this battle, all the *Russians* were put to the sword, excepting three battalions who escaped; the *Swedes*, whose parole was "In the name of God," giving no quarter to their enemies, whose parole was, "Kill all." The *Swedes* certainly disgraced their victory by their cruelty; for one of their generals, *Steinlock*, pistolled a *Russian* who had taken refuge at the feet of *Stanislaus*. It required all *Peter's* constancy of mind to support him under such various misfortunes, for his troops had been now defeated in four pitched battles against the *Swedes*. His own activity, and that of his general, *Menzikoff*, saved the remainder in *Lithuania*, and preserved his conquests in *Ingria*. He besieged *Wyburg*, but failed in the attempt, nor did *Charles* gain ought but an empty name by his victories. *Augustus* now dreaded *Peter* almost as much as he did *Charles*, on account of the mean surrender which he made of his crown, by the treaty of *Alt-Ranstadt*, his acknowledging *Stanislaus*, and delivering up *Patkul*. *Peter* hearing of his conduct, complained, but did not resent it, though the person of *Augustus* was then in the power of *Menzikoff*, who, during the dependence of the treaty, defeated the *Swedes* under *Meyerfeld*, in a pitched battle near *Kalish* in *Poland*. Even this could not keep *Augustus* steady to his own interest and honour, and he was so mean as to ask pardon of *Charles* on account of the battle,

battle, which he said had been fought and gained against his will. Such a proceeding made, at last, an impression upon *Peter*, and he had some thoughts of raising prince *Ragot/ki*, as a rival to *Stanislaus*. In the mean while, the *French* ministers proposed an accommodation. *Charles* haughtily answered, that he would treat with the czar at *Moscow*; which *Peter* hearing, “My brother of *Sweden* (said he) affects to be an *Alexander*, but he shall not find me a *Darius*.”

On the 1st of *August* 1707, *Charles* evacuated *Saxony*, and he gave a loose to his soldiers committing the most horrid cruelties in their march through *Poland*; so that he may be justly considered as one of those illustrious monsters who stain humanity. In 1708, *Charles*, hearing that *Peter* was at *Grodno*, attempted to take him prisoner there, at the head of a detached party of no more than eight hundred men. *Peter*, who thought that the whole *Swedish* army had been in the town, fled, and next day, understanding the truth, attempted to retake it, but was beaten. After the conquest of *Grodno*, *Moscow* itself seemed to be in danger, and *Peter* fortified all the passes to his dominions, while his fleet made him master of *Burgau*, in *Finland*. We must refer our reader to the history of *Sweden* for the insane march of *Charles* through the *Ukraine*, till he was defeated at the battle of *Pultowa*, which crowned the glories of *Peter*, rewarded all the pains he had bestowed in disciplining his troops, and fulfilled his remarkable prediction. His victory was preceded by the defeat of *Lewenhaupt*, near *Lefnau*, where the *Swedes* lost above eight thousand men, and seven pieces of cannon, besides the grand convoy of provisions, on which *Charles* depended for subsistence to his troops.

In the battle of *Pultowa*, *Peter* acted only as major general of his army, and exposed himself to the heat of the action, in which his cloaths and hat were shot through. Upon the flight of *Charles* to *Turkey*, *Peter* wrote a letter to dissuade him from taking refuge among the infidels, but *Charles* had, by that time, reached *Bender*, and the letter was returned to *Peter*. If that prince failed in any point of magnanimity, after this glorious victory, it was his banishing the brave *Swedes* whom he had taken captives, to his deserts of *Siberia*. But even this severity admits of some apology. He had proposed a cartel, which *Charles* brutally rejected; and *Peter* very properly thought that the *Swedes* would serve to humanize the *Siberians*; not to mention that the hardships of their exile could not equal what they had suffered under their iron headed king (for so *Charles* was properly termed by the *Turkish* janissaries.) *Peter*, forgetting all cause of offence, re-established *Augustus* on the throne of *Poland*, dispatched *Scheremetow* to *Livonia*, and joined in a league with *Denmark*, *Poland* and *Prussia*, for reducing *Sweden* to what she had been before the reign of *Gustavus Adolphus*. The reader, in the history of *Sweden*, has seen in what manner he executed this plan, which

1707.

1708.

Defeats

the Swedes

at Pul-

towa.

His con-
duct after
the battle.

he negotiated in his own person. But we are now to mention some facts which we had not before an opportunity of introducing.

His difference with England.

He made a triumphant entry into *Moscow*; he launched an eighty gun ship, and the conqueror of *Charles* the XIIth, with his own hands, laid the keel of one of fifty-four guns. His subjects, by the magnificence of his entry, which was performed in the *Roman* taste, began to enlarge their ideas, and an incident which happened at this time, shewed how well *Peter* could suit his own to circumstances. *Matueof*, his ambassador in *England*, had been arrested for a civil debt, on the streets of *London*. No law in *England*, at that time, guarded against such a proceeding; and therefore, when *Peter* demanded satisfaction, queen *Anne* could give him none. All she could do, was to prevail with the parliament to pass an act against such violations of the law of nations for the future; to write a letter, with the reasons why she could not grant *Peter* the satisfaction he demanded, and to send Mr. *Whitworth* to make a public apology on her part to *Peter*. Though, before this, he had demanded that the queen should inflict the same rigorous punishments which he would have inflicted upon his *Russians*, had they been guilty of the like offence, yet he no sooner was informed how the laws of *England* stood, than he nobly divested himself of his despotic ideas, and was satisfied. We are not, however, to forget, that Mr. *Whitworth*, in the harangue he made, gave him the title of most high and most mighty emperor.

Progress of the war with Sweden.

1710.

p. 543.

The taking of *Elbring*, *Wyburg*, *Riga*, and the citadel of *Penemund*, were the fruits of *Peter's* victories upon his return to *Russia*. Those conquests were followed by that of *Kexholm*, the island of *Oesel*, with the towns of *Pirnaue* and *Revel*; so that before the end of the year 1710, *Peter* was in possession of *Livonia*, *Esthonia* and *Carolia*. Those rapid conquests, and the solicitations of *Charles* of *Sweden*, prevailed with the *Turks* to declare war against *Peter*; and we have already seen in what manner he was delivered from his desperate situation on the *Pruth*, where the *Turks* had surrounded his army, by the address of his beloved *Catharine*. *Peter* then left his generals to bring home his army, and went to recruit his constitution, by drinking the waters of *Carlsbad*. Soon after, he was present at the solemnization of his son, the czarowitz's nuptials with a princess of *Wolfenbuttel*. He had, by this time, been married to *Catharine*, who had attended him through his most dangerous campaigns, and he had made *Petersburgh* the seat of his government. The intrigues of the *French* at the *Porte*, gave him vast disgust. Under that colour, he proposed to assist the emperor with twenty-five thousand men, and to hold *Livonia* as a fief of the empire; but his real view was, to obtain a seat in the diet for his ambassador. The emperor, and the princes of *Germany*, saw through his design; the one thought him too powerful for a subject, and the others for an equal,

equal, and evaded his proposal. By this time, the complexion of the *Porte* was so greatly altered in favour of the *Swedes*, that *Peter* did not chuse to fulfil the treaty of *Pruth*, by demolishing *Asoph*; but his money, and the intrigues of his ambassador at *Constantinople*, soon changed the dispositions of the *Turks*, in his favour, in the manner we have before related. In 1712, his army under *Menzikoff* entered *Pomerania*, with an intention to besiege *Stetin* and *Stralsund*; but an army of *Swedes* landing at the isle of *Rugen*, *Peter's* intentions were defeated, and he again went to drink the waters of *Carlsbad*, when he heard of the great defeat his troops, and those of *Denmark*, had received from the *Swedes* under *Steinbock*, at *Gadsbush*. 1712.

Peter hastened to prevent the consequences of this defeat, but *Steinbock* taking up his winter quarters in *Holstein*, he and the king of *Denmark* resolved to open the next campaign with a descent on the isle of *Rugen*, and the siege of *Stralsund*. The reader, in the history of *Sweden*, has been fully apprized of the posterior operations of this war, of the return of *Charles*, of the motives that effected a coalition between him and *Peter*, who till then seemed to be two opposites in nature, and likewise *Peter's* differences with the court of *London*. We shall therefore confine ourselves to the internal affairs of *Russia* till *Peter's* death.

While that great monarch was engaged in his wars with the *Swedes* and the *Turks*, he received, at *Petersburgh*, where he from the now held his court, a most respectful embassy from the khan *Usbec* of the *Usbec Tartars*, who put himself under *Peter's* protection, and granted the *Russians* liberty to pass through his dominions to *China*. *Peter* here appeared in all his glory, without the tasteless extravagance of plate, robes, and jewels, exhibited by his predecessors on the like occasions. He invited the ambassador to attend him in a party of pleasure on the water, where a storm arising, he had almost been wrecked. By the end of the year, the fortifications and embellishments of *Petersburgh* were completed, and *Peter* instituted the female order of *St. Catharine*, of which his consort had the sole disposal, in commemoration of her services at *Pruth*. All the care and capacity of *Peter* could not prevent his subjects from feeling the dreadful effects of war, in the decay of their trade, and the corruption that had crept into all the public offices. In 1715, *Peter* established a board under prince *Dolgorucki*, for enquiring into those abuses; and, to strike the greater terror into his subjects, he summoned prince *Menzikoff*, *Appraxon* and other great officers, both civil and military, to answer for the abuses committed in their several departments. *Menzikoff* and the generals, pleaded that they had been attending his majesty in the field; but they were obliged to submit to a mulct, for offences committed in their offices, even in their absence, and without their knowledge. After *Peter* had taken *Stralsund*, his son's wife was brought to bed of a prince, but the

1715.

1716.
Peter's
niece mar-
ried to the
duke of
Mecklen-
burg.

the mother died in her labour; and some time after, the most extravagant rejoicings were made for the czarina *Catharine's* safe delivery of a prince. In *April* 1716, *Peter*, while he was at *Dantzic*, concluded a marriage between his niece, *Catharine*, daughter to his brother, *Theodore*, and *Charles Leopold*, duke of *Mecklenburg Schwerin*; and threatened the *Dantzickers* with hostilities, till, by the mediation of king *Augustus*, they agreed to pay him a hundred thousand rix-dollars, and to equip four privateers for his use. We have already mentioned the vast disappointment he met with in not taking possession of *Wismar*, and the difference which it occasioned with king *George*. He was thereby disappointed of having a port in the *Baltic*, the want of which has been sensibly felt by his successors. Though, after this, he made a shew of keeping up his good correspondence with the king of *Denmark*, and even brought his czarina and his fleet to the road of *Copenhagen*, where they lived for some months; yet when the confederates talked in earnest about a descent upon *Schonen*, he cooled, and retired with his wife to *Lubec*. This unaccountable alteration of his conduct, was owing, as we have mentioned in the history of *Sweden*, to the intrigues of baron *Goertz*, who, by flattering the foibles of both monarchs, had privately effected a reconciliation between *Peter* and his *Swedish* majesty. This year *Peter* sent an army of mediation into *Poland*, at the request of king *Augustus*, to quell some disturbances in that country. The arrival of the *Russians* there, had almost occasioned a war between the *Poles* and *Augustus*; but the *Poles*, sensible that they were no match for the *Russians*, consented to an accommodation, under the mediation of the papal nuntio, and the imperial ambassador.

1717.
He enters
into mea-
sures a-
gainst the
protestant
succession
of Great
Britain.

In 1717, the czar went to the *Hague*, but continued not only to conceal, but deny the connections he had entered into with the king of *Sweden*, relative to the protestant succession in *Great Britain*. From the *Hague* he proceeded to *Paris*, but in the mean while he drew his troops out of *Mecklenburg*, where their residence had given great umbrage to the princes of the empire. His real business at *Paris* was, to discover how the regent stood affected with regard to the operations he had concerted with the king of *Sweden*, to which that prince was so averse, that he faithfully informed king *George* the 1st of all that came to his knowledge. Returning to *Amsterdam*, he evaded the propositions made to him on the part of the *British* court, and he arrived at *Petersburgh* on the 29th of *October*. The intrigues of *Goertz* at the *Russian* court, procured *Anna Petrovna*, the czar's eldest daughter, for his sister, the duke of *Holstein*, and the issue of that marriage was the late unfortunate emperor, whose widow now sits on his throne. In 1718, the alliance between the czar and the *Turkish* emperor was so strong, that the latter gave *Peter* an assurance, under his own hand, that instead of protecting, he would endeavour to exterminate the *Cuban Tartars*, who had invaded the

the frontiers of *Russia*. About this time, the *Tartars* and *Calmuks* put to the sword prince *Alexander Bekowitz*, and three thousand *Russians*, whom *Peter* had sent to search for a golden fanded river that runs into the *Caspian* sea, and some mines that were in the neighbourhood.

While *Peter* was preparing to chastise those barbarians, the Trial, disobedience of his eldest son claimed all his attention. By condemnation, the best accounts, the czarewitz was possessed of a mean capacity, and had abandoned himself to very bad company, especially after the death of his excellent wife, the princess of the *Wolfenbittel*. His father was no stranger to his weaknesses, and had often complained of his perverse conduct; but probably his admonitions were not attended with that gentleness and affection that was proper to inspire obedience, for even in his own manifestos, he speaks not only of admonishing, but chastising the prince. Be that as it will, while the czar was in *Denmark*, the czarewitz fled to the court of the emperor, who had married another princess of *Wolfenbittel*, sister to the wife of the czarewitz. The emperor received, but did not encourage him, and though he suffered him to remain at *Tirol*, he advised him to return to his father, who demanded him. The czarewitz pretended to be afraid of his life, if he should return to *Russia*, and had leave to retire to *Naples*, to which place his father wrote him a letter. The prince paid no regard to it, but the emperor threatening to give him up, he at last yielded, and he was brought to *Moscow*, where he was examined by his father, and agreed to renounce the succession in favour of his brother, *Peter*. This did not satisfy the jealous father, for he made his son undergo several interrogatories, to which, his answers not being satisfactory, the prince was tried on the 13th of *June* 1718, by a high court of justice, who found him guilty of crimes which deserved death, though his father had previously assured him of his life. The sentence was signed by a hundred and eighty judges; but in the meanwhile, the criminal fevered and died, through apprehension and vexation of spirit. The circumstances attending his death, induced *Peter* to write circular letters, in his own vindication, to the different courts of *Europe*. The remains of the czarewitz had a noble funeral, while all whom he had named as being privy to his intentions, were either tortured, put to death, banished or imprisoned. Among other delinquents, was the mother of the czarewitz, whom *Peter* had repudiated, and *Peter's* own sister, the princess *Mary*, who were both confined. Upon the whole, we cannot be so partial to the memory of *Peter*, as to entirely free him from despotism, and an unnaturalness in his proceedings against his son; but the highest character which *Peter's* encomiasts had bestowed on him is, that he was void of the affections that are common to humanity.

The death of the king of *Sweden*, in *November* 1718, and Alteration the arrest of baron *Goertz*, put an end to all the measures that of affairs had in the north.

had been concerted between *Peter* and *Charles*. Though the conferences in the isle of *Oeland* still went on between the *Russian* and *Swedish* ministers, yet *Peter* continued his preparations to force the queen of *Sweden* into his terms, if she should continue refractory. By this time the quadruple alliance was formed, and the other powers of *Europe* were sensible of the dangerous measures *Peter* had entered into; so that in the year

1719. 1719, he was without an ally. *Great Britain* patronized the queen of *Sweden*, who wanted only an equitable peace, and was too weak to act offensively. A *British* fleet arrived in the *Baltic*, and even *Augustus* king of *Poland*, who may be said to have been the creature of *Peter*, publicly reproached him for his jealousy and over-bearing ambition. The war with *Sweden* still went on, and the mediation of *Great Britain* was rejected on the part of the *Russians*, so that *Peter's* ambassador was ordered to leave *England*. In short, it looked as if all

1720. *Europe* had been, in 1720, confederated against *Russia*. This did not daunt *Peter*, who pursued the war against *Sweden* with spirit and success, notwithstanding the interposition of the *British* fleet, and rendered himself so respectable, that the peace of *Nystadt* was concluded, by which he obtained *Livonia*, *Estonia*, and the greatest part of *Carrelia*. A peace with the *Turks* next succeeded, and *Peter* released, or took into his service, all his *Swedish* prisoners. The voice of joy and gladness resounded through all his dominions; and he accepted, from his subjects, the title of emperor, which was agreed to by all the powers of *Europe*, excepting *Denmark*.

Glorious
situation
of the
czar.

Peter may now be said to have attained the summit of his glory, and the reward of all his labours. He distinguished that happy æra by making a triumphant entry into *Moscow*. He gave orders for completing the *Ladoga* canal. He transferred the seat of commerce from *Archangel* to his beloved *Petersburgh*; and to crown his immortal honour, he banished out of his dominions that superstition and ignorance in matters of religion, for which his subjects were so infamous, by ordering the Holy Scriptures to be translated into the *Russian* language, and sold at a low price. In 1722, *Peter*, who, during his glorious reign, had never relaxed in one point of despotism, having now lost his second son, *Peter*, obliged his subjects to swear to acknowledge the person who he should appoint his successor, to be their emperor, and sovereign. After this, the troubles which happened in *Persia*, and the insolence of the usurper, *Myrr Maghmud*, to his ambassadors, determined *Peter* to carry his arms into that country, chiefly with the view of extending the commerce of his subjects, at the request of *Schah Hussein*, the true sophy of *Persia*. The *Turks*, as well as the *Persians*, were alarmed at the vast preparations made by *Peter* at *Astracan*, and upon the *Caspian* sea; but the *Calmucs*, *Cossacs* and *Tartars* joining the *Russians*, he defeated the rebel army, and took *Derbent*, *Terki*, and *Baku*, and reduced the provinces of *Dagestan* and *Schirvan*. *Maghmud* had recourse

Vol.VIII.
p. 34, &
seq.

to the *Othman Porte*, and there was a great appearance of war between the *Turks* and the *Russians*, when an accommodation was effected, by the interposition of *Bonac*, the *French* ambassador at the *Porte*; and the *Turks* were so far from making war upon *Peter*, that they declared war against the usurper. *Peter* was about a year absent on this expedition, and upon his return, the vice-chancellor, *Schafiroff*, one of his greatest favourites and ministers, was condemned to death, for various offences of peculation; but while he was upon the scaffold to suffer his sentence, *Peter* commuted it into that of banishment to *Siberia*. We have already seen the concern the duke of *Holstein* took in the affairs of *Sweden*; and in the year 1724, *Peter* having concluded a glorious peace with *Persia*, and having restored his dominions to tranquillity, his empress, *Catharine*, was crowned with vast magnificence. 1724.

Peter appeared to enjoy peace, only that his civil toils might be encreased. His last moments were employed in rendering *Petersburgh* one of the most glorious and populous cities in *Europe*, in adorning it with noble palaces, and strengthening it with impregnable fortifications. Though he found his health daily declining, and though he was at once attacked with the gout and the strangury, yet he drew up the rules and institutions of an academy to be established in his new metropolis; and when all hopes of life were over, he assembled his nobility, made several regulations for the due administration of justice, and obliged them to recognize his empress, *Catharine*, for his successor. With his last breath, he recommended to her the duke of *Holstein*, and he died on the 28th of *January* 1725, in the 53d year of his age. The unhappy czarowitz, *Alexis*, was the only child of his first marriage who came to maturity. By his second marriage he had two sons, *Peter*, and *Paul* who died in his own lifetime; a daughter, *Anna Petrowna*, who was married to the duke of *Holstein*; another daughter, *Elizabeth*, afterwards the glorious empress of *Russia*; and a third daughter, *Natalia*, who was buried in the same grave with her father. The character of *Peter* the Great is so well known, that it would be mispending our reader's time to enlarge upon it here. His death. 1725.

Catharine proved herself worthy of the high rank to which she was destined. After performing the obsequies of her husband, with almost unparalleled magnificence, she gave the princess *Anna Petrowna* in marriage to the duke of *Holstein*. She quieted the *Cossacs*, and she found the army as tractable under her as under their late emperor. The difficulty of the province she had to manage, is a sufficient encomium upon her wisdom. She had no other title to the empire, but the nomination of the late emperor, whose grand-son, by the czarowitz, was alive. Her neighbours of *Poland*, *Sweden* and *Denmark*, expected to profit by *Russia* being under a female administration, but *Catharine* wisely continued the same generals, admirals, and ministers who had been employed by her husband. He is succeeded by his empress, *Catharine*,

who de-
clares the
czarew-
i-z's son
her heir.

husband, in their respective departments. Though she was at peace with the *Porte*, yet she employed her arms to vast advantage in the countries bordering upon the *Caspian* sea; and her general, *Matuffskin*, beat the *Tartars* of *Dagestan*. Though *Peter* had abolished the immense power of the patriarchate, yet *Catharine* proceeded farther than he had ventured to do, in curbing the inferior clergy, and obliged them to give her a free gift. She augmented her marine, and steered clear of all the broils of *Europe* during her reign; nor did she accede to the treaty of *Vienna* in 1726, till she was sure that it could involve her into no difficulties. She concluded an alliance with the emperor of *Germany*, and another with the king of *Prussia*; and the king of *Denmark* was so much alarmed at her preparations for restoring the duchy of *Sleswick* to the duke of *Holstein*, that his *Danish* majesty prevailed with the court of *Great Britain* to send a fleet into the *Baltic*, for preserving the peace of the north. She could not prevent the *Swedes* from acceding to the treaty of *Hanover*, which was formed against the emperor, but their accession had no visible effect to her disadvantage. She was complimented with the order of the *White Lion*, by king *Augustus*, as an unusual mark of esteem, and she declared the late *czarewitz's* son, *Peter*, heir to her empire.

1727.
Death of
Catba-
rine.

Heaven has seldom indulged a people with two successive reigns like those of *Peter* and *Catharine*. They seemed to be of another mould from the rest of their subjects, who, notwithstanding the prodigious things they had done for their civilization, were still secretly sighing for an opportunity to return to their former barbarism. *Catharine*, during her short reign, opened the academy of sciences, which had been projected by her husband at *Petersburgh*; but a poisoned glass of spirituous liquor administered to her at a public entertainment, is said to have shortened her days, for she died in *May* 1727. The only reproach to *Catharine's* reign is, that she suffered prince *Menzikoff* to abuse his vast power and credit, by inventing imaginary conspiracies, through which he gratified the hatred or jealousy he had conceived against particular persons.

When *Catharine* was on her death-bed, she appointed *Menzikoff* generalissimo of the *Russian* empire, by sea and land, which raised him to a pitch of power too high for his brain to bear. The young czar hated him, because of the part he had acted in the persecution of his father; and the *Russian* nobility, because of his low birth and insolent behaviour. The late empress had recommended a match between his daughter and the young emperor; but the politics of the court took a sudden turn. *Peter* the II^d, though no more than twelve years of age, had the spirit to resent *Menzikoff's* insolent behaviour, to confiscate his estate, and to send him into banishment. He was succeeded in his great posts by the prince of *Dolgorucki*, one of whose daughters he espoused; when he died on the

1730. 19th of *January* 1730.

The *Russian* nobility were greatly divided about *Peter's* successor. The duchess of *Holstein* was dead, and her son a minor; for which reason many were for converting their empire by the into a republic, and all of them agreed in paying no regard to the nomination of the empress *Catharine*, or to the lineal right of succession in the line of *Peter* the Great. It was, however, necessary to reconcile the vulgar to their schemes, by pretending that the late czar had altered the order of succession prescribed by the empress *Catharine*, and that he had pitched upon *Anna Iwanowna*, the duchess of *Courland*, to succeed him. Nothing could be better planned than this scheme was, for the introduction of an aristocracy; and to complete the scheme, a capitulation was drawn up, by which all the actual power of the government was to be left with the senate. Her eldest sister, the duchess of *Mecklenburgh*, was still alive, and had issue, but no regard was paid to her priority of birth; and *Anna* no sooner mounted the throne, than she cancelled the capitulation, disgraced the *Dolgorucki* family, and entered into a war with the *Turks*, which we have already described, which was as glorious for *Russia* as it was unfortunate for the house of *Austria*. Her amazing successes, and her wise conduct, silenced all opposition to her government, though her conduct in filling her court with *Germans* and other foreigners was extremely unpopular in *Russia*. Having no issue of her own, she cast her eyes upon her eldest sister, the duchess of *Mecklenburgh*, who lived upon very ill terms with her husband. Though the duchess had protested against her younger sister's mounting the throne of *Russia*, yet she readily came into the views of the empress, and privately escaping out of *Mecklenburgh* to *Petersburgh*, with her daughter, the latter was declared presumptive heir to the empire, and in 1739, married to *Anthony Ulric*, prince of *Brunswic Wolfenbuttel*. Notwithstanding the succession being thus settled, the empress had such a partiality for *Biren*, a man of mean extraction, whom she made duke of *Courland*, that she left him, in fact, regent of the empire, during the minority of the unfortunate prince *Iwan*, son to the princess of *Mecklenburgh*.

Vol. VIII.
p. 332,
& seq.

1739.

While *Anne* sat upon the throne of *Russia*, her friendship was courted by the famous *Kouli Khan*, the sophy of *Persia*. She set aside the election of count *Saxe*, afterwards the famous *French* marshal, to the duchy of *Courland*, in favour of *Biren*; and in *November* 1739, she struck off the heads of three of the chief of the *Dolgorucki* family, for opposing her measures in settling the succession and introducing *Germans* into the empire. *Walinski*, her chief favourite next to *Biren*, underwent the same fate, for opposing his advancement; and nothing that the wit of man could devise, was omitted for the execution of her will; when she died in *October* 1740.

and death.
1740.

The princess of *Mecklenburgh's* son, *Iwan*, or *John*, was then about two months old, and was instantly recognized as emperor of *Russia*; but *Biren* assumed all the power, and acted

acted more despotically than the great *Peter* had ever done. He made a merit of being contented with the revenue of three hundred thousand rubles a year, which was offered him by the senate. He began his administration with many acts of grace and generosity. He encreased the allowance of the emperor's mother, and of *Elizabeth*, daughter to *Peter* the Great; and he offered the prince of *Brunswic* the command of the *Russian* armies, which he thought proper to refuse, as being below his dignity; but *Biren*, at the same time, most arbitrarily condemned some of the nobility who opposed him, to be exiled into *Siberia*, without the form of a trial.

A revolution in favour of the princesses of *Mecklenburg*.

1741.

His power became at last to be at once hated and despised. The princess *Anne*, mother to the emperor, engaged in her interest count *Munich*, who was at the head of the army, and he arrested *Biren* in his bed. Soon after, he was tried, and condemned to die; but the princess *Anne*, who declared herself regent, during the minority of her son, banished him to *Siberia*. Her *German* councils, however, were excessively disagreeable to the *Russians*, especially after the regent removed count *Munich*, who had served her so faithfully, from the command of the army. Upon the condemnation of *Biren*, she had, in a manner, ordered the states of *Courland* to elect her husband their duke; but she could not be prevailed on to assist the queen of *Hungary* in her war with the king of *Prussia*. The *Swedes* had so great a contempt of her government, that they declared war against *Russia* in 1741, but they were entirely defeated near *Wilmanstra*, by *Lascy*, the *Russian* general; after which the princess regent promised to send thirty thousand troops to the queen of *Hungary's* assistance.

The princess *Elizabeth* empress of *Russia*.

Without entering into any detail of matters, that from their own nature must for ever be secret, it is sufficient to say, that the *Russians* were highly disgusted with the administration of the princess regent, short as it was. She trusted too much to her descent from the elder brother of *Peter* the Great, and seemed to forget his regulations, and that of the empress *Catharine*, with regard to the succession, till some dark intimations concerning the princess *Elizabeth*, *Peter's* surviving daughter, induced her to lay her under a kind of confinement. All *Russia* was convinced, that if *Peter* or his wife were to hold up their heads, they would with indignation behold a *German* upon the throne of *Russia*, while their own daughter was under confinement, without doing any thing to deserve it. On the 5th and 6th of *December*, a conspiracy, which had been entered into with her own consent, to place the princess *Elizabeth* on the throne of *Russia*, being ripe for execution, the whole *Russian* army declared in her favour; and next morning, when the princess regent awaked, she found herself and the emperor prisoners in their own palace, and the princess *Elizabeth* in possession of the empire of *Russia*.

This great resolution was effected by the prudence and spirit of the new empress, and without bloodshed. She resembled her

her father in the majesty of his appearance, the traits of his face, and the firmness of his conduct. In her own person, she disarmed the *German* guards, who might have alarmed the regent; and at first she promised to send her and her son, the emperor, to *Germany*, but they were arrested on the road, and brought back prisoners. Soon after her accession, she published a manifesto, setting forth that she ought to have succeeded to her nephew, the emperor *Peter* the II^d, and that she had been defrauded of her right by the practices of the counts, *Osterman*, *Munich*, and others. All of them were tried, and condemned to death, but respited upon the scaffold for exile. Among the first cares of *Elizabeth*'s government, was her calling to her court the duke of *Holstein Gottorp*, her eldest sister's son; whom she declared her presumptive heir, and great duke of *Russia*. In the mean while, the war with *Sweden* was renewed, and the *Russians* were again victorious under general *Lascy*, who disarmed the whole *Swedish* army, and conquered *Finland* in the campaign of 1742; but, as we have observed in the history of *Sweden*, *Elizabeth* made a very moderate use of her advantages, and gave peace to the *Swedes* upon their receiving the bishop of *Lubec* for their king, and acknowledging the duke of *Holstein* her successor to the empire of *Russia*.

1742.

We have had an occasion, in various other parts of this She fa-
work, to commemorate the noble figure the czarina's arms vours the
made during the war between the houses of *Austria* and *Bran-* empress
denburgh. She was proof against the most tempting solicitations queen of
to desert the cause of the empress queen; and it is quite unneces- *Hungary*.
sary to repeat the glories her troops acquired in all their cam- Vol. IX.
paigns against his *Prussian* majesty, till after their taking of *Col-* p. 248,
berg, which threatened the entire ruin of his *Prussian* majesty, & seq.
when her death happened, on the 2^d of *January* 1762, which 1762.
not only altered the affairs of *Russia*, but the state of *Europe*.

Elizabeth was succeeded by the great duke of *Russia*, and *Peter* III.
duke of *Holstein*, *Peter* the III^d, whose conduct was the re-
verse of hers. He admired the accomplishments and capacity
of his *Prussian* majesty, and upon mounting his throne he
gave him peace. He had been married to a princess of the
house of *Anhalt Zerbst*, and he recalled all the exiles who had,
during the late reigns, been sent to *Siberia*, particularly *Biren*,
in whose person and family the succession to the duchy of
Courland is now settled. Unhappily for him, there was no
good understanding between him and his empress, a princess
of the most consummate abilities; and his own irregularities,
personal as well as political, particularly in endeavouring to
abolish the established religion of *Russia*, soon produced a con-
spiracy among the great *Russian* lords against him, which was
headed by his empress. A resolution was formed and execut- *Catharine*
ed to divest him of the imperial dignity, and to raise her to II.
the empire, of which she accepted. *Peter* the III^d was then too
indolently, and, perhaps, too criminally, indulging his pleasures
at

at a country seat, with a favourite mistress. He heard of his wife's having been advanced to the imperial throne, and being abandoned by all but a few faithful *Holsteiners*, he was stopt in his flight to his hereditary dukedom, forced to sign an unconditional resignation of his empire, and in a few hours after he was murdered, though his wife gave out that he died of a hemorrhoidal cholic. Upon his death, the empress took the reins of government into her hands, which she holds till her son, the great duke, shall be declared of age.

Murder of
Iwan.

Iwan, who had been acknowledged emperor while in the cradle, was still alive, and without ever knowing what liberty was, continued shut up in the fortress of *Schlusberg*. He was there visited by the empress *Catharine* the II^d, who gave out that he was next to an idiot, and placed a guard over his person. But the public are far from being satisfied with regard to the meanness of *Iwan's* capacity. The empress seeing out upon a progress, one *Mirowitz*, a subaltern officer in the army, attempted to set *Iwan* at liberty; and for that purpose he engaged some soldiers of the garrison to join him. On the 15th of *July*, *Mirowitz* made the attempt; and rather than it should succeed, his barbarous guards murdered him in his bed, and threw his body out of the window to the conspirators, who, losing all their spirits and courage, surrendered themselves to the governor of the fortress; and *Mirowitz* was afterwards publicly executed, while the murderers were nobly rewarded.

Though *Peter* the III^d had been dethroned and murdered for his misgovernment, yet his empress, and successor, pursued all the measures he had chalked out. She granted peace to the king of *Prussia*, though her husband's friendship for that prince was a capital article against him. She favoured the accession of count *Poniatowski* to the throne of *Poland*, and ever since her accession, she has never ceased to invite foreigners of all nations to reside in her empire.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
P O L A N D.

THE history of this kingdom is so intermixed with the forms of its constitution, that some knowledge of the latter is absolutely necessary, before we can proceed to the former.

Poland, though a republic, has a king, who, upon the death of his predecessor, is chosen by the collective body of the nobility assembled on horseback, and who, before they proceed to the election, draw up a capitulation, or, as it is called, the *pacta conventa*, to which the future monarch is to swear that he will conform himself, and make it the rule of his government. The heads of this instrument secure the liberties of the people from all invasions by the king; guards against his rendering the crown hereditary in his own family; provides for the ratification of all treaties, for the public tranquillity and security; binds his majesty to coin no money but in the republic's name; that in all matters regarding war or peace, he shall take the advice of the senate and the diet, and that he shall not consent, by any means, to the introduction of foreign troops, nor give any places, civil, military or ecclesiastical, to foreigners. It provides that he shall even consult the senate in his marriage, and that he shall not privately sign or seal papers of a public nature; that he shall profess the *Roman* catholic religion; that he shall not squander the public money, nor fit out ships of war, without the consent of the republic. In short, when we consider the whole of this constitution, we wonder with what propriety it can be said to have a king, so much are his hands tied up from the execution of government.

The crown of *Poland* is, notwithstanding, a desirable object. The king's revenues are about four hundred thousand pounds a year, without deductions, besides many other casualties. He disposes of all vacant benefices, offices and dignities, but can keep none in his own hands, nor dispose of any to his children, or foreigners, without consent of the senate. It is one of his prerogatives to assemble the diet, which consists of himself, the senate, the bishops, some abbots, governors of provinces, called palatines, castellans, who are governors of castles, the great officers of state, and nuncios, or representatives chosen and sent by the nobility and certain orders of the gentry in each palatinate. Three acres of land possessed by a gentleman, constitute what we may call his freehold, and give him a voice in electing a nuncio. Each palatinate has three representatives, but two of them are little more than nominal, and serve only for form, all the business being vested in one. In short, the great outlines of the *Polish* diet, resemble those of the *British* parliament. The representatives of the palatinates, prepare the business of the session for the consideration of the great officers of state, the nobility and the bishops. The king speaks to them by the mouth of his chancellor. A committee of sixteen senators is chosen to attend his majesty in the nature of a cabinet council; but the choice of the marshal or president of the diet sometimes consumes the six weeks allotted for the sitting of the assembly, without any choice being made. The marshal is the mouth of the nuncios to the king. Every bill must pass unanimously; but if twenty bills were to pass in that manner, and the twenty-first is thrown out, the whole goes for nothing, an absurdity that is peculiar to the *Polish* constitution. From this complex form of government, it is plain that it is liable to great obstructions and corruptions. It is in the power of every petulant nuncio to give a negative to the most public spirited measure, an inconveniency so glaring, that the other members have sometimes been forced to cut such a tribune in pieces.

When the throne becomes vacant, a vast large booth, called by the *Poles*, *Szopa*, is erected for the electors; a marshal is chosen, but the archbishop of *Gnesna* for the time being, has the chief power. The deliberation of the diet turns upon the security of the state, and the additions that may be necessary to make the royal capitulation, with many other acts of government. Formerly, the most gross corruption determined the choice of a candidate for the crown, which generally was given to him who had the longest purse. At present, ambassadors of the chief powers of *Europe* are admitted to audiences of the assembly. The election is ushered in by the performance of religious duties, and by each member purging himself of all corrupt affections; and, though by the original constitution the electors ought to be unanimous, yet that being

found

found impracticable, the majority of late has decided the choice.

The senate of *Poland* consists of a hundred and forty-four members, who are officers of state, bishops, palatines, or castellans, and though nominated by the king, the members take an oath to be true to the republic. It possesses much the same dignity as a *British* house of peers, as it has a juridical capacity in the last resort. The honours they enjoy are for life, and they look upon themselves as the first subjects in the kingdom, and as assessors to the king himself. The archbishop of *Gnesna* is the president of this assembly, and is attended by a marshal and other officers, so that the respect paid him falls little short of that due to the king himself. His negative can annul the election of a king, even though it should be unanimous. All the bishops are by their sees members of the senate, and they are no more than thirteen in number. The power given to them and the primate, is perhaps the wisest part of the *Polish* constitution, as they are themselves disabled from being candidates for the crown; and their independence upon the king, as well as the people, renders them a counterbalance in all abuses, either of prerogative or privilege.

The reader who shall accurately compare the old *English* and the present *Polish* constitution, will find many more instances of similarity between them than those we have mentioned. A palatinate is, in some sense, a county, of which the palatine is the lord lieutenant, or sheriff. He has his courts, in which the civil affairs of his palatinate are transacted; and he is particularly authorized to defend the *Jews*; a set of men who are particularly industrious in *Poland*, by supplying the tasteless extravagance, and the tawdry finery of the natives. Of the chief castellans, whom we have already mentioned, there are thirty-two, and of the smaller, forty-nine. They are qualified to act as deputy palatines, and to hold particular ranks in the army, according to their qualifications. The office of *starosta* in *Poland*, is partly military and partly civil, somewhat resembling the high sheriffs in *England*. They return the king's revenue into the exchequer; they have a power to summon what we may call the *posse comitatus*; they have particular courts and officers, and all subjects must obey them in the exercise of their duty. If they are men of property or governments under the republic, their rank is very respectable, and their authority extensive, for they not only have judicial powers, but they preside at all criminal executions, and can enforce their own decrees. The *starostas*, who have no property or command, act as our justices of the peace. Next to the ranks we have described, are the burghers, many of whom are foreigners, and all of them treated as mere mechanics by the nobility and gentry, whatever influence or property they may have in their respective corporations. As to the *Polish* peasantry, they have neither power nor property, and are considered as mere slaves. Upon the whole, though every

Polish gentleman is not a nobleman, yet the great weight and privileges of the constitution rest upon them. When assembled in a body, they form what is called the *pospolite*; and during their being in the field, all courts of justice are shut up; but they cannot be compelled to march above three leagues out of *Poland*, nor to continue embodied for above six weeks. Their persons are free from all arrests; and such are the dilatory forms of the *Polish* laws, that they seldom operate against a nobleman or a gentleman, for these terms are in many respects synonymous.

Notwithstanding all the specious shew of *Polish* freedom, and of the nation being linked together in the common cause of liberty, yet their degeneracy, their indolence, and poverty is incredible. They abuse their powers by excessive drinking, to which they even prostitute their voices, and their brutal behaviour to the wives and daughters of their tenants, is at once without controul and excuse, farther than that a *Polish* peasant approaches so near to the brute creation, that he has not the smallest idea of his wretched state, provided he can satisfy the calls of hunger. These peasants, however, are the wealth of the gentry who live upon their landed estates, for the starosties are offices conferred by the crown, by way of rewards to antient military officers, or other old servants of the republic. In the inland parts of *Poland*, the land-holders take their rents in kind, and convert their provisions, after serving their own families, into money, which is by no means plentiful in their country; though it is one of the finest in *Europe*. When a *Polish* army is brought to the field, it is under no discipline, and their officers hold their commissions for life, their commands being proportioned to the properties they enjoy. We may therefore pronounce, that the inhabitants of no country abuse the inestimable blessings of nature and liberty more than the *Poles*, who are said to be so numerous, that *Poland* and *Lithuania* together, without hurting agriculture, can send two hundred thousand men into the field.

8-6.
Dukes
and kings
of *Poland*
in the
early ages.

We shall not trace the history of *Poland* to fabulous times, but begin at the year 830, when the *Poles* chose one *Pieſtus*, a wheel-right, but a man of exemplary virtue, for their duke. He proved so excellent a prince, that he is to this day the pride of the *Poles*, who, from him, call the native kings of their country *Piaſts*. He was succeeded in his virtues and dignity by his son, *Ziemovitus*, who, by his valour and justice, extended the dukedom; and though the government was not hereditary, yet he was succeeded by his son, *Lechus*, whose merits were equal to those of his ancestors. His son, *Zemomislus*, was in the like manner raised to the dukedom, and he made the like good use of his power, which was inherited by his son, *Mieczslaus*. This prince was born blind, but recovered his sight when he was seven years of age. The *Poles* had not yet embraced *Christianity*, and *Mieczslaus* having married several wives, without having children; some

Christian

Christian monks persuaded him to renounce *Paganism* and marry a *Christian* princess. He tried the experiment, and it succeeded; but according to the best accounts, he was a poor, bigotted, priest-ridden prince. He was succeeded, in 999, by his son, *Boleslaus* the 1st, who united in his own person the heathen and military *Christian* virtues. He defeated the *Russians* and *Bohemians*, and was recognized as king by the emperor *Otho* the 3rd, and the pope. Having conquered *Bohemia* and *Moravia*, he carried his victorious arms against the *Russians*, where they continued to be still successful. From *Russia* he marched into *Saxony*, which he conquered, together with *Pomerania* and *Prussia*. Having subdued all his enemies, but with no great honour to his clemency, he died in 1025, and was honoured with the sur-name of Great. He is said to have instituted a council of twelve noblemen to assist in the government. His treatment of the ducal *Bohemia* family, whom he subdued, shews him to have been a lawless barbarian, for he put out the eyes of the old duke, and his son died in a dungeon.

999.

1025.

Boleslaus was succeeded by his son, *Mieczslaus* the 2nd; but the *Russians*, *Prussians*, *Moravians* and *Saxons*, fell all at once upon *Poland*; nor had *Mieczslaus* any capacity for war; and he died of a frenzy in 1034. He had been so much despised by his subjects, that they set his son, *Casimir*, aside from the succession, and gave the regency to his mother, *Rixa*, who was soon banished for her tyranny. A downright anarchy then succeeded in *Poland*, which was attended with acts of the most shocking barbarity and villainy. Young *Casimir* had been driven out of *Poland*, and the country was overrun with foreign enemies. The *Poles* applied to the popes, whose credit was then very high, but all they did was to take their money, as well as that of their enemies; and at last they recalled young *Casimir*, who was a monk in the abbey of *Clugni*. He had leave from the pope to mount his father's throne, and to restore *Poland* to order and government. Though he was a bigot to the church of *Rome*, to which he made too great concessions, yet he shewed great courage and abilities in government, and he left his kingdom in a most prosperous state in 1058. The truth is, the *Poles* were, at this time, the subjects of the see of *Rome*, and their kings were substitutes to the popes, to whom they paid an annual tribute. *Casimir* was succeeded by his son, *Boleslaus* the 2nd, who, by his great actions against the *Bohemians*, *Prussians*, *Russians* and *Hungarians*, obtained the name of the Bold. He reconquered great part of the territory that had been acquired by *Boleslaus* the Great, and conquered *Kiowia*. After a life spent in obtaining the most splendid victories, he sunk into luxury, and spent his time in the countries he had conquered, particularly in *Kiow*, then one of the most luxurious cities in the world, on the banks of the *Boristhenes*, surrounded by a numerous court and army. The absence of the *Poles* from their wives, is said to

1034.

1058.

have united the latter in the horrid design of raising their slaves and servants to their beds. Upon the return of the *Poles*, a desperate battle ensued, in which the women fought by the sides of their lovers, and *Poland* was deluged with blood. The ladies at last were subdued, but *Boleslaus* became a complete tyrant. He even murdered bishops and clergymen, for which the thunder of the *Vatican* drove him out of his kingdom, and he died in the most despicable poverty, some say in the station of a cook to a monastery in *Carinthia*.

1082. In 1082, the pope gave the *Poles* leave to elect *Uladislaus* their sovereign, but without the title of king. After a reign of trouble, he died in peace, in 1103. His son *Boleslaus* the III^d, was one of the most warlike princes of the age. He defeated the emperor, *Henry* the IVth, and he is said to have been present in forty-seven pitched battles. Entering into a war with the *Russians*, they defeated him, and the disgrace is said to have affected him so much, that it brought him to his grave. He had, before his death, divided his kingdom among his four sons, but his will was set aside by his eldest, *Uladislaus* the II^d, who was animated by his wife, *Christina*, a lewd, ambitious, woman. His reign was turbulent, and he was at last deposed, and driven into *Germany*. In 1146, *Boleslaus* the IVth, brother to the last duke (for the pope had not suffered them to resume the title of kings) governed *Poland*. He proved a worthy prince, and he assigned to his exiled brother the province of *Silesia*, which has ever since been dismembered from *Poland*. During his reign, the rage of crusading prevailed in *Europe*, and his brother, *Henry*, made a campaign in the *Holy Land*, from whence he returned with the loss of almost all the army which attended him. Soon after this, the exiled *Uladislaus*, and his wife, *Christina*, persuaded the emperor, *Frederic Barbarossa*, to invade *Poland*. The imperial army was ruined, but an accommodation succeeded, and *Boleslaus* had leisure to turn his arms against the *Russians*, under the pious pretence of their being still heathens. His army was defeated, and the rest of the reign of *Boleslaus* was chequered with good and bad fortune, but he died in the year 1174. He was succeeded by *Mieczslaus* the III^d, surnamed the Old, because of the vast sagacity he discovered when young. He soon degenerated into a tyrant, and was deposed. He was succeeded by his brother, *Casimir*, who proved a wise and a valiant prince, and obtained the surname of the Just. His reign was turbulent, through the practices of his brother and other relations, but his virtues endeared his memory so much to the *Poles*, that when he died in 1194, his son *Lechus* was raised to the ducal honour, notwithstanding the intrigues of his deposed uncle, *Mieczslaus*, who at last deposed him. He did not long possess his ill acquired dignity, and he was succeeded by his son, *Uladislaus*, who died in a few days; but the history of *Poland*, at this time, is very uncertain. All we know is, that in the year 1206, *Lechus* was restored, but his reign

reign proved a continued series of foreign invasions and domestic troubles.

We are in the dark as to the history of *Poland*, which was now a prey to the *Tartars*. *Lechus* had a brother, *Conrade*, who, to keep himself in possession of *Masovia* and *Cujavia*, called the knights of the *Teutonic* order to his assistance against the *Prussians*, by which that order became possessed of the *Polish Prussia*. In 1226, we find *Boleslaus* the Vth, son to *Lechus*, in possession of *Poland*. He had wars with the *Tartars*, *Russians* and *Lithuanians*; as had his cousin, *Lechus*, who succeeded him. Upon the death of *Lechus*, in 1289, great disputes happened about the succession, which at last devolved upon *Premislaus*, a powerful *Polish* lord, who, to revive the glory and spirit of his subjects, resumed the title of king. He was deposed by the king of *Bohemia*, and assassinated by conspirators. In 1300, we find one *Uladislaus Loeticus* named as king of *Poland*; but he was soon deposed, and the crown given to *Wenceslaus*, king of *Bohemia*. The *Bohemian* government was so disagreeable to the *Poles*, that *Wenceslaus* was quickly driven from the throne, and *Uladislaus Loeticus* was restored. He carried on a long and severe war against the knights of the *Teutonic* order, who were headed by the marquis of *Brandenburgh*; but in the end they were defeated, and the residue of his reign was glorious. He was succeeded by his son, *Casimir* the IIIrd; and the kings of *Hungary* and *Bohemia* taking part with the knights of the *Teutonic* order, they drove him to great difficulties, though he was supported by the see of *Rome*. Having made the best accommodation he could, he turned his arms against the *Russians*, and conquered *Leopold* and the *Black Russia*. He was, however, more distinguished for his civil, than his military arts, for he was the first who introduced a regular system of laws into *Poland*, where it was approved of by a general diet. After a glorious reign, which was stained only by incontinency with women, he died in 1370, without issue, and in him ended the race of *Piastus* in the male line.

Lewis king of *Hungary*, nephew to *Casimir*, by his sister, succeeded him in the throne of *Poland*; tho' his partiality to the *Hungarians* was such, that the kingdom became soon a scene of bloodshed and robbery. Foreign invasions and rebellions succeeded, but his power prevailed over all, and he obliged the *Poles* to elect *Sigismund*, marquis of *Brandenburgh*, for his successor. The *Poles* set his succession aside, as being obtained by constraint, and gave their crown to *Sigismund's* daughter, *Hedwiga*. She refused to marry the duke of *Masovia*, but could not obtain the consent of her states, to make a prince of the house of *Austria*, whom she loved, her husband. *Jagello*, duke of *Lithuania*, next courted her. Both he and his subjects were yet *Pagans*. He promised to profess *Christianity*, to oblige them to do the same, and offered to annex *Lithuania* to the crown of *Poland*. *Hedwiga* still loved the *Austrian* prince, and would have married him, against the

advice of all her subjects, but *Jagello* dislodged him at once from her court and her affections, at the head of an army, and she having seen him, gave him her hand with more raptures than she could have done it to his rival.

Rise of
the *Jagello*-
los, kings
of *Poland*.

Jagello having mounted the throne of *Poland*, changed his name to *Uladislaus*, being the IVth of that name. The vast accession of territory which he brought to *Poland*, by the provinces of *Samogitia*, and *Black Russia*, as well as *Lithuania*, excited the jealousy of the *Teutonic* knights; nor indeed were the *Lithuanians* themselves pleased with their country being annexed to *Poland*. Those discontents produced several wars. The *Lithuanians* were gross idolaters, their religion being then a compound of that of the *Druids* and the *Magi*; for they worshipped fire, and believed in the sanctity of particular groves and temples. *Uladislaus*, in proceeding to their conversion, acted in a mild, but sensible manner; for he penetrated into their country, at the head of an army, and gave them ocular demonstration of the vanity of their religion, by destroying their consecrated groves, statues and temples, with impunity. This opened the eyes of the *Lithuanians*, vast numbers of them embraced *Christianity*. An archbishopric was founded in *Vilna*, their capital, and *Uladislaus* left his brother, *Skirgello*, and his kinsman, *Vitowda*, his governors in the dukedom. *Skirgello* was a tyrant, and forced *Vitowda* into the arms of the *Teutonic* knights, who, though instituted for the defence and propagation of *Christianity*, opposed the conversion of the *Lithuanians*. A most cruel war followed, and *Vitowda* forced the king to make him sole governor of *Lithuania*. This was about the time that *Tamerlane* was invading *Greece*. At first *Vitowda* obtained vast advantages over that great conqueror's generals; but at last he was overpowered by numbers, and the *Teutonic* knights proved a still more barbarous army than the *Tartars*, who ravaged *Poland*, but in the end were entirely defeated by the valour of *Uladislaus*. He is said to have killed forty thousand, and to have made thirty thousand prisoners; but he is blamed for not having taken *Marienburg*, the capital of the *Polish Prussia*. The knights thereby gained time to recover themselves, under their great master, *Plawen*, who found means to debauch *Vitowda* from his allegiance, by offering to give him *Lithuania* and *Samogitia* in sovereignty. He was, however, defeated in the field, as well as in the cabinet, by the firmness of *Uladislaus*, who conquered all opposition, and died after a glorious reign of forty-eight years.

The *Li-*
thuanians
embrace
Christia-
nity.

Poland
ravaged.

1434.
Uladislaus
the Vth.
Vol. VIII.
p. 79, &
seq.
Ibid. p.
83.

He was succeeded by his son, *Uladislaus* the Vth, in 1434, being no more than nine years of age. During his minority, *Poland* and *Lithuania* were harrassed by the *Tartars*; and when he was very young, he was forced to put himself at the head of his army, to oppose *Amurath* or *Morad*, the *Turkish* emperor, in the manner the reader has already seen. Some writers have represented *Uladislaus* the Vth as king of *Hungary* at this time. It is certain that the *Hungarians*, soon after, bestowed

upon

upon him their crown; and *Uladislaus*, after defeating the *Turks*, made a most glorious peace, both for himself and *Chrifendom*, but he was over persuaded, by the pope's legate, a furious weak brained bigot, to violate his faith. He penetrated into *Bulgaria*, and fought the battle of *Varna*, in which he lost his life, after giving proofs of the most amazing courage, which deserved a better cause. *Uladislaus* the Vth was scarcely of age when he was killed; he having reigned ten years over the *Poles*, and four over the *Hungarians*.

When *Uladislaus* the Vth was killed, his brother, *Casimir*, held *Lithuania* as a fief of *Poland*. Though about ten thousand *Poles*, besides *Hungarians*, had been killed in the battle of *Varna*, yet *Casimir* subdued *Bogdan*, the rebellious vaivode of *Moldavia*, then subject to *Poland*. About this time almost all *Russia* revolted from her tyrannical masters, the *Teutonic* knights, and *Dantzic*, *Thorn*, *Elbing*, *Culm* and *Gotlub*, put themselves under *Casimir*'s protection. He was defeated by the knights while he was besieging *Marienburg*; but by the assistance of the diet, he soon repaired his loss, and, by a treaty concluded at *Thorn*, he forced the knights to cede to him *Pomerania*, *Culm*, *Marienburg*, *Sturm*, and *Elbing*, and to hold the rest of *Russia* as feodatories of *Poland*. By this peace, the grand master obtained a seat in the *Polish* senate. After this, the hospoder of *Moldavia* put himself under the protection of *Poland*, and the *Bohemians* gave their crown to *Uladislaus*, *Casimir*'s eldest son, by which *Casimir* almost ruined his country; *Uladislaus*, at the same time, aspiring to the crown of *Hungary*, and thereby kindling a most terrible civil war. He died in the year 1492, and his reign is said to have first introduced deputies or nuncios to the diet.

Casimir the III^d was succeeded by his son, *John Albert*, in prejudice of his two elder brothers, *Uladislaus*, who was king of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*; and *Sigismund*. Their interests were so nearly balanced among the electors, that when they could agree in nothing else, they agreed to raise their youngest brother, *John Albert*, to the throne. This prince at first refused to join in a confederacy proposed by the *Venetians* against the *Turks*, but natural ambition got the better of his caution. He was defeated in an attempt he made upon *Walachia*, where he lost six thousand men, but authors do not agree upon particulars, nor do we even know which party was the aggressor. *John Albert* died in 1501, as he was making warlike preparations to support his claim of superiority over the *Teutonic* knights.

John Albert, who died in the forty-first year of his age, was succeeded by his brother, *Alexander*, great duke of *Lithuania*; by which the union between that duchy and *Poland* was confirmed. He was involved in war with his neighbours, the *Muscovites*, *Moldavians*, and *Tartars*, over whom his generals obtained a complete victory, while he was on his death-bed. He reigned five years; but, though by his general courage, he

he acquired a great character in history, we are told, such was his profusion, especially to musicians, that upon his death, his donations were revoked, and a law called the *Statutum Alexandrinum* was passed, to prevent the like abuses for the future. By the predilection of *Alexander*, his elder brother, *Sigismund*, who had been twice before a candidate for the crown, succeeded him. He found his revenues, at his accession, in a miserable plight, but by the assistance of his excellent minister, *John Bonner*, he retrieved them, and he proved to be one of the greatest princes of his age. He suppressed a conspiracy formed between his great general, *Gliniski*, governor of *Lithuania*, and the czar of *Muscovy*, for dismembering that duchy from his crown; and he totally defeated, in repeated battles, the *Russians*, *Walachians*, and *Moldavians*, from whom he recovered *Smolensko*, which they had surprized. He then entered into a long war with *Albert*, marquis of *Brandenburgh*, who had been chosen great master of the *Teutonic* order; and forced him to raise the siege of *Dantzic*. By his perpetual successes against those knights, he obliged the marquis, who had turned protestant, to abandon his great mastership, and for that purpose he gave him half the province of *Russia*, with the title of duke, which gave a mortal blow to the power of the *Teutonic* order. His vast successes, and the power his family had acquired, attracted, at last, the jealousy of the emperor *Charles* the Vth, who excited the *Russians*, and the other barbarous neighbours of *Poland*, to invade her. The fortune of *Sigismund* prevailed over all, till his nephew, *Lewis*, the son of his elder brother, *Uladislaus*, king of *Hungary*, *Bohemia*, and *Silesia*, lost his life in the battle of *Mohatz*, against the *Turks*, in 1526. This was a severe blow to the house of *Jagello*, for the daughter and heir of *Lewis*, married *Ferdinand* of *Austria*, and in her right he possessed her dominions. That event is said to have shortened the days of *Sigismund*, though he was then 84 years of age. Before his death, he had entirely subdued all his barbarous enemies; secured the sovereignty of *Poland* over the ducal *Russia*, and reannexed the province of *Masovia* to his crown. He died in 1548, with the character of being the most powerful and fortunate prince that had ever filled the throne of *Poland*, and endued with more personal strength and accomplishments than any man of his age.

Sigismund the IId succeeded his father, *Sigismund* the Ist, without any previous election, because his right had been acknowledged by the diet during his father's lifetime. He was a wise and moderate prince, and improved his dominions by the arts of peace. Soon after his accession, the *Teutonic* knights in *Livonia* were dispossessed of almost all that country, by the *Russians*; but they were succoured by *Sigismund*, at the head of a hundred thousand men. *Sigismund* was not quite disinterested in the assistance he gave them on this occasion. After he had made up a difference between *Ketler*, the grand master, and his knights, he insisted that not only they, but all the *Livonians*,

Livonians, should acknowledge his sovereignty. They were obliged to submit, but *Ketler* was indemnified for giving up *Riga* to *Sigismund*, and for resigning his grand-mastership, by being made duke of *Courland* and *Semigallia*, which his posterity was to hold under the crown of *Poland*; and he was at the same time declared governor of *Livonia*. Those arrangements exasperated *Basilides*, the powerful czar of *Muscovy*, who fell into the *Polish* dominions with great cruelty. His troops were every where defeated by *Radzevil*, palatine of *Vilna*, and the other *Polish* generals, and he was forced to evacuate *Lithuania*. This bloody war was ended by a three years truce, during which *Sigismund* died, with the character of possessing all the virtues of a king, with some of the failings of a man. In him the male line of the *Jagello* family was ended; but the memory of its princes are still dear to the *Poles*. End of the *Jagello* line.

Sigismund the II^d left two sisters, *Catharine*, who was wife first to the duke of *Finland*, and afterwards to *John*, king of *Sweden*, and *Anne*, who was afterwards married to *Stephen Batori*, prince of *Transylvania*. Had the male line of *Jagello* continued, it is probable the succession never would have been disputed in that family; but no sooner was it extinct, than intrigues for a successor to the crown of *Poland* were formed in almost all the courts of *Europe*. The management of the pope's legate promoted the election to a prince of the catholic religion, and the archduke *Ernest* of *Austria* was thought of. He missed it, by the unreasonable pride and punctilio of his father, the emperor, which was such, as united all the *Poles* in a confederacy against his son. It would be endless to give a detail of all the interests and factions of the candidates, but at last the election fell upon the duke of *Anjou*, brother to *Charles* the 9th of *France*. That prince was then in some reputation with the *Roman* catholics, on account of his successes against the protestants; and his interest was strenuously promoted by one *Crososki*, a *Polander* of intrigue and address. In short, he carried the election through the interest of his brother, who disliked his remaining in *France*. It was opposed, at first, not only by the house of *Austria*, but by the *German* protestants; but upon *Henry's* promising all that was required of him, particularly to maintain a fleet in the *Baltic*, and to marry the princess *Anne*, younger sister to the late king *Sigismund*, his election was next to unanimous, and he was crowned in 1574, at *Cracow*. His appearance, his magnificence and politeness, far different from what the *Poles* had ever seen before, were just beginning to endear him to their affections, when he heard of his brother's death, by which he became king of *France*. We have already given an account of *Henry's* clandestine escape out of *Poland*, which he effected in a masterly manner; but all his soothing letters could not prevent his exasperated subjects from deposing him on the 15th of *July* 1575. The primate of *Gnesna*, at the head of the senate, elected and proclaimed the emperor *Maximilian* king of *Poland*; but the princess *Anne* con-

Henry of Anjou,

is chosen king of *Poland*.

1574.

Vol. XI.
p. 369.

Stephen
Batori
king.

continuing still unmarried, the *Piaſt* party choſe *Stephen Batori*, prince of *Transylvania*, who made her his wife, and he accordingly mounted the throne. *Maximilian* was preparing to diſpute it with him when he died, and *Batori* was recognized king by all *Poland*, the city of *Dantzic* excepted, who pretended to be independent of *Poland*. The *Dantzickers* being ſupported by the *Germans* and *Ruſſians*, obſtinately rejected all the terms offered them by *Stephen*, and were declared rebels, but *Stephen* found great difficulty in reducing them to their duty. He ſucceeded, however, at laſt, for he beſieged their city, and their brave general, *Colſca*, was killed in a ſally. They accepted of the terms propoſed by *Stephen*, who confirmed their privileges.

War with
Ruſſia.

1578.
p. 498.

The reduction of *Dantzic* did not prevent the bloody invaſions of the *Ruſſians*, who laid waſte all *Livonia*, and other parts of the *Polish* territories, till they were defeated in 1578, by *Stephen*. We have, in the hiſtory of *Muſcovy*, mentioned the progreſs of this war, the events of which were too inhuman and ſhocking to be repeated here. The *Ruſſians* were not the only enemies the *Poles* had to oppoſe, for the *Swedes*, as we have already ſeen, aſſerted, by arms, their claims upon *Livonia*. The *Poles* and *Swedes* at laſt diſcovered that *Baſilowitz* was their common enemy, and they conſequently propoſed to unite againſt him, but the weight of the war fell upon *Stephen*, who beſieged *Pleſkow*, one of the ſtrongeſt cities in the north, and well garrifoned. The perſeverance of *Batori* continued the ſiege under infinite difficulties; and we have already ſeen how, by the mediation of the pope's legate, the peace of the north was reſtored. After this *Batori*, who had loſt about fifty thouſand men in his laſt campaign, applied himſelf to the civil and military eſtabliſhments of his kingdom, and had the addreſs to attach the *Coffacs*, who had before lived in a ſtate of ſavage nature, to his crown, and to render them, by diſcipline, uſeful troops. He even introduced among them many of the arts of life, but a freſh war breaking out with *Sweden*, he was obliged again to take the field, in order to ſave *Riga*, which had re-

1585.
Death and character of *Stephen*.

volted. Before he could effect this, he died, but without being able to prevail with the diet of *Poland* to ſettle the ſucceſſion of the crown upon his family. It is ſufficient, in teſtimony of *Stephen*'s great abilities, to ſay, that from a middling ſtation, he raiſed himſelf to power and royalty, in which he maintained himſelf by wiſdom and intrepidity, and that the *Poles* have almoſt deified his memory.

Sigismund
of *Sweden*.

Though the crown of *Poland*, at this time, may be literally called elective, yet both the *Poles* and *Lithuanians* ſtill retained a great affection for the remains of the *Jagello* family. Prince *Sigismund* of *Sweden*, was ſon to the eldeſt ſiſter of *Casimir* the III, and her younger ſiſter, *Batori*'s widow, was ſtill alive, and was forming a powerful party for her nephew. The other candidates were three princes of the houſe of *Auſtria*, *Erneſt*, *Matthias*, and *Maximilian*, together with *Theodore*, the czar

of *Muscovy*. The vast ecclesiastical influence in the *Polish* diet, favoured *Sigismund*, who had declared himself of the *Romish* religion, and had likewise on his side the interest of the *Porte*, the senate, and the *Polish* army, which was commanded by *Zamoski*, a person of great abilities, both civil and military, and *Sigismund* was accordingly proclaimed on the 9th of *August* 1587. We have already mentioned the terms and views upon which *Sigismund* accepted of the *Polish* crown, and that he was opposed by *Maximilian*, prince of *Austria*. *Sigismund's* agreeing, however, to all that was demanded of him by *Zamoski* and the patriot *Poles*, gave him an undisputed superiority; and *Zamoski* beat a *German* army, which was on its march to support *Maximilian's* claim. A second engagement ensued, in which *Maximilian* was made prisoner; a victory which secured the crown to *Sigismund*, and covered *Zamoski* with glory. All that the house of *Austria* could do, was to prevail with the pope to send cardinal *Aldobrandini* to solicit in behalf of *Maximilian*. The prelate made strong efforts to prevail with *Sigismund* to suffer *Maximilian* to retain the title of king, even after he had renounced the crown, and a large sum was offered for his ransom. *Sigismund* magnanimously rejected both proposals. He freely gave *Maximilian* his liberty, but forced him to renounce his title to royalty.

1588.

p. 499.

The *Austrian* defeated.

In 1590, *Sigismund's* compromise with *Maximilian*, left him in tranquillity; and he was beginning to make some excellent regulations in the constitution of *Poland*, when he was forced to turn his arms against the *Turks* and *Tartars*, the latter of whom were defeated by *Zamoski*, though their army under their khan consisted of a hundred thousand men. This barbarous war was renewed for several years; but at last a peace was concluded with the *Turks*, under the mediation of the *English* ambassador, which restored a short tranquillity to *Poland*. We have already seen the events that followed upon *Sigismund's* accession to the throne of *Sweden* by his father's death, and how he visited that kingdom in 1593. Upon his return to *Poland*, *Sigismund* lost the crown of *Sweden*, on account of his religion, and was finally deposed in 1604, when his uncle *Charles* was declared king of *Sweden*. This naturally brought on a war between the two nations, the events of which we have already related. The *Swedes* were every where beaten by *Zamoski* and *Chaskiewitz*, *Sigismund's* generals, and obliged to evacuate *Livonia* and *Finland*. Those vast acquisitions encouraged *Sigismund* to become a candidate for the throne of *Russia*, in opposition to the tyrant *Boris*. *Sigismund*, however, at first espoused the interest of the supposed *Demetrius*, as we have seen in the history of *Russia*: But, in 1611, he invaded *Russia* in his own right, and began a most dreadful war, with such success, that he took *Smolensko*, and was advancing to the capital, when a party of the *Russians* agreed to raise his son, *Uladislaus*, to the throne of the czars. The history of *Russia* will inform our readers of the consequences of this war.

1590.

A peace.

p. 501.

1593.

1604.

p. 504.

ibid. &

seq.

1611.

War with

Russia re-

newed.

We

- We are told that *Sigismund* resolved to conquer *Russia* for his son, rather than owe it to the election of its barbarous inconstant inhabitants. It is certain that *Sigismund*, instead of sending his son to take possession of *Moscow*, trusted the defence of it to a garrison of seven thousand *Poles*, who, after a brave defence, were obliged to surrender it to their enemies, he himself returning to *Poland*. This gave the finishing blow to all *Sigismund's* towering hopes of conquering, not only *Russia*, but his hereditary kingdom of *Sweden*, for neither he nor his son, *Uladislaus*, could ever after make any effectual attempt against the *Russians*. Some writers have justified *Sigismund* in his conduct during this war, upon two principles; first, because the *Russians* united against him, and rendered his future success impracticable. Secondly, because his arms were diverted, by the preparations the *Turks* were making against his dominions. The reader, in the history of *Sweden*, has already seen how well *Sigismund's* apprehensions were founded. In the year 1615, he made a truce for fourteen years with the *Russians*, by which the *Poles* were, during that time, to keep possession of the duchies of *Severia*, *Czernichew*, and *Novogrod*, which they had conquered.
1620. In 1620, *Bethlem Gabor*, who had made himself master of War with *Transylvania*, prevailed upon the *Turks* to make war upon *Sigismund*, for having joined the emperor of *Germany* against the *Turks*. The *Polish* general, *Zolkieski*, was defeated and killed, in attempting to succour the prince of *Moldavia* against the infidels, but *Uladislaus* bravely opposed the immense troops of the *Othmans*, which were headed by their emperor, who, after losing eighty thousand men, was obliged to make peace. The *Swedes* took advantage of this war, and invaded *Poland*, with such success, that *Sigismund* lost *Elbing*, *Memel*, *Braunsberg*, *Pillau*, with all *Livonia*, which were ceded to the *Swedes* by treaty, and *Sigismund* died in 1632. He was a prince of great spirit and conduct, but his ambition to become master of *Russia*, to recover the crown of *Sweden*, and to establish the catholic religion, rendered him the dupe of the house of *Austria*, and occasioned infinite calamities to *Poland*. During his last moments, he considered his nephew, *Gustavus Adolphus*, as being no other than the usurper of the throne of *Sweden*, and he placed its crown on the head of his son, *Uladislaus*, but left the *Poles* to the free choice of his successor.
- Uladislaus king.* Prince *John Casimir*, the son of *Sigismund* the III^d, by his second wife, instead of seconding the ambition of his mother, who endeavoured to raise him to the throne of *Poland*, headed a party which raised his elder brother, *Uladislaus*, to that dignity. In 1634, he defeated the *Russians*, who had laid siege to *Smolensko*; and the *Turks* having taken advantage of their irruption into *Poland*, by invading it in another quarter, were defeated likewise so completely, that the vizier ordered the basha, who commanded the expedition, to be strangled. Those victories were glorious for *Poland*, and restored her to a state

of tranquillity ; but after the untimely death of *Gustavus Adolphus*, *Uladislaus* laid hold of the defeat of the *Swedes* at *Nordlingen*, to oblige them to give up all that they held in *Prussia*, and to agree to a truce for twenty-nine years.

We have already mentioned the *Cossacs* who lived in subjection to *Poland*, but with so full an enjoyment of their privileges, that many of the *Poles* who were oppressed by their tyrant lords, took refuge in the *Ukraine*, where they were gladly received by the *Cossacs*. This gave a handle for many of the great *Polish* lords, who held estates from which they reaped but very little benefit in the *Ukraine*, to persuade the king and the senate to reduce the *Cossacs* to the same state of slavery as the *Polish* peasantry. A *Polish* general, *Koniekspolski*, was sent to the *Ukraine*, where he erected the fort of *Hudac*, at the confluence of the *Zwamer* and the *Nieper*. The *Cossacs* took arms, but *Koniekspolski* obliged them to deliver up their leader, *Baulauski*, and many of their principal men, upon a solemn treaty, and a promise of pardon under the hand of *Uladislaus* himself ; but all of them were infamously put to death ; and a resolution was taken in the diet of *Poland* to take from the *Cossacs* their capital fort of *Techtemeravia*, to abolish their privileges, to reduce them to a state of slavery, and to bridle them with a standing army. The *Polish* nobles, swelled with the mad notions of enslaving all who had the misfortune to be under them, enforced their decrees by a powerful army, which invaded the *Ukraine*, and besieged the fort of *Techtemeravia*, but were completely defeated by the *Cossacs*. The latter retained still so much of the barbarian simplicity and honesty, that they offered to lay down their arms, and to behave as quiet subjects to *Poland*, provided they were reinstated in their former privileges. This was agreed to, but the terms were again most perfidiously violated by the *Polish* lords.

One *Kzmielniski*, a leading man among the *Cossacs*, had obtained an estate, which he cultivated, and on which he built a house, but both were claimed and adjudged to *Jarinski*, a *Polish* lord, who, not contented with stripping the *Ukrainer* of his estate and house, ravished his wife, and then murdered both her and his son. *Kzmielniski* then put himself at the head of the *Cossacs*, and a general revolt ensued ; but in the mean while *Uladislaus* died, in 1648. He is said to have been the best general in *Poland*, but we can have little idea of the spirit or virtue of a prince who can hold a sceptre, and yet be obliged to become accessory to the most infamous violations of public faith.

After many disputes concerning the succession, *John Casimir*, brother to the late king, succeeded to the crown of *Poland*, in opposition to *Ragotzki*, prince of *Transylvania*, and the czar of *Muscovy*. Though he was at the time of his election, a *Jesuit* and a cardinal, yet his reputation was so great, that he was peaceably proclaimed on the 20th of *November*. During the intrigues for his election, *Kzmielniski*, at the head

The *Cossacs* take arms, and beat the *Poles*.

Rebellion of *Kzmielniski*.

1648.

J. Casimir king.

of

His wars
with the
Cossacs.

of the *Cossacs* and *Tartars*, carried his revenge against the *Polish* nobility to the most barbarous excesses. He entirely defeated three considerable *Polish* armies; he gave no quarter to the nobility or gentry; and his progress was such, that not only *Cracow*, but *Warsaw* must have fallen into his hands, had it not been for a quarrel between the *Cossacs* and the *Tartars*, about the immense plunder they had made, which induced the former to return to the *Ukraine*. The nobility thought this was a favourable opportunity for their new king to appear at the head of his army, but *Casimir* obstinately excused himself, because he thought the grounds of the quarrel were indefensible on the part of the *Poles*. The nobility finding the king inflexible, raised two other great armies, one of them said to consist of fifty thousand men, which was in like manner defeated by the *Cossacs* and *Tartars*, who took *Kiow*. At last their barbarities arose to a height, which conquered all the scruples of *Casimir*. He put himself at the head of his troops, attacked and defeated the barbarians; but, in consideration of their provocations, he granted them a peace, by which they were restored to their privileges, and the exercise of their religion, which was that of the *Greek* church. This peace neither squared with the haughtiness of the *Polish* nobility, nor the ambition of *Kzmielniski*, who had formed a scheme of erecting himself into a sovereign of the *Ukraine*, under the protection of the *Porte*. The war, in short, was renewed with additional fury, by the *Cossacs* and *Tartars*.

p. 522,
§ 1.

Peace of
Oliva.

1660.

Casimir raised an army of a hundred thousand *Poles*, and at *Bereteskow*, he defeated the *Tartar* army, consisting of three hundred thousand men. The *Cossacs*, upon this, retired precipitately to the *Ukraine*, and obtained pardon, upon promising to observe the terms of the late treaty. In the mean time, however, many of the great *Polish* lords, resenting the peace that had been granted to the *Cossacs*, attached themselves to the *Russians* and the *Swedes*, who were now the declared enemies of *Poland*. The former took *Smolensko* and *Vilna*, and ravaged *Lithuania*; and we have, in the history of *Sweden*, seen how near the *Swedish* monarch was to making an entire conquest of *Poland*, the motives for attacking it, and the events which rendered his expedition fruitless. *Ragotzski*, among others, sought to make an advantage of the distresses and divisions of *Poland*; but the *Swedes* withdrawing from thence, he was beat by the *Poles*, and obliged to accept of a dishonourable peace. By the treaty of *Oliva*, which was concluded in 1660, the *Swedes* gave up most of their conquests in *Poland*, and *John Casimir* renounced all his claims upon the crown of *Sweden*; and thus the tranquillity of *Poland* was re-established, and *Casimir* reigned with additional lustre, arising from his own courage and prudence. But we are not to omit, that by the treaty of *Oliva*, the *Poles* ceded to the *Russians* the duchy of *Severia*, *Smolensko* and *Kiow*.

This

This dawn of prosperity to *Poland* was soon overcast. The *Casimir Polish* nobility, with *Lubomirski*, the crown general, at their reigns the head, pretended to be jealous of *Casimir's* intentions, because crown. he had taken a body of *German* mercenaries into his pay; but, in reality, they hated him for his virtues, and for the humane concessions he had made to the *Cossacs*. Matters soon came to extremity, and the royal party was defeated. Though even after this, the conquerors pretended great submission to the king, yet he distrusted them; and being obliged to dismiss his *German* mercenaries, he found his authority despised, upon which he voluntarily resigned the crown, and retired to the abbey of *St. Germain*, in *France*, where he indulged the fine vein he had for *Latin* poetry, and where he died a few years after. Some have praised his resignation as magnanimous, and others as mean. It partook, perhaps, of both characters. He scorned to be a king without power or respect, but rather than undergo the toils of asserting his prerogative, he gave too much way to his natural love of ease and retirement; for he never could suffer himself to be treated with the name of majesty after his abdication. 1669.

The great duke of *Russia*, at the head of eighty thousand men, lent him by the czar, his father, was a candidate for the crown of *Poland*, and actually renounced the *Greek* religion, that he might succeed. His rivals were the prince of *Conde*, the duke of *Neuburgh*, and prince *Charles* of *Lorrain*. It was discovered that the prince of *Conde* had gained his interest by corruption, and the diet obliged the primate to exclude him. Incredible were the intrigues and confusion that followed, but at last the election fell upon a *Piaſt*, *Michael Coribut Wiefnowski*, one of the most obscure and poorest of the *Polish* nobility, and the great lords acquiesced in his election merely on account of his insignificance. His election happened on the 17th of *September* 1670. *Michael* king. 1670. ?

Michael married the daughter of the emperor *Ferdinand*, to whose son, *Leopold*, he had been a domestic. This gave umbrage to the *Poles*, as if their humble king, who had with tears refused his dignity, intended to render himself absolute, by the assistance of the house of *Austria*, and his reign proved a continual series of misfortunes to his country. The czar, in resentment of his son's treatment, entered into a confederacy with the *Turks*, who took *Kaminieck*, the strongest and most important bulwark of *Poland*, on the side of *Turkey*. This was the greatest conquest the infidels had ever made over the *Poles*, and it was so unexpected, that it was thought to have been given up by the treachery of *Sobieski*, and some great lords, who wanted to render their services necessary to the republic. No measures being taken to oppose the progress of the *Turks*, *Michael* was obliged to make a shameful peace, by which he gave up *Podolia* to the *Cossacs*, and to pay an annual tribute to the *Porte*, with other scandalous conditions, which we have already related, as we have the reasons why

the war broke out afresh, and therefore shall not repeat them. It is sufficient to say, that when the infidels were on the point of conquering all *Poland*, they suffered one of the greatest defeats they had ever received from *Sobieski*; but he was disabled from pursuing his victory, by the disbanding of the *pospolite*, and death. whose stated time of service was now expired. In the mean while, king *Michael* died, and fresh intrigues were set on foot for a new election.

John Sobieski
elected
king.

The second son of the czar of *Muscovy*, the elector of *Brandenburgh*, prince *George* of *Denmark*, and the prince of *Transylvania*, were the declared candidates at first, but several others soon appeared, particularly the prince of *Lorrain*, who had the interest of the queen dowager and the *Lithuanians*. *Sobieski* had privately an eye upon the crown, but declared that he reserved his interest for a prince of the house of *Bourbon*, whom he was not at liberty to name. *Paetz*, the grand marshal of *Lithuania*, had always been the rival of *Sobieski*, and opposed him with great violence in the diet of election; but the assembly inclining strongly to a *Piast*, it fell upon *John Sobieski*, whose title was universally recognized.

His glo-
rious reign

Sobieski's birth was illustrious, and he had risen through all the gradations of military honour, to the throne, where he found himself involved in a war with the *Turks* and the *Cossacs*. His great qualities for government soon appeared, and gained him the confidence of all parties; but he found it difficult to draw out the *pospolite* against the *Turks*, who were making a progress in *Poland*. Finding himself, at last, at the head of an army, he took the field, and dispossessed *Dorozenski*, the *Cossac* general, of the greatest part of the *Ukraine*. Upon this, the *Turks* offered terms of peace, which were rejected by *John*; but while he was in the career of victory, he was deserted by his army, and disabled from retaking *Kamienieck*. We have, in the history of the *Othman* empire, given the particulars of *Sobieski's* succeeding campaigns against the *Turks*, and the victories he obtained, with very unequal forces, till he obliged the infidels to agree to a peace, by which they renounced the *Ukraine*, and all their conquests, excepting *Kamienieck*, and likewise their claim of tribute.

Ibid.
p. 233.

1683.
Ibid.

p. 242,
E. seq.

Vol. X.

p. 195,

E. seq.

Vol. VII.

p. 245.

So glorious a peace rendered the republic of *Poland*, and its monarch, illustrious all over *Europe*. Being disobliged by the haughty proceedings of the court of *Vienna*, he refused to join the emperor, *Leopold*, in a league against the infidels, but, at the solicitations of his queen, and the pope, he yielded, and in the year 1683, signed that alliance with *Leopold*, which, as we have already seen, delivered *Germany*, and probably all *Europe*, from the yoke of the *Othmans*. *Sobieski* was, at that time, the most glorious monarch that had ever filled the throne of *Poland*; but, notwithstanding his victories, *Leopold* seemed cold, insensible, and even ungrateful to his services, and refused to treat him on the footing of equality with himself. He, perhaps, contracted too great a contempt for the *Turks*, and thereby

thereby suffered a defeat at *Barkan*, through the superiority of his enemy's numbers; but he soon had his revenge, by again defeating the infidels, and taking *Barkan*. Returning in triumph to *Poland*; the great lords began to suspect that he intended to render the crown hereditary in his family. Their distrust went so far, that they refused to support him in several campaigns he afterwards made against the *Turks* in *Podolia* and *Moldavia*. Though he took *Gran*, yet his expeditions being chiefly made at his own expence, were far from being answerable to the former honour he had acquired, and some of them were unsuccessful, though conducted with the greatest abilities and courage.

While the praises of *John* were resounding through all *Europe*, he was unhappy at home, where he found himself beset with conspiracies, even among his own relations; and, towards the latter end of his reign, it became unpopular. He was disappointed by the powerful family of the *Sapiehas*, in his attempt to get his son, prince *James*, declared his successor. *Poland* then became a scene of divisions and distractions, and, perhaps, *Sobieski* being now old, and disappointed in his favourite view, took too little concern in the affairs of government, applied himself too much to amass money, and had shewn too great indulgence to his ambitious queen. His death happened by a fit of the apoplexy in 1696. To all the civil and military accomplishments that could adorn a great monarch, *Sobieski* added a considerable degree of learning and knowledge in the languages. He died in the seventy-second year of his age, and the twenty-second of his reign. 1696.

Sobieski, before his death, had resigned the command of the army to the grand general, *Jablanowski*; but his authority availed but little in preventing the horrid scenes of confusion that followed in the diets, the particulars of which are trifling and immaterial. Some degree of respect, however, was paid to the queen dowager and her three sons, the princes *James*, *Constantine* and *Alexander*; and prince *James* entertained sanguine expectations of succeeding his father. His mother, against the advice of the nobles, arrived at *Cracow*, to manage the intrigues in his favour; and though the *Tartars* were ravaging *Podolia*, the army refused to obey any leader till its arrears were paid. The enemies of the *Sobieski* family proposed to lay hold of the treasures amassed by the late king, and were with difficulty prevented from executing their intention. Matters were in this situation, when a confederacy of the nobility was formed for securing a free election, the time of which was fixed to the 15th of *May* 1697; and, in order to exclude the family of the late king, the nomination of a *Piast* to the crown was declared to be an act of treason against the constitution. One *Baronowski*, a worthless mean officer, had raised himself to be the head of the army, which he withdrew from its obedience to *Sapieha*, the crown general; and the *Lithuanians* united under *Oginski*, who defeated *Sapieha*. 1697.

All *Poland* was then filled with anarchy, blood and commotion, owing to the money and intrigues of the queen mother and the *French* embassador. The latter had the address to effect a kind of a reconciliation between *Oginski* and *Sapieha*. *Baronowski* raised pay for the army by putting the chief towns and the *Jews* of *Poland* under military contribution. Those public evils were encreased by fresh irruptions of the *Turks* and *Tartars*. Had the interest of the *Sobieski* family been properly directed, it might have restored tranquillity to *Poland*; but the queen mother was divided in her affections for her children, and even the primate was for raising her second son, prince *Alexander*, to the throne, because he was born after his father's accession.

which
terminate
in the
election of
the elector
of Saxony.

The artful *Polignac* converted every circumstance to the advantage of the prince of *Conti*, whom he proposed as a candidate for the crown. He was opposed by the imperial minister and the powers engaged in the grand alliance against *France*, but an order which the queen dowager received after she had broken with *Polignac*, who she complained had betrayed her, plainly evinced that the *French* interest prevailed among the dietines! In short, the *French*, as well as the imperial party, agreed to the exclusion of the *Sobieski* family, and every day added to the number of the candidates. *Livio Odeschalchi*, the pope's nephew, the dukes of *Lorrain* and *Neuburgh*, the prince of *Baden*, and two or three *Piasts* were of the number; but all of a sudden *Frederic Augustus*, elector of *Saxony*, a prince equally distinguished by his riches, by his liberality, his fine person, and uncommon strength, declared himself a candidate, having previously renounced the protestant religion. The distribution of immense sums of money soon gained him a party, and the only competition now lay between *Augustus* and the prince of *Conti*. By this time *Baronowski* had lost all credit with the soldiery. The *French* money was pretty much exhausted in *Poland*, where tranquillity had been in some degree restored, when the final diet for the election was fixed. The disputes were warm, and the corruption incredible, but the *Saxon* gold outweighed the *French* promises; for though the cardinal primate proclaimed the prince of *Conti* king, yet the bishop of *Cujavia* did the same for the elector of *Saxony*, and administered the usual oath to count *Fleming*, that prince's minister.

The
prince of
Conti
leaves
Poland.

This double return occasioned vast intrigues, but besides money, the elector had a strong body of *Saxon* troops to second his pretensions, while the ambitious projects of *Lewis* the XIVth disabled him from remitting money, the only means of the prince of *Conti*'s success. *Augustus* receiving the notification of his election, advanced with the *Saxon* army, and had taken possession of *Cracow*, a little before the prince of *Conti* arrived in *Poland* with a recruit of money for his party, and was actually crowned on the 15th of *September*. His interest was greatly strengthened by the pope's declining to interfere

terfere in favour of the prince of *Conti*, and the citizens of *Dantzic* refusing to receive the prince of *Conti* as king of *Poland*. In a few days the decline of the *French* interest, notwithstanding all the support given it by the primate, was visible. The *Saxon* general, *Brandt*, advanced at the head of an army to *Oliva*, where he narrowly failed surprizing the persons of the prince of *Conti* and *Polignac*, but he took *Marienburg*, and a number of other places. The prince plainly saw that his interest was ruined, and made as decent a retreat as he could back to *France*, upon which even the primate, as the pope had done before, recognized the election of *Augustus*.

Notwithstanding this recognition, the *Poles* were uneasy at the continuance of the *Saxon* troops in their country, and they were sent to be quartered towards the sea coasts and the frontiers. Upon which a general reconciliation among all parties took place, though great disturbances still prevailed in *Lithuania*, between the families of *Sapieha* and *Oginski*. The latter was defeated, and *Augustus* declared that he intended to signalize the beginning of his reign by taking *Kaminiec* from the *Turks*. Before any thing of this kind could be effected, the famous confederacy, which we have already mentioned, took place between *Augustus* and the czar *Peter*, and the *Turks* and *Tartars* ravaged *Poland*. Both the *Poles* and *Lithuanians* resumed their jealousy of the *Saxon* troops, and alledged that the expedition against *Kaminiec* was no other than a pretence to detain them in *Poland*. Some temporary expedients were made use of to prevent bloodshed, and the peace of *Carlowitz* was concluded with the *Turks*. In 1700, *Augustus* found himself at liberty to attack *Livonia*, as had been concerted between him and the czar; and we have, in the history of *Sweden*, given a detail of the progress of that war, which proved so unfortunate to *Poland*. After gaining a slight advantage over *Welling*, the *Swedish* general, *Augustus* besieged *Riga* in person, but the czar's defeat at *Narva* obliged him to raise the siege, after which *Poland* once more became a scene of confusion, till *Charles* having entirely defeated the *Saxons* in repeated battles, gave the *Poles* *Stanislaus* for their king, and he was crowned on the 4th of *October* 1705. The implacable *Charles* continued his victories over the *Saxons* and the *Poles*, in the interest of *Augustus*, till by the treaty of *Alt-Ranstadt* the latter was obliged formally to renounce all pretensions to the crown of *Poland*, to acknowledge *Stanislaus*, and to content himself with retaining the title of king. For other particulars of this amazing revolution, the reader may consult the history of *Sweden*. It is sufficient to say, that after *Charles* had lost the battle of *Pultowa*, *Augustus*, in 1709, re-entered *Poland*, and in his turn dethroned *Stanislaus*, who was likewise obliged to take refuge in *Turkey*, where he was made prisoner. In 1712, *Augustus* found himself so firmly settled on the throne of *Poland*, that in a diet held at *Warsaw*, the election of *Stanislaus* and all that followed upon it, was declared to be void. Notwithstanding declared to be void.

History of
the barba-
rous affair
of *Thorn*,

1724.

withstanding this, fresh differences broke out between him and the *Poles*, but the prudent counsels of count *Fleming* prevented any rebellion. The quarrel at *Thorn*, between the *Jesuit* students and the townsmen there, in 1724, threatened to kindle a fresh war in *Europe*. It began by the trifling refusal of some protestant spectators to kneel at a procession of the *Jesuits*, which proceeding to blood, a party of soldiers interposed, and carried the *Jesuit* ring-leader prisoner to their guard. The *Jesuits* raised a second tumult, and another scuffle ensued to their disadvantage; but they had interest enough with the president of the city to procure the release of the prisoner. Another prisoner still remained in custody, whose immediate release was demanded by the *Jesuits*, but refused by the president, and hostilities again commenced. The students wounded many of the *Lutheran* inhabitants (the protestant religion being established in *Thorn* by the treaty of *Oliva*) and carried off a *German* scholar prisoner. The protestants insisted upon the release of the scholar, and while the *Jesuit* principal and the president were debating the matter, a fresh combat ensued between the *Jesuits* and the townsmen, but they were parted by the town guard. Both parties were at last discharged; but this compromise was so far from appeasing the *Jesuit* students, that they again attacked the burghers with all kinds of weapons, and even with fire arms. This exasperated the populace so greatly, that they broke into the *Jesuits* college, demolished all its contents, and burned its rich furniture in the market-place.

The consequences of this tumult prove the vast influence which the *Jesuits* had at that time, not only in *Poland*, but over all *Europe*. The treaty of *Oliva* had been guarantied by the crowns of *Great Britain*, *Sweden* and other protestant powers; but though it had been thus grossly violated by the *Jesuits*, they prevailed upon the general diet of *Poland* to enter upon no other business till the order had received satisfaction. Commissioners were accordingly appointed to take examinations on the spot, and among them were prince *Lubomirski*, and the bishop of *Cujavia*, who had prostituted their consciences to the *Jesuits*. Their violences drove from the examinations the more moderate part of the commissioners, the prisons of the city were filled with the most creditable citizens, and every step of the examination was carried on against justice and the clearest evidence. The citizens were charged with raising a sedition and tumult, on a very small provocation, and laying impious and violent hands on persons and places devoted to God's service, with the manifest connivance of their rulers and magistrates, whose office and duty it was to prevent the same, and in open defiance and contempt of the constitutions of the republic of *Poland*, and of all laws human and divine. This indictment was preferred by the king of *Poland*'s solicitor general, before the royal assessorial tribunal, or high court of *Polish* chancery, and enforced with all the virulence and sophistry

phistry of the prosecuting *Jesuits*. The parties accused were and the not even suffered to be heard, and at last sentence was pronounced. The president, *Rosner*, and the vice president, of the *Czernich*, were condemned to lose their heads, and their estates were confiscated, but *Czernich* was afterwards pardoned by his *Polish* majesty; thirteen more citizens were condemned to be beheaded likewise. Four who threw the image of the *Virgin* into the fire, were to have their right hands cut off, and afterwards to be quartered and burnt. The sixth article of the sentence runs as follows, “The other infringers and invaders of the ecclesiastical immunities, mentioned in the sentence, to be fined and imprisoned in the *Tower*, and the money arising from the mulcts, to be laid out in erecting a stone pillar, with the statue of the *Blessed Virgin* on the top, upon the spot of ground where her sacred image was defaced and burnt, to serve for an everlasting memorial and atonement of that horrid impiety.”

The same sentence contains many other penalties. One half of the magistrates of *Thorn* were to be *Roman* catholics; the *Lutheran* church of *St. Mary* was given up to the papists; the *Lutheran* churches were removed out of the city, and the *Romish* processions admitted into it. The execution of the sentence was committed to prince *Lubomirski*, who carried it through with all the circumstances of barbarity. One of the criminals saved his life by embracing popery. It was in vain for the friends of the condemned parties to endeavour to gain time for the interposition of the protestant powers in their favour, and to make their applications to his *Polish* majesty's clemency, for prince *Lubomirski* dreading the event, anticipated the execution of the sentence by eight days. The kings of *Great Britain*, *Prussia*, *Denmark* and *Sweden*, interested themselves warmly in behalf of the protestants, but all was to no purpose. Even the pope's nuncio pleaded in favour of the condemned, but in vain; nor is it greatly for the credit of the protestant princes of that time, that they never could obtain the satisfaction which so notorious a breach of a solemn treaty required.

Prince *Ferdinand* of *Courland* was at this time living in an *Augustus* obscure manner at *Dantzic*. He was uncle to that duke of *Courland* who was married to the princess *Anne* of *Russia*, and endeavoured to die without issue; but though *Ferdinand* was the last of the *Kettler* family, the duchess seized upon his inheritance, and about the year 1726, almost all the powers in the north of *Courland* had formed separate projects for disposing of them. No regard was paid to the remonstrances of *Ferdinand*, and the nobility meeting, they pitched upon prince *Maurice* of *Saxony*, afterwards the famous marshal *Saxe*, to be their duke on the demise of *Ferdinand*. *Maurice* was the natural son of his *Polish* majesty, and had his father's interest to support him; but the *Polcs* considered *Courland* as a fief of their crown, to which they wanted it to be reannexed. They pursued this point

point with such obstinacy, that *Augustus* was obliged to declare against his son, and to consent even to the abrogation of all that had been done in the diet of *Courland*, and he even went so far as to consent to summon the marshal of the diet and some of the senators to answer at *Warsaw* for their conduct. The czar *Peter* maintained the rights of his niece, who had a great claim upon the duchy, and disapproved of a match proposed by the *Courlanders*, between her and count *Maurice*. The *Courlanders* were devoted to the succession of the latter, in hopes that it would prevent their returning to their dependence upon *Poland*. The *Poles*, on the other hand, acted with such warmth, that they obliged *Augustus* to cancel his son's eventual succession, and to promise that he would force him to evacuate *Courland*; and upon *Maurice* refusing to comply, he was put to the ban of the republic. By this time the czarina of *Muscovy* had ordered some troops, under *Menzikof*, to defile towards *Courland*, which entirely altered the complexion of the affair. The *Courlanders* were overawed, and prince *Maurice*, after making a brave defence against the *Russians*, was obliged to withdraw out of the duchy. The *Poles*, though they had succeeded against *Maurice*, were exasperated at seeing the disposal of the duchy in the hands of the czarina. They grew jealous of *Augustus*, who was under an ill state of health, but labouring to secure the succession for his eldest son, the electoral prince. Their jealousy went so far, that no public business could be done at the diets that were summoned; nor did *Augustus* think himself safe in *Poland*, and therefore retired to *Saxony*. Matters were coming to extremities, when *Augustus* died of a fever, on the 31st of January 1733. He was at once brave and mean spirited, faithless and agreeable, designing but imprudent, ridiculously amorous, and prodigally generous.

Death and
character
of *Augustus*
the IIId.
1733.
who is
succeeded
by his son,
Augustus
the IIIId.

p. 72.

The death of *Augustus* happened at a time when the imperial court had taken umbrage at his connections with *France*, but the electoral prince declaring himself a candidate for the crown of *Poland*, soon explained himself to the emperor's satisfaction, and brought over the court of *Russia* likewise. We have had many opportunities in other parts of this work, of recounting the events that followed. King *Stanislaus*, whom we have so often mentioned, being removed from *Deux Ponts*, the revenues of which had been assigned him by *Charles* the XIIth of *Sweden*, had the good fortune to see his daughter married to the *French* king, who was persuaded to endeavour to replace his father-in-law on the throne of *Poland*. We have already given the history of that election. *Stanislaus* was chosen, but fifty thousand *Russians* obliged him to fly to *Dantzic*, from whence, after suffering the greatest misery, he made a memorable, and almost miraculous escape in the habit of a peasant, while his rival, *Augustus* the IIId, got possession of *Warsaw*, and was declared king, and afterwards recognized as such by the other powers of *Europe*. *Stanislaus* had after-wards

wards the revenues and government of *Lorrain* settled upon him by his son-in-law. *Augustus* in *Saxony* experienced the same fate from the king of *Prussia* as his father had met with from *Charles* the XIIth. By an extraordinary reverse of sentiments, when he was driven out of *Saxony*, he was received with kindness and affection by the *Poles*. The public commiserated his fate, and that of his excellent queen, who is thought to have died of grief and indignation, at the barbarous treatment she received at *Dresden*, by order of her husband's implacable enemy. *Augustus* remained an illustrious exile in *Poland*, when the peace of *Hubertsburg* restored him to his dominions. Notwithstanding his great alliances, he failed in making one of his sons duke of *Courland*, and another bishop of *Liege*, and he died of a lethargic disorder, on the 5th of *October* 1763. As the crown of *Poland* had for many years descended in one family, it was thought not impracticable to procure it for his son, who accordingly declared himself a candidate; but he dying on the 17th of *September* following, the *Russians* favoured the election of a *Piaſt*, in the person of count *Poniatowski*, who, notwithstanding the opposition of the great house of *Radzivil*, and count *Branitzki*, who pretended the election was overawed by the neighbourhood of the *Russian* army, was chosen king on the 7th of *September* 1764, by the name and titles of *Stanislaus Augustus*, king of *Poland*, and great duke of *Lithuania*.

His mis-
fortunesVol. IX.
p. 246.and death.
1763.

1764.

His present *Polish* majesty is son to that count *Poniatowski* who did such eminent services to *Charles* the XIIth, king of *Sweden*, and his election has since been acknowledged by almost all the great potentates of *Europe*. The commencement of his reign has created the highest expectations in the public, that he will prove himself worthy of the high dignity to which he was chosen; that he will abolish the barbarous customs of his subjects, that he will reform their constitution, and that he will raise them to a greater figure in *Europe* than they have enjoyed for some centuries past.

The END of the TWELFTH VOLUME.

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

IT is proper to acquaint our Readers that an INDEX for this Work will speedily be published, and may be had separately, at the Shops of the Booksellers mentioned in the Title-page.